

Franciscans and American Indians in Pan-Borderlands Perspective: Adaptation, Negotiation, and Resistance

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Chapter 17

Franciscans, Russians, and Indians on the International Borders of Alta California

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The purpose of this paper is to highlight the importance of examining the broader landscape of Franciscan missions in undertaking archaeological research in the Spanish Borderlands of North America. We argue that a detailed understanding of the spatial and sonic dimensions of colonialism is crucial for examining the kinds of interactions and relationships that took place between Franciscan missionaries, Indian neophytes, and other colonial and Native peoples in the outlying hinterland. The northern frontier of Alta California is employed as a case study for examining the borderland geography of Spanish/Mexican and Russian settlements in the greater San Francisco Bay Area. Building on an earlier study,¹ we outline a spatial-sonic model for the Franciscan missions that consists of four zones: the mission quadrangle, proximal zone (under the mission bell), the outlying hinterland, and the inter-spaces of colonial regimes (international zones). While California archaeologists have focused most of their research on mission quadrangles, this paper emphasizes the significance of looking beyond the quadrangle walls to examine the full range of economic practices and social relations of mission neophytes.

Further, we argue that to do so we must consider the multisensory differences between various parts of the mission landscape, particularly the soundscape of the proximal zone and beyond. We also emphasize the critical importance of including distant lands and people located many kilometers from mission centers in our archaeological studies of colonialism. This point is especially pertinent in cases where Franciscan settlements were situated along international frontiers in close proximity to other colonial enterprises as illustrated in this paper for Alta California.

1. Kent G. Lightfoot, Sara L. Gonzalez, and Tsim D. Schneider, "Refugees and Interethnic Residences: Examples of Colonial Entanglements in the North Bay San Francisco Bay Area," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (2009): 1–21.

The Northern Frontier of Alta California

The northern borderland of colonial California developed into a dynamic international zone in the late 1700s and 1800s. It was here in the greater San Francisco Bay Area where the Spanish empire in the Americas literally touched the southernmost outpost of the vast Russian mercantile enterprise administrated by the Russian-American Company (Figure 1). The northernmost settlements of Spain's (and later Mexico's) colonial domain consisted of the San Francisco Presidio and three missions—San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores), San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano. The southernmost Russian colony in North America consisted of the administrative center of Settlement Ross, a port at Bodega Bay, and several outlying ranches. Situated between these two colonial empires was an international frontier where more than 50 small indigenous polities of Ohlone, Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, Patwin, Wappo, and Pomo speakers resided. Both the Spanish and Russian colonists attempted to recruit these Native groups to their settlements primarily to work as laborers in agriculture, ranching, and craft production.²

The northern frontier of Alta California provides an excellent case study for examining the multifaceted spatial and sonic dimensions of Franciscan missions and highlights the need to shift our attention beyond the walls of the mission quadrangles to the broader indigenous landscapes in which these colonial settlements were embedded. Although considerable archaeological research has been conducted over the years on California missions, the vast majority has focused on the central quadrangles where the church, *convento*, visitors' quarters, kitchens, storage rooms, and *monjerio* (dorms for young girls, unmarried women) were built around a central courtyard.³ Regrettably,

2. For overviews, see Glenn J. Farris, *So Far from Home: Russians in Early California* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2012); Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

3. The focus on mission quadrangles began in the late 1800s and early 1900s with the reconstruction work initiated at many California missions. Unfortunately, the historical accuracy and scientific rigor of these early reconstructions varied tremendously as outlined by David Hurst Thomas in "Harvesting Ramona's Garden: Life in California's Mythical Mission Past," in *Columbian Consequences: Volume 3, the Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1991): 119–157. Recent syntheses of archaeological research undertaken at missions in Alta and Baja California outline the sampling bias that privileges excavations of quadrangles and adjacent features. For example, see Rebecca Allen, "Rethinking Mission Land Use and the Archaeological Record in California: An Example from Santa Clara," *Historical Archaeology* 44, no. 2 (2010): 72–96; Brooke S. Arkush, "Native Responses to European Intrusion: Cultural Persistence and Agency among Mission Neophytes in Spanish Colonial California," *Historical Archaeology* 45, no. 4 (2011): 62–90; Lee M. Panich, "Spanish Missions

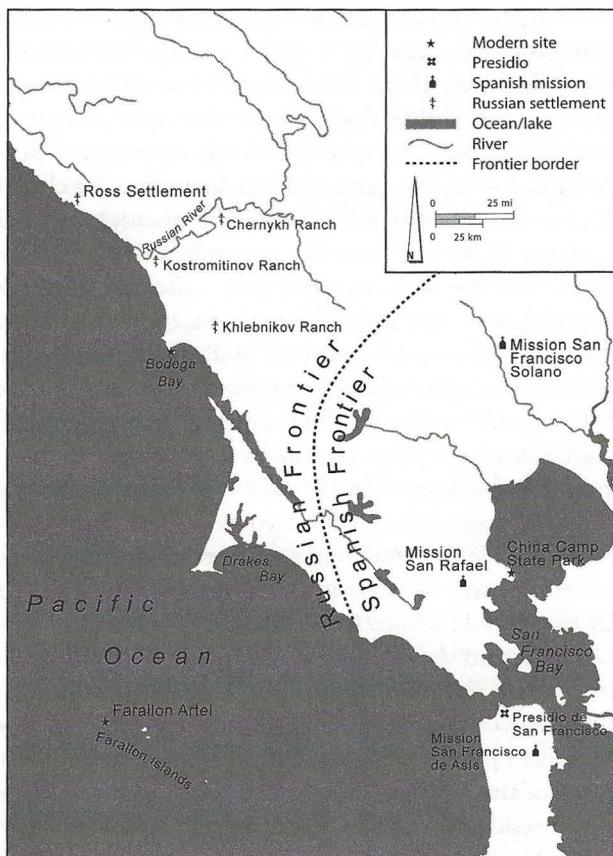


FIGURE 1. Northern frontier of Alta California showing the primary Russian and Spanish settlements (from Lightfoot, Gonzalez, and Schneider 2009: 2).

much less archaeological work has been done outside the mission quadrangles where most of the economic activities and populations of the missions resided. It was beyond the mission walls where agricultural and ranching production took place, where various industrial work areas (pottery kilns, tanning vats, grist mills) were located, and where the majority of Indian neophytes lived.

As a consequence of this sampling bias, our understanding of the broader spatial organization of most California missions outside the central quadrangles and immediate environs is limited. The northern Alta California missions

exemplify this problem. In cases where archaeological research has been undertaken, it has focused primarily on the central quadrangles with minimal work in the outlying hinterland. For example, at Mission San Francisco Solano, where significant archaeological work has taken place in the past, we have a good understanding of the spatial structure of several of the quadrangle buildings and associated architectural features, including the chapel site (original 1824 wooden chapel, replaced in 1840 with an adobe chapel), the *convento* (known as the “Priests’ House”), a probable “dormitory for resident Indian neophytes,” and the location of tile drains, tile walkways, and remnants of adobe walls.⁴ However, beyond this core area, the spatial organization of the mission is largely conjectural based on available archival evidence.⁵ Treganza,⁶ in undertaking some limited survey of the broader mission area, reported that the specific locations of the cemetery and neophyte village were unknown, a significant lacuna that continues to this day.

There is now growing interest in the study of mission hinterlands to understand more fully how these colonial endeavors operated across space. Archaeologists are now considering how missions were embedded within broader indigenous landscapes and how neophyte Indians maintained relations with outlying lands and people where they continued to obtain wild foods, raw materials, medicines, and dance regalia. This thesis emphasizing the critical importance of studying the external relations of mission neophytes is outlined in a freshly published volume, edited by Lee Panich and Tsim Schneider.⁷ This book and other recent publications highlight the importance of examining the outlying environs of the missions to document various agrarian and ranching features, neophyte residences, nearby colonial settlements (such as *visitas* [mission stations], *assistencias* [chapels], and ranchos), and indigenous lands where gentile (non-Christian) Native populations maintained their villages and where

4. James Bennyhoff and Albert B. Elsasser, “Sonoma Mission: An Historical and Archaeological Study of Primary Constructions, 1823–1913,” *University of California Archaeological Survey Reports* 27 (1954); Adan E. Treganza, “Sonoma Mission: An Archaeological Reconstruction of the Mission San Francisco De Solano Quadrangle,” *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* (1956).

5. The most detailed reconstruction of the hinterland of Mission San Francisco Solano that we know of is by Robert S. Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma* (Fresno, CA: Valley Publishers, 1975): 37–41. However, even this reconstruction is not tied to any actual geospatial reference points.

6. In writing up his findings, Treganza is obviously puzzled about where the neophyte village and cemetery are located. See Adan E. Treganza, “Sonoma Mission: An Archaeological Reconstruction of the Mission San Francisco de Solano Quadrangle,” *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* (1956): 2, 12–13.

7. Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider, eds. *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 2014).

mineral, faunal and floral resources continued to be exploited.⁸ The number, size, and spatial distribution of villages in Indian lands, of course, remained dynamic with changes in the founding and growth of colonial settlements and as outlying indigenous populations declined in numbers due to disease, violence, and recruitment into the missions.

A landscape-sensory perspective is critical for understanding how Indian neophytes in the missions retained relations with outlying lands and populations. We outline a spatial-sonic model for examining Franciscan missions in Alta California that allows us to integrate previous studies of the central quadrangle with the outlying landscape. Building on an original paper by Lightfoot, Gonzalez, and Schneider,⁹ we define three spatial zones beyond the quadrangle—the proximal zone, outlying hinterland, and interspaces of colonial regimes (Figure 2).

Proximal Zone or Under the Mission Bell

The proximal zone, defined by the area within earshot of the mission bells, includes not only the central quadrangle with the church, *convento*, and other buildings, but also the nearby spaces where the regular chiming of the church bells could be heard. The Franciscans of Alta California subjected the neophytes to a rigorous daily schedule of meals, work, and prayers heralded by the incessant ringing of mission bells that started in the morning and continued throughout the day and early evening.¹⁰ The bells themselves were

8. Other studies beyond those included in the Panich and Schneider edited volume include: Rebecca Allen, "Rethinking Mission Land Use and the Archaeological Record in California: An Example from Santa Clara," *Historical Archaeology* 44, no. 2 (2010): 72–96; Julienne Bernard, "An Archaeological Study of Resistance, Persistence, and Culture Change in the San Emigdio Canyon, Kern County, California" (PhD diss., University of California-Los Angeles, 2008); Lee M. Panich, "Spanish Missions in the Indigenous Landscape: A View from Mission Catalina, Baja California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 30, no. 1 (2010); Lee M. Panich, "Assessing the Diversity of Mission Populations through the Comparison of Native American Residences at Mission Santa Clara De Asis," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 18 (2014): 467–488; Tsim D. Schneider, "Placing Refuge: Shell Mounds and the Archaeology of Colonial Encounters in the San Francisco Bay Area, California" (PhD diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2010); Tsim D. Schneider, Sara L. Gonzalez, Kent G. Lightfoot, Lee M. Panich, and Matthew A. Russell, "A Land of Cultural Pluralism: Case Studies from California's Colonial Frontiers," in *Contemporary Issues in California Archaeology*, eds. Terry L. Jones and Jennifer E. Perry (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2012), 319–337.

9. Kent G. Lightfoot, Sara L. Gonzalez, and Tsim D. Schneider, "Refugees and Interethnic Residences: Examples of Colonial Entanglements in the North Bay San Francisco Bay Area," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (2009).

10. For example, see Jean Francois de La Pérouse, "The Journals of Jean Francois De La Pérouse," in *Monterey in 1786: Life in a California Mission*, ed. Malcolm Margolin (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1989), 81; Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The*

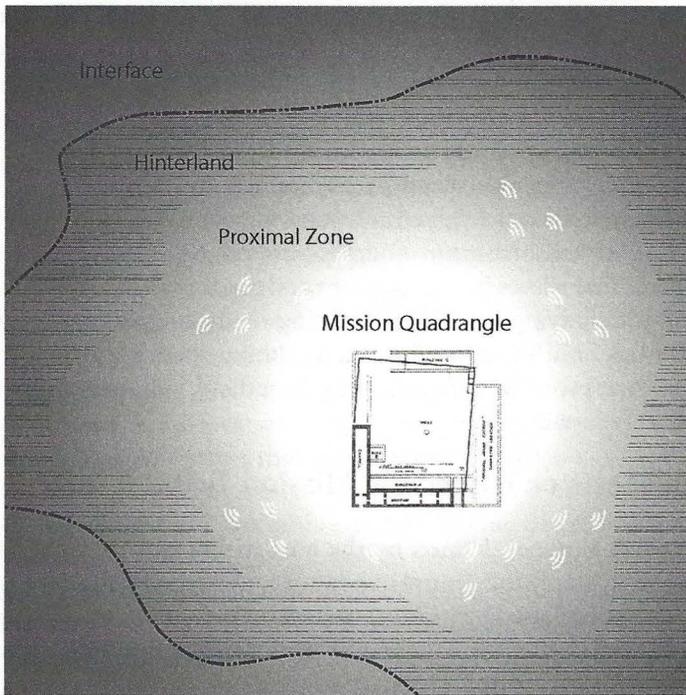


FIGURE 2. Spatial-sonic model for a Franciscan mission. Quadrangle illustrated is from Mission San Francisco Solano showing the location of existing (dark lines) and suggested (dotted lines) buildings and walls based on ethnohistorical and archaeological research (see Treganza 1956, map 2).

considered by some as an important part of Catholic doctrine; bells were personified through baptism and thought to have a physical relationship to heaven through the sound of their ringing.¹¹

A critical component of the proximal zone is that these spaces were typically kept under surveillance by the Franciscans and could be reached by the mission guards in relatively short order. The neophyte villages associated with the Franciscan missions in California were probably situated within range of the mission bells so that people could be roused to report for roll call, worship,

Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 53.

11. Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, European Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Matthew Liebmann, "Catechesis and Catachresis: Bells in the Mission Pueblos of 17th Century New Mexico" (paper presented at annual meeting of Society for American Archaeology, Austin, April 27, 2014).

mealtimes, and work activities. The area under the mission bell probably also contained the facilities for craft production (pottery, textiles, bricks, etc.), places where crops were processed and stored (granaries), and nearby irrigated fields, gardens, orchards, and vineyards.

Francisco Palóu, a Franciscan friar and colleague of mission leader Junípero Serra, wrote in the mid-eighteenth century of the perceived importance of the spatial and sensory aspects of enculturation enforced by mission bells:

They [Native Californians] can be conquered first only by their interest in being fed and clothed, and afterwards they gradually acquire the knowledge of what is spiritually good and evil. If the missionaries had nothing to give them, they could not win them over. *If the Indians did not live in a town within hearing of the mission bell*, but rather in their villages after the fashion of their pagan days, naked and hungry, the missionaries would not be able to get them to leave off their vicious pagan practices.¹²

This description of the mission bells evokes the idea of a “soundscape”¹³ of enculturation. The demarcation of civilized and uncivilized, Catholic and pagan, is not only spatially enforced through the domination and development of landscape, but sonically through the sound of the mission bells—marking out the sensory reach of the mission’s influence for both Native and European people, and for archaeologists, the proximal zone.

Depending on the topography and acoustic properties of local places, the extent of the proximal zone varied from mission to mission and potentially from person to person or group to group depending on their relationship to the soundscape. Research can be undertaken today on the acoustic environments of mission sites in order to determine the spatial distribution of the proximal zone considering these variables. A number of novel methods in archaeoacoustics are being actively developed in primarily prehistoric and non-North American contexts that could be applied to the mission case.¹⁴

12. Emphasis is ours, Fray Francisco Palóu, *Palóu’s Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, trans. and annotated by Maynard J. Geiger, vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), 232.

13. Here we are following R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1993), while acknowledging critiques of the term like Tim Ingold’s “Against Soundscape,” in *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

14. For a basic overview of current approaches, see Christopher Scarre and Graeme Lawson, *Archaeoacoustics* (Cambridge, UK: McDonald Institute of Archaeology, 2006); Miriam A. Kolar, “Acoustics, Architecture, and Instruments in Ancient Chavín de Huántar, Perú: An Integrative, Anthropological Approach to Archaeoacoustics and Music Archaeology,” in *Music and Ritual: Bridging Material and Living Cultures*, eds. Raquel Jiménez, Rupert Till, and Mark Howell, Publications of ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology,

Digital modeling of the potential reach of bell sounds across both short and long distances can be combined with psychoacoustic experimentation in contemporary landscapes to accurately estimate the size and shape of the proximal zone.¹⁵ Sensitivity to the size, type, and location of bells known historically and archaeologically can be accounted for to map changing sizes of this zone over the course of occupation or other variables.¹⁶

Once the proximal zone has been defined for a specific mission, it should inform the search for particular kinds of mission places (e.g., neophyte villages) and activities found outside the mission quadrangles. As outlined in the chapters by Blair, Jeffries and Moore, and Ashley (this volume), a diverse range of detection methods can be employed by archaeologists to locate architectural features and living spaces in mission landscapes, including surface pedestrian surveys, shovel probes, geophysical surveys, and limited excavations. As Panich (this volume) details, the investigation of these proximal places can provide critical information about neophyte work areas, residences, foodways, and ceremonial activities.¹⁷

Outlying Hinterlands

The outlying hinterlands extended beyond the quadrangle and proximal zone, but still within regular use of mission populations. Defined by this use, but out of the range of the mission bells, here were located the more distant agricultural fields and free-range lands where mission livestock grazed, as well as mission rancho settlements, *visitas* (mission stations), and *assistencias* (chapels). The lands beyond earshot of the mission bells would have also been used by neophytes for a variety of purposes. These less developed lands would have also provided areas for harvesting wild foods, collecting materials for basket making and textile production, searching for medicines used by Native healers, pursuing paraphernalia for making dance regalia, and for the exploita-

vol. 1 (Berlin: Ekho Verlag, 2013); Nicole Boivin, "Rock Art and Rock Music: Petroglyphs of the South Indian Neolithic," *Antiquity* 78 (2004): 38–53; Dianne Scullin and Brian Boyd, "Whistles in the Wind: The Noisy Moche city," *World Archaeology* 46:3 (2014): 362–379.

15. Miriam A. Kolar, "Archaeological Psychoacoustics at Chavín de Huántar" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2013); Steven Mills, "Sensing the Place: Sounds and Landscape," in *(Un)settling the Neolithic*, eds. Douglass Bailey, Alasdair Whittle, and Vicki Cummings (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005), 79–89; Steve Mills, *Auditory Archaeology: Understanding Sound and Hearing in the Past* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press and Routledge, 2014).

16. Liebmann, "Catechesis and Catachresis."

17. Other excellent studies include Rebecca Allen, "Rethinking Mission Land Use and the Archaeological Record in California: An Example from Santa Clara," *Historical Archaeology* 44, no. 2 (2010): 72–96; Lee M. Panich, "Assessing the Diversity of Mission Populations through the Comparison of Native American Residences at Mission Santa Clara de Asís," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 18 (2014): 467–488.

tion of lithic sources for making tools. Moreover, Franciscan surveillance and control of the outlying hinterlands would have decreased significantly. Clandestine ceremonies, subversive gatherings, and illicit meetings would have taken place in this zone where the sounds of singing and dancing would not carry back to the mission quadrangles. This is not to say that these kinds of surreptitious activities did not also take place in the proximal zones, but that they were probably performed behind closed doors, whereas in the outlying hinterlands they may have been more open and accessible by larger numbers of people. Considering the land and soundscape of both the proximal zone and hinterland allows us to investigate both clandestine and overt expressions of Native agency. Having a spatio-sensorial model of the mission landscape may allow us to understand the persistence of traditional (or formation of hybrid) practices and identities not only “in plain sight” of colonial administrators but perhaps “in earshot” as well.¹⁸

The hinterlands also provided places where neophytes could go during *paseos* (approved leaves of absence) or when they left the missions without Franciscan permission. For example, Tsim Schneider¹⁹ (this volume) articulates how hinterland spaces in the San Francisco Bay Area served as places of refuge for neophytes from nearby missions. His archaeological investigation of ancient shell mounds that once ringed the bay shows that Native peoples reused these places during the mission period. He suspects that they were probably neophytes from the missions in San Francisco de Asis, San Rafael, or San Francisco Solano who had either escaped from these colonial settlements (adding to the sizeable number of mission fugitives who lived outside the missions) or who had been given short-term passes by the Franciscan friars to visit their homelands.

Many of the mission hinterlands would have also been populated by gentle Indians whose villages may also have provided places of refuge for some neophytes fleeing the missions. However, detecting the colonial occupations of outlying indigenous archaeological sites can be challenging. Ancient sites situated near good sources of water, firewood, and other resources, and which were recognized as meaningful, spiritual spaces to local Indians, would have

18. See Jun Sunseri, “Hiding in Plain Sight: Engineered Colonial Landscapes and Indigenous Reinvention on the New Mexican Frontier,” in *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*, eds. Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison, and Michael V. Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 173–190.

19. See also Tsim D. Schneider, “Placing Refuge: Shell Mounds and the Archaeology of Colonial Encounters in the San Francisco Bay Area, California” (PhD diss., University of California–Berkeley, 2010); Tsim D. Schneider, Sara L. Gonzalez, Kent G. Lightfoot, Lee M. Panich, and Matthew A. Russell, “A Land of Cultural Pluralism: Case Studies from California’s Colonial Frontiers,” in *Contemporary Issues in California Archaeology*, ed. Terry L. Jones and Jennifer E. Perry (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2012): 319–337.

been likely candidates for reuse during the mission period. Furthermore, if neophytes did not bring many Hispanic goods from the missions with them due to the transportation costs and/or conscious decisions to leave non-indigenous materials behind, then these colonial age deposits may be very challenging to distinguish from earlier prehistoric contexts (see Schneider, this volume).

Interspaces of Colonial Regimes

The interspaces between competing colonial regimes and tribal groups add another important dimension to the study of indigenous landscapes. The creation of international frontiers that encompassed diverse colonial and Native polities presented considerable challenges and opportunities for both Franciscans and indigenous peoples. Shifting power dynamics between colonial enterprises and outlying Native populations made these regions particularly volatile and fluid in space and time. As this volume nicely documents, the Franciscan missions dispersed across the Spanish borderlands in North America were marked by significant variation in how frontier relations unfolded in the sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries.

For example, as discussed in the chapters by Thomas, Blair, and Bossy (this volume), the frontier zones between the Spanish and British in the American Southeast were among some of the most dangerous and heavily contested in the Spanish Borderlands with significant implications for both colonists and tribal groups alike. The outcome of these entanglements in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries eventually forced the remnant populations of the Franciscan missions to retreat southward to Saint Augustine, Florida.²⁰

In California a very different kind of international frontier emerged in the indigenous landscape between the northern Spanish settlements and Colony Ross that neither colonial regime fully controlled. Russian and Hispanic relationships in California were a little schizophrenic. On one hand, the Spanish government and later the Mexican government demanded that the Russians abandon their colony that had been placed in lands they claimed, and respective governments never officially recognized the legitimacy of the Ross Colony during its entire operation from 1812 to 1841. On the other

20. See also Jerald T. Milanich, "Franciscan Missions and Native Peoples in Spanish Florida," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South 1521–1704*, eds. Charles Hudson and Carmen C. Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 276–303; Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995); David Hurst Thomas, "The Spanish Missions of La Florida: An Overview," in *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, vol. 2 of *Columbian Consequences*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990): 357–398.

hand, the Russians became key economic partners with the Franciscan missionaries and presidio soldiers. The latter came to rely on black market trade with the Russian merchants to obtain manufactured goods that were no longer being supplied by Spanish ships after 1810 with the eruption of the Mexican war for independence. The Russian-American Company, in turn, traded a diverse range of goods to the Spanish settlements in return for agrarian products, such as wheat, barley, peas, and beans, tallow, butter, dried meat, and salt, which were shipped northward to help provision Russian colonies in the North Pacific.²¹

Interestingly, while construction of Mission San Rafael and Mission San Francisco Solano was supposedly undertaken to keep the Russians from settling along the north side of San Francisco Bay, the founding of these two missions stimulated increased trade across the Hispanic and Russian frontiers. The Russian-American Company supplied materials and goods used in construction of the two missions and frequent visits took place across the borderlands between Russian merchants and Hispanic missionaries and soldiers. Some of the Franciscans even had charge accounts with the Russians in which they placed special orders, such as custom candles and religious materials, and other miscellaneous goods, including brandy.²²

While we have relatively good written documentation of the interactions that took place between the Russians and Spanish on the northern frontier, much less is known about the implications of the international frontiers between the two colonial regimes for tribal groups.

We believe these borderlands may have provided unique spaces of opportunity for indigenous populations. There are some colonial documents that indicate the international zone between the Spanish and Russian colonial regimes served as significant places of refuge for Native peoples. Here they could disappear into the periphery between the competing colonies. Russian sources suggest a number of neophyte fugitives moved into this region to escape the Franciscan missions. Russian interviews with Native peoples moving into this area indicate that they believed the Russian-American Company would prevent Spanish military excursions from entering this frontier zone. Other documents suggest that Russian administrators actively worked

21. The various economic relationships between the Russian and Spanish/Mexican colonies in Alta California are outlined in Glenn J. Farris, *So Far from Home: Russians in Early California* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2012); Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

22. See for example, Diane Spencer Pritchard, "Joint Tenants of the Frontier: Russian-Hispanic Relationships in Alta California," in *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*, eds. Barbara Sweetland Smith and Redmond J. Barnett (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1990): 81-93.

to persuade Indian fugitives from the missions and other outlying groups to relocate in the periphery of the Ross Colony, which would help maintain this area as a buffer zone between the Russians and the Spanish.²³

Conclusion

In conclusion, there is growing interest in California and elsewhere in examining the broader indigenous landscapes that radiated out from colonial enclaves, such as Franciscan missions, and to take a closer look at how the lands and people of these hinterlands influenced the growth and development of colonial centers and vice versa. A critical issue is better understanding the social, political, and economic relationships that existed between people in these pluralistic colonies and in the outlying peripheries. In this paper, we outlined a geosensory model that will allow archaeologists to incorporate their work on mission quadrangles with the spatial-sonic landscape, defined here as the proximal zone, outlying hinterland, and interspace of colonial regimes. We argue that the mission bells and their associated soundscapes are significant considerations in understanding how a diverse range of residential, economic, and clandestine activities may have been mapped onto the proximal zones and outlying hinterlands of missions. We further emphasize that a better understanding of the outlying hinterlands and the interspaces between competing colonial regimes is crucial for examining how both Franciscans and neophytes related to more distant ecological habitats, gentile Indian communities, and other Europeans. As the Franciscan frontiers in California and the American Southeast demonstrate, these outlying lands were dynamic and ever-changing in time and space, offering a mixed assortment of opportunities and troubles to missionaries and neophytes alike.

Our plans for future work are twofold. One is to undertake acoustic experiments with bells at extant mission sites in California. The purpose is to begin to explore the soundscape of mission bells to better define the proximal zone. This includes both investigating existing archival sources for evidence of sound-related strategies of enculturation and information about mission bells, as well as modeling the potential range of these sonic activities. Following such models, coupling experimental bell ringing in contemporary environments and fieldwork ground-truthing the existence of different activity zones would refine the categories and help us understand how people moved between and within zones.

23. See Glenn J. Farris, "The Day of the Tall Strangers," *The Californians* 9, no. 6 (1992): 15; Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 155–156; Fyodor F. Matiushkin, "From a Journal of a Round-the-World Voyage on the Sloop Kamchatka, under the Command of Captain Golovnin," trans. Stephen Watrous, *Fort Ross Interpretive Association Newsletter* (September–October, 1996): 5–6.

The second part of our plan is to initiate a study of the northern frontier of colonial California that builds on newly published work by Julie Bernard,²⁴ Sara Gonzalez,²⁵ Lee Panich,²⁶ Sarah Peelo,²⁷ Matt Russell,²⁸ Tsim Schneider,²⁹ and others. Our goal is to better understand what happened to the Native polities situated on the outskirts of the Spanish and Russian empires and how they negotiated this international space. Collaborative work with local tribes and state and national parks will involve five major tasks: (1) experimenting with the sonic and spatial landscapes of the northern missions to better define the proximal zones, outlying hinterlands, and interspaces of the colonial regimes; (2) doing a better job of synthesizing previous work in this area, and particularly recent CRM investigations; (3) undertaking selective survey work

24. Julienne Bernard, "An Archaeological Study of Resistance, Persistence, and Culture Change in the San Emigdio Canyon, Kern County, California" (PhD diss., University of California-Los Angeles, 2008); Julienne Bernard, David Robinson, and Fraser Sturt, "Points of Refuge in the South Central California Colonial Hinterlands," in *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, eds. Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 154–171.

25. Sara L. Gonzalez, "Creating Trails from Tradition: The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail at Fort Ross State Historic Park" (PhD diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2011).

26. Lee M. Panich, *Persistence of Native Identity at Mission Santa Catalina, Baja California, 1797–1840* (PhD diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2009); Lee M. Panich, "Spanish Missions in the Indigenous Landscape: A View from Mission Catalina, Baja California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 30, no. 1 (2010): 69–86; Lee M. Panich, "Assessing the Diversity of Mission Populations through the Comparison of Native American Residences at Mission Santa Clara De Asís," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 18 (2014): 467–488.

27. Sarah M. Peelo [Ginn], *Creating Community in Spanish California: An Investigation of California Plainwares* (PhD diss., University of California at Santa Cruz, 2009); Sarah M. Peelo, "The Creation of a Carmeleño Identity: Marriage Practices in the Indian Village at Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmel," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 30, no. 2 (2010): 117–139; Sarah M. Peelo, "Pottery-Making in Spanish California: Creating Multi-Scalar Social Identity through Daily Practice," *American Antiquity* 76, no. 4 (2011): 642–666.

28. Matthew A. Russell, "Encounters at Tamál-Húye: An Archaeology of Intercultural Engagement in Sixteenth-Century Northern California" (PhD diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2011).

29. Tsim D. Schneider, "Placing Refuge: Shell Mounds and the Archaeology of Colonial Encounters in the San Francisco Bay Area, California" (PhD diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2010); Tsim D. Schneider, Sara L. Gonzalez, Kent G. Lightfoot, Lee M. Panich, and Matthew A. Russell, "A Land of Cultural Pluralism: Case Studies from California's Colonial Frontiers," in *Contemporary Issues in California Archaeology*, ed. Terry L. Jones and Jennifer E. Perry (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2012), 319–337; Tsim D. Schneider and Lee M. Panich, "Native Agency at the Margins of Empire: Indigenous Landscapes, Spanish Missions, and Contested Histories," in *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, eds. Lee M. Panich and Tsim D. Schneider (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 5–22.

in key places, such as Point Reyes National Seashore; (4) rethinking how we work with museum collections from previously excavated sites; and (5) developing a better methodology for dating colonial-aged indigenous sites. We hope to be able to give an update on this project in future symposiums at Flagler College.

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