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Q and A with *Bad Indians* on "The Belles of San Luis Rey"

Olivia Chilcote

In *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, Esselen-Chumash professor and writer Deborah Miranda urges California Indians to share our stories. Miranda shared her story as a California Indian woman and created "a space where voices can speak after long and often violently imposed silence."[1] Stories of survival, resistance, and persistence are vital to combat long-accepted non-Native narratives that dehumanized and erased California Indians and our connections to land and culture. *Bad Indians* argued the mythology surrounding Spanish missions in California is one of the most damaging and pervasive stories that must come to an end. Miranda argues the only way California Indians can move beyond destructive narratives is to share retellings of the past that center our ancestors and who we are as a people. The continuation of storytelling and memory is the only way Native people and culture will survive.

Alongside written text, Miranda purposefully utilizes the visual image as a tool to counter dehumanizing narratives and recover California Indian people's agency. One of the most recognizable photographs included in *Bad Indians*, "The Belles of San Luis Rey," depicts three elderly Indigenous women seated in a brushy field near the ruins of Mission San Luis Rey in what is currently Oceanside, California (see fig. 1). These elders were Luiseño (Payómkawichum) and specifically Qéchyam, meaning they lived at Qéch, the San Luis Rey Village. Pasadena-based photographer Charles C. Pierce captured the photograph on May 12, 1893, during a rededication ceremony for the mission at which "The Belles" were put on display as "ancient" relics. Two years later, "The Belles of San Luis Rey" made the front page of the *Oceanside Blade* in a special feature that purportedly described the lives and condition of the elders in

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Fig. 1. *Charles C. Pierce took the famous photograph on May 12, 1893, at the rededication ceremony for the San Luis Rey Mission. The image was also widely circulated as a postcard. Charles C. Pierce,* Ancient Belles of San Luis Rey *(1893), C. C. Pierce Collection of Photographs, Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens.*

the photograph. The 1895 *Oceanside Blade* article identified the women, from left to right, as Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia, reporting that their combined ages "exceeded 300 years."[2] According to the newspaper, Tomása is "known to be more than an [sic] hundred years old and is put by some above 130" owing to her claim that she made adobe bricks for Mission San Luis Rey's construction.[3] Interest in the women and their inclusion at the rededication was no doubt linked to their alleged status as centenarians.

Beyond the front page of the *Oceanside Blade*, "The Belles of San Luis Rey" photograph has been reproduced as a popular postcard and included within countless books, magazines, and websites. A simple online image search for "California Indian women," "Mission Indians," or "Luiseño Indians" will produce this image. The photograph's popularity and widespread distribution raises complicated questions about who exactly these women were, the conditions surrounding their celebrity, and the gendered dimensions of colonization. "The Belles of San Luis Rey" circulates deeply in the American and Californian cultural imagination. An ongoing fascination with the impossibility of their existence contributes to a particular form of mythmaking that obscures the gendered violence and injustices of colonization.

Miranda included "The Belles of San Luis Rey" image in the "Bridges: Post-Secularization, 1836–1900" chapter of *Bad Indians,* in which she explores how California Indians navigated the aftermath of Spanish and Mexican colonization as they contended with US settler colonialism and genocide. Miranda scrutinizes the term "digger" and its application as a dehumanizing descriptor of California Indian peoples throughout the chapter, framing her analysis with an excerpt from Oscar Penn Fitzgerald's 1878 *California Sketches*. "The Digger Indian holds a low place in the scale of humanity. He is not intelligent; he is not handsome; he is not very brave," the excerpt explains, "[b]ut one Digger is uglier than another, and an old squaw caps the climax."[4] Positioned immediately before her interrogation of "Digger Belles," Miranda transitions from the prejudicial language in the *California Sketches* excerpt to a discussion of two images that portray California Indian women's survival in the face of devastating loss.

Miranda first analyzed an illustrated portrait titled "A Digger Belle" in which a young, bare-breasted California Indian woman's gaze directly meets the viewer. Noting that her short hair is likely the result of a mourning practice, Miranda placed this woman within the context of genocide and California Indian enslavement, making it clear that US settler colonial law and policy is explicitly gendered. Connecting the two terms, "digger" and "belle," created a pejorative phrase intended to deride California Indian women, but instead, Miranda gave the woman in the illustration agency: "I am stunned by what she has survived, . . . [h]er fierceness—her face a mask of hardness and suspicion—burns through the photographer's lens and artist's hands."[5] "The Belles of San Luis Rey," the second image Miranda discussed, led her on a search for more information about the women in the photograph.

Miranda found reproductions of the image in various places, including one for sale on the Internet and another in a book about the history of Oceanside. Miranda recounted that when she found an original print of the image for sale online, it included a handwritten message: "This is a joke on the Mission bells so much talked of out here."[6] Reproductions of mission church bells appear along the "El Camino Real," the mythologized road that connected the missions, presidios, and pueblos of Spanish colonization, and reinforce belief in California's Spanish "fantasy heritage."[7] Figuring the elderly Luiseño women synonymous with mission church bells symbolic of tourism throughout the state solidified their status as spectacles. Miranda stressed, "If a 'Mission Bell' is an icon of touristic pleasure, then to be a 'Mission Belle' is also to be marked as a commodity, female (though not human): marketable, a product for brief enjoyment."[8] It is not clear in *Bad Indians* if Miranda knew "The Belles of San Luis Rey" photograph was taken on the same day as Mission San Luis Rey's rededication ceremony, but her interpretation of the women takes on new meaning when we know the context in which Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaseila were put on display to celebrate the mission's reconstruction.

Miranda also contacted the author of the Oceanside history book in her search for more information about the women. The author shared the 1895 *Oceanside Blade* article about "The Belles" with Miranda. According to the newspaper, the women lived "by themselves at the rancheria on the north side of the river near San Luis Rey

Mission" and subsisted by "begging."[9] What Miranda learned about the photograph still left her wondering about the women's lives. Miranda professed, "This image of these three women about whom we have such limited information . . . intrigues me, breaks my heart, haunts me. I have so many questions. What kind of housing did the 'Three Belles' have on the rancheria? How many tribal members shared that land with them? How did they earn money in the rainy season when no tourists visited? What were their last names, were they ever married, what happened to their children, do they have any living descendants?"[10] Following *Bad Indians*' call for California Indians to share our stories, the remainder of this piece answers Miranda's questions, acknowledging the challenges that exist in giving voice to silenced histories, and offers a Luiseño-centered reconstruction of the women's lives.

Q and A with *Bad Indians*

Q: What kind of housing did the "Three Belles" have on the rancheria?
A: Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia lived in thatched tule homes with willow frames at a settlement known as the San Luis Rey Village. Their village was located about one to two miles away from Mission San Luis Rey (see fig. 2). The tule, also known as California bulrush or *pivéesash* in the Luiseño language, likely came from the San Luis Rey River that flowed nearby.

Fig. 2. *Charles C. Pierce,* Indian Village of Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, ca. 1891–1899, *Title Insurance and Trust and C. C. Pierce Photography Collection, 1860–1960, University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society.*

Luiseño Indians of the San Luis Rey Village did not own the land where they lived. Two decades before Charles C. Pierce captured the famous "Belles" photo, a white settler from Pennsylvania named John Summers made a homestead claim to a 160-acre parcel of land that encompassed the entire San Luis Rey Village, including ancestral burial grounds. Despite a strong fight led by San Luis Rey Village captain Benito Molido and allies to protect their land, the United States approved Summers' claim in 1877. The San Luis Rey Village remained on "Summers' land" until 1912, when subsequent landowners evicted the community to obtain riparian water rights to the San Luis Rey River.[11]

Q: How many tribal members shared that land with them?
A: Contrary to the "vanishing Indian" trope placed on Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia, they did not live by themselves. In fact, there were about fifty Luiseños who lived at the San Luis Rey Village when Pierce took pictures of the women in 1893.[12] The annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1893 stated the fifty people did not have a reservation and lived on privately owned land in "huts made of brush," but "deserve better."[13] "They are in a bad condition and need assistance," the report further revealed.[14] Luiseño people who lived at the San Luis Rey Village fluctuated over time and those affiliated with the village through various kinship ties did not necessarily live there at all times. Some were highly mobile and traveled around Southern California in search of labor. Some Luiseño women married non-Native men and lived with their husbands outside of the village, but still within the San Luis Rey Valley. San Luis Rey Village kinship protocols still considered those Luiseño women and their children part of the Native world and maintained close ties regardless of where they lived. Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia were respected elders in a tribal community. They were far from alone—a fact that challenges the settler colonial logic of Indigenous disappearance embedded in their representation.

Q: How did they earn money in the rainy season when no tourists visited?
A: Before she passed away in 2005, my cousin Louise Muñoa Foussat, Luiseño elder and pillar of Oceanside, explained how the women told stories and posed for pictures at the San Luis Rey Mission in exchange for money.[15] The women were not "beggars" as the *Oceanside Blade* claimed. When not conducting exchanges with visitors at the San Luis Rey Mission, local settlers employed the women as domestic servants. Tribal oral history of the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians indicates that Tomása was a servant at Rancho Guajome, a former Mexican land grant named for the Luiseño village Waxáwmay. The rancho was originally acquired by two Luiseño families headed by Andrés and José Manuel in 1845. By 1851, Cave Couts and his wife, Ysidora Bandini, had received it as a wedding gift. The Couts family practiced harsh and sometimes fatal treatment toward Native peoples in the area, leading many of their servants to act carefully so they would not be whipped at "the punishment tree" in the rancho's courtyard.

Q: What were their last names? Were they ever married? What happened to their children? Do they have any living descendants?

A: One early settler in the San Luis Rey Valley, Herbert Crouch, claimed to know the elders. Writing in 1915, Crouch recalled, "I used to let them have all the wood they wanted, down by the river, and when lambing in the canyon [and] I killed a sheep, [I] would give them the offal. I used to tell them they were my *ladrones*, my robbers, but they would say, 'No, Crouch, no. We don't rob you. You are a good man, but you are very stingy.'"[16] Crouch mentioned the famous photograph in his reminiscences, but contrary to the names listed in the *Oceanside Blade* article, Crouch said the women's names, from left to right, were "Tomása, Visalia, and Cerephena."[17] Crouch also noted the three women lived together in a "tule shack" at the San Luis Rey Village and died, one after another, with Tomása passing away last.[18] In Crouch's recollection, "Visalia was a bright old woman and always did the talking."[19]

Censuses of the San Luis Rey Village and San Luis Rey township show elderly women named Tomása, Vaselia, Visalia, Rosaria/Rosario, and Serafina/Serephena. An elderly woman named "Serafina" or "Serephena" Campos was listed on the 1880 federal census of the San Luis Rey township and on the 1886 and 1888 San Luis Rey Village censuses.[20] She was no longer documented on the federal Indian censuses of the 1890s, so she likely passed away in the period between the 1888 and 1893 enumerations. A death record for an elder named Serafina has yet to be located, but it is probable that by 1915 Crouch misremembered the name "Cerephena" as being one of the women associated with "The Belles of San Luis Rey" photograph.[21] Of everyone enumerated on the 1893 federal Indian census of the San Luis Rey Village, the four eldest elders are women named Rosario Ardia, Vaselia Albanes, Visalia Subish, and Tomása Subish.

An eighty-five-year-old "Rosario Ardia" appears on the 1893 federal Indian census of the San Luis Rey Village. According to the *Oceanside Blade*, Rosaria passed away in 1894, a year prior to "The Belles of San Luis Rey" publication. A search of the San Luis Rey Mission Parish records uncovered an 1894 death record for a "Maria Rosario Ardilla" that stated she passed away at the age of eighty-two. Her death record indicates she was the widow of a man named José Gonzales, suggesting the name Ardilla is her clan name. Luiseño people often Hispanicized their clan names, so someone of the Qéengish (or ground squirrel) clan might change their name to Ardilla, which means squirrel in Spanish. In the San Luis Rey Mission *padrones* (census records), "José Pavihunga" and "Maria del Rosario Kenguis" are parents to a newborn boy, José, who was baptized at the mission on April 13, 1833.[22] "José Pavihunga" is also documented in the San Luis Rey Mission *padrones* as "José Paviuna," who originated from the largest village in all Luiseño territory, Tóopomay.[23] The *Oceanside Blade* article noted that Rosaria came from "the Santa Margarita," referring to an area just north of the San Luis Rey Valley where several Luiseño settlements, including Tóopomay, were located along the watersheds in the Santa Margarita and Las Pulgas canyons.[24] Since Luiseño women often relocated to their partner's village post-marriage, Rosaria was likely living with her husband, José, in that region before she relocated to the San Luis Rey Village sometime prior to 1880, perhaps after his death.

On the 1880 San Luis Rey township census, Rosaria is listed with a son, Francisco, a daughter, Juliana, and two granddaughters, eleven-year-old Refugia and five-year-old Anastacia. For occupations, Rosaria was a laundress, Francisco was a sheepherder, and

Juliana was a basket-maker.[25] The 1888 federal Indian census of the San Luis Rey Village enumerated Rosaria above Juliana and her children, a one-year-old, José, and Anastacia. Rosaria's son "Francisco Pavian" was married to a woman named "Joakena" and had several children.[26] A gap in federal Indian census enumerations occurred between 1888 and 1893. By 1893, Francisco had Hispanicized his name to Gonzales and his family unit is listed first for the village. Juliana and her son, José, are also present on the 1893 enumeration, one space below "Rosario Ardia." After Rosaria's death in 1894, Francisco's and Juliana's families continued to be included on the San Luis Rey Village censuses until 1902, when the federal government ceased enumerating the tribe because it did not have a reservation.[27] Further research is needed to determine whether any of Rosaria's descendants are living today, but her family's presence into the twentieth century underscores that she was not alone.

Federal Indian censuses indicate there were two elders at the San Luis Rey Village who could be the Vaselia in "The Belles" image. "Vaselia Albanes" and "Visalia Subish" are both documented in their upper nineties, likely exaggerations of their ages, on federal Indian censuses. Vaselia Albanes and her husband, Marceliano Tule, had a daughter named Julia Tule and five grandchildren: Juan, Maria Bonita, Genobia, Marta, and Teofilio. The 1880 census of the township stated both Vaselia and her daughter, Julia, were basket makers.[28] Their family unit appears again on both the 1886 and 1888 federal Indian censuses. By the enumerations of the 1890s, Vaselia, Julia, and Tiofilio continued to be documented on the federal Indian censuses for the San Luis Rey Village. Vaselia Albanes' grandson Juan Tule moved to the Soboba Indian Reservation in 1912 after the eviction of the San Luis Rey Village, eventually becoming involved in the Mission Indian Federation, an organization of Southern California Indians who fought for tribal self-determination, free of federal oversight.[29]

Other than her enumerations on federal Indian censuses of the San Luis Rey Village, further information about Visalia Subish's life cannot be made with certainty. She held the Subish clan name, which is associated with Tóopomay, the same village from which Rosaria's husband, José, originated. Further research is needed, however, to uncover more about her life and kinship networks. On June 4, 1898, the *Oceanside Blade* published an obituary for "an aged Indian woman named Verrellia" who lived in San Luis Rey and claimed to be more than 100 years of age.[30] That same year, the San Luis Rey parish register documented the death of an approximately ninety-year-old Indian woman named "Basilia."[31] Although multiple Vaselias lived at the San Luis Rey Village, it remains unclear which one was pictured in the "The Belles of San Luis Rey" photograph. Other images captured the same day as "The Belles of San Luis Rey" depict four elderly women instead of three (see fig. 3). Perhaps the fourth woman is also named Vaselia. As with Rosaria's family, it is unclear if Vaselia Albanes or Visalia Subish have any living descendants today, but the process of recovering their family histories adds critical dimension to understanding the people of the San Luis Rey Village.

In 1893, "Tomása Subish" was enumerated on the federal Indian census for the San Luis Rey Village.[32] Previously conducted ethnohistoric research on Tomása's parents is approximate, but tentatively found her father to be from the Subish clan and

Fig. 3. *This is another photograph taken by Charles C. Pierce on what appears to be the same day as the famous image of "The Belles of San Luis Rey." The photograph includes Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia as well as an additional elderly Indian woman sitting down between them. The photograph's description states the San Luis Rey Mission church was restored to celebrate the holy sacrifice, May 12, 1893. Charles C. Pierce,* Portrait of Indians at the Rededication of the Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, ca. 1892, *Title Insurance and Trust and C. C. Pierce Photography Collection, 1860–1960, University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society.*

her mother from the Qéengish clan.[33] Tomása may have had several children, but only one daughter is known for certain. Tomása's daughter, Josefa Gonzales, had fourteen children with a man named José Silvas. Josefa, José, and thirteen of their children died of smallpox, leaving an approximately two-year-old daughter, Maria de Jesus Silvas, behind as the only survivor. Tomása raised her granddaughter Maria de Jesus between the San Luis Rey Village and Rancho Guajome, where she was born. Just like her mother and grandmother, Maria de Jesus worked at Rancho Guajome as a cook and laundress. She took linens from Rancho Guajome back to her own home and washed them near a stream using coyote gourds as a natural bleach.

Maria de Jesus is listed two spaces below her grandmother, Tomása, on federal Indian censuses of the San Luis Rey Village. Vaselia Albanes and her daughter, Julia Tule, are listed in between Tomása and Maria de Jesus, indicating they may have been related or shared the same dwelling.[34] Maria de Jesus' godmother was a woman named "Julia" and is likely the same Julia Tule listed above her on federal Indian censuses.[35] Maria de Jesus Silvas had a total of eight children, five of them with her husband Miguel Salgado, a Luiseño man who also lived at the San Luis Rey Village. Tomása passed away on June 10, 1899, and is buried in the San Luis Rey Mission cemetery.[36] Through her granddaughter Maria de Jesus Silvas, Tomása's descendants are today members of the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians. Maria de Jesus

Silvas' union with Miguel Salgado created one of the four major family clan groups represented in the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians' contemporary tribal citizenship. Tomása's great-great-granddaughter currently serves on the San Luis Rey Band's tribal council and her great-great-great grandson was a councilmember for many years as well. Tomása's fourth and fifth great-grandchildren are members of the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians' tribal community who carry on the stories of their Luiseño ancestors.

Conclusion

"The Belles of San Luis Rey" image and the narrative about their lives in the *Oceanside Blade* celebrated settler society and deflected the violence that so greatly changed and forever altered these Luiseño women's lives. "The Belles of San Luis Rey" photograph illustrates the gendered dimensions of settler colonial violence and erasure in its depiction of the women as "ancient" Indians who outlived their families. Figured this way, their disappearance is naturalized and necessary for the progress of settler society. "The Belles of San Luis Rey" image is part of a larger phenomenon, a "centenarian fantasy," based in narratives of extinction that cannot be separated from the broader context of genocide against California Indians.[37] Historians Boyd Cothran and Martin Rizzo investigated the centenarian obsession in California and found that promoters in the late nineteenth century helped spread the centenarian fantasy. Connecting aged Indians such as Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia to the romanticized Spanish fantasy past by photographing them next to mission arches "invites viewers to revel in their own modernity and assures them that these ruins were not the product of conquest or neglect, but the result of time and natural causes."[38] Even as the "centenarian fantasy" is linked to extinction discourse, it is also a paradox because it exemplifies survival.

Rosaria, Tomása, Vaselia, and their tribal community survived settler colonial violence. Instead of taking the "Three Belles" narrative at face value, a Luiseño-centered look at the women's lives reveal how "unexpected stories of survival remain hidden in plain sight."[39] These elders were not the last of their race; they were matriarchs who provided stability to their families as colonization transformed their world. Rosaria, Tomása, and Vaselia witnessed countless loved ones and family members pass away, they saw their homelands change and become populated with non-Natives, they observed and may have experienced acts of violence or hostility, they saw the United States refuse to ratify treaties with California tribes, and they felt anger and despair when the San Luis Rey Village was legally taken away from them. They truly experienced "the end of the world."[40] Telling Rosaria's, Tomása's, and Vaselia's stories, those passed down over generations and others reconstructed, gives voice to the often-neglected Luiseño Indians of the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians. Like Deborah Miranda, when I write about these women, "I feel voices present that the world hasn't heard for a long, long time."[41]

Notes

1. Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2013), 17.
2. "The Belles of San Luis Rey," *Oceanside Blade*, December 14, 1895, 1.
3. Ibid.
4. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, 43.
5. Ibid., 47.
6. Ibid., 48.
7. Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 35–47.
8. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, 49.
9. "The Belles of San Luis Rey," 1.
10. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, 50.
11. For an in-depth discussion of the San Luis Rey Village's dispossession, see Olivia Chilcote, "The Process and the People: Federal Recognition in California, Native Identity, and the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians," PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2017; and Olivia Chilcote, "'Time out of Mind': The San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians and the Historical Origins of a Struggle for Federal Recognition," *California History* 96, no. 4 (2019): 38–53.
12. Census of the San Luis Rey Indians, 1893, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, Indian Census Rolls, 1885–1940, Microfilm 595, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
13. *62nd Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1893), 127, https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/JFODOEEP2LJLL9C.
14. Ibid.
15. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, 50.
16. Herbert Crouch, *Herbert Crouch: Reminiscences and Biographical Notes*, 1915, 8, TMS CROH, San Diego History Center.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. US Census Bureau, United States Federal Census of the San Luis Rey Township in San Diego County, 1880, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, Microfilm T9, Roll 72, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
21. Serafina Campos was likely friends with or an acquaintance of Tomása, Vaselia, and Rosaria as elderly women of the area. Crouch may have confused their names when writing his reminiscences based on his familiarity with several Indians of the San Luis Rey Village.
22. Mission San Luis Rey, *Padrones*, 2 vols., 1811–44. Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. In this entry, José Pavihunga and Maria del Rosario Kenguis are only listed by name and do not have associated baptism numbers or village origin.
23. John Johnson's research into the *padrones* proposed that "José Pavihunga" is the same person as "José Paviuna" (SLR baptism #2527) who originated from Tóopomay. My research substantiates Johnson's proposal, particularly through the shift in name from "Paviuna" to "Gonzales," as evidenced by Rosario's death record and her son Francisco's surname change between the 1888 and 1893 federal Indian census enumerations. Rosaria's son Francisco Gonzales might be the same Francisco Gonzales who provided J. P. Harrington with information about the Las Pulgas Canyon region in the 1920s.

24. John R. Johnson and Stephen O'Neil, *Descendants of Native Communities in the Vicinity of Marine Corps Base Camp Pendleton: An Ethnohistoric Study of Luiseño and Juaneño Cultural Affiliation*, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History (Santa Barbara, California, 2001), 19–26.

25. Bureau, United States Federal Census of the San Luis Rey Township in San Diego County: 5.

26. Francisco Gonzales' wife Joaquina Moquaquish (Cabrillas) was previously married to Edward Garcia; they had one child, Gregoria Tranquilina. After her union and children with Francisco, Joaquina married Cosme Salgado, with whom she had Pedro "Pete" Salgado and Aurelia Salgado Chawa. She then married Manual Largo, a Cahuilla Indian possibly related to the noted Cahuilla captain of the same name.

27. While they offer great insight into the San Luis Rey Village community, federal Indian censuses are not without issue. As with all census records, variations in age, spelling, and sometimes sex occur. More of a problem: the San Luis Rey Village censuses reveal that federal Indian agents neglected to accurately enumerate the tribe. For example, Maria Rosario Ardilla's death record states she died in May of 1894, yet she continues to be counted on the San Luis Rey Village censuses from 1894 (taken in August) to 1901.

28. Bureau, United States Federal Census of the San Luis Rey Township in San Diego County: 2.

29. For an in-depth discussion of the San Luis Rey Band's involvement with the Mission Indian Federation, see Olivia Chilcote, *Unrecognized in California: Federal Acknowledgment and the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2024).

30. "San Luis Rey Reports," *Oceanside Blade*, June 4, 1898, 6.

31. Mission San Luis Rey, "San Luis Rey Parish Records," (Family Search, 1869–1970), 8, image 859 of 1165. https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/722475?availability=Family%20History%20Library.

32. Census of the San Luis Rey Indians: 2. Other than sharing the same "Subish" clan name, a relationship between Tomása and Visalia Subish is unknown at this time.

33. Johnson and O'Neil, *Descendants of Native Communities in the Vicinity of Marine Corps Base Camp Pendleton*, 75–78.

34. Ibid., 78.

35. Rey, "San Luis Rey Parish Records," 31, image 42 of 1165.

36. Rey, "San Luis Rey Parish Records," 9, image 859 of 1165. Tomása's descendants state that she is buried in the San Luis Rey Mission cemetery, but they do not know which grave because she has no headstone.

37. For a detailed discussion of the link between Indigenous extinction narratives and centenarians, see Boyd Cothran and Martin Rizzo, "The Many Lives of Justiniano Roxas: The Centenarian Fantasy in American History and Memory," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 5, no. 1 (2018).

38. Cothran and Rizzo, "The Many Lives of Justiniano Roxas: The Centenarian Fantasy in American History and Memory," 189.

39. Cothran and Rizzo, "The Many Lives of Justiniano Roxas: The Centenarian Fantasy in American History and Memory," 169.

40. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, 1.

41. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, 17.