



Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire

ABSTRACT The archaeology of empire is permeated by sexual narratives. This has been especially true of archaeological research on the Spanish Americas, where the material remains of colonial settlements have often been interpreted as products of a literal and figurative marriage between two cultures. However, investigating colonization as a consensual domestic arrangement has masked the ways in which imperial projects relied on the exercise of power, including sexual regulations and sexual coercion. Recent archaeological and ethnohistoric research at the Spanish-colonial military settlement of El Presidio de San Francisco affords a different perspective, one in which the public and institutional exercise of sexual control was central to the imperial project. [Keywords: archaeology, imperialism, sexuality, North America, Spanish-colonial]

ARCHAEOLOGISTS studying empire have long considered sexual relationships, especially heterosexual marriage, to be central to colonization. In particular, the archaeology of households formed through intermarriage has garnered considerable insights into the routines of daily life under imperialism. However, the household focus has at times “domesticated” imperialism by locating the processes and outcomes of colonization within interpersonal family relationships. Many archaeological studies have not fully addressed the relationship between colonial households and the sexual politics of colonial institutions. Research at the Spanish-colonial military settlement of El Presidio de San Francisco demonstrates that public sexual politics were integral to the imperial project and need to be considered in the archaeological interpretation of colonial sites.

THE HOUSEHOLD IN ARCHAEOLOGIES OF EMPIRE

By excavating and analyzing the physical remains of household architecture, foodways, craft production, and material culture, archaeology has contributed a microscale focus on household life to the anthropology of empire. In the Spanish-colonial Americas, the archaeology of households has especially been used to investigate the ways that indigenous women responded to and influenced the outcomes of imperial projects. James Deetz’s (1963) investigations of households at Mission La Purísima in Alta California concluded that indigenous women’s activities showed continuity whereas indigenous men’s roles changed dramatically as

a result of their incorporation into colonial agriculture and craft production. Similarly, in the North American Southeast, Charles Fairbanks (1962) and Carol Mason (1963) interpreted continuity in indigenous ceramic traditions as evidence that Native American women “served as the thread of continuity from generation to generation and certainly were a powerful force for cultural conservatism” (Mason 1963:73). These early studies challenged conventional histories that either ignored indigenous women or portrayed them as passive victims of colonization.

In the 1970s, Kathleen Deagan’s (1974, 1983) landmark research in the colonial town of St. Augustine in La Florida investigated the formation of “creole” colonial cultural patterns in the Spanish Americas. Deagan postulated that in colonial households,

low-visibility, female-associated activities such as diet, food preparation, and other kitchen activities would be expected to exhibit the strongest Indian characteristics, whereas such male-associated socially visible areas such as house construction, weaponry, and other military activities would be expected to exhibit the least Indian influences. [Deagan 1983:103]

This hypothesis was tested through excavation and analysis of five 18th-century households that represented a range of occupations and ethnicities. Deagan found that “regardless of the income or ethnic affiliation of a site’s inhabitants, aboriginal influence is most strongly evident in the Kitchen (women’s activity) group” (Deagan 1983:122). The one mestizo household in the sample, formed through

the marriage of a colonial soldier with a local Guale woman, yielded a higher frequency of aboriginal ceramic wares and a wider range of local floral and faunal remains. This suggested that “an extremely potent force in acculturation and adaptive processes was Spanish-Indian intermarriage and *mestizaje*” (Deagan 1983:271), the latter term referring to racial and cultural mixing.

The findings of the St. Augustine investigations inspired new research on gender and domestic life in Spanish colonization of the circum-Caribbean. In Santa Elena, South Carolina, Stanley South (1988) postulated that locally made Indian pottery was an archaeological indication of households formed between Spanish men and indigenous women. Research at Puerto Real, Hispaniola, similarly documented the widespread presence of aboriginal vessels in colonial households (Deagan 1995; Ewen 1991). Bonnie McEwan concluded that “the most dramatic changes in material life at Puerto Real appear to have been in areas related to female activities. The scarcity of Spanish women in the colony resulted in the integration of Indian women into Spanish colonial households in a variety of legal and consensual capacities as was the case throughout the New World” (McEwan 1995:223).

Archaeologists studying households in other regions of the Spanish Americas have advanced different perspectives on the role of domestic life in the colonial encounter. Nan Rothschild’s (2003) study of Spanish-colonial New Mexico reframes colonial-indigenous intermarriage as only one of several ways that colonists acquired Native American women’s labor and services, including sexual services. Ross Jamieson’s (2000) research on colonial households in Cuenca, Ecuador, demonstrated women’s involvement in agriculture, business, and property ownership as well as domestic activities such as food preparation. Studies of Spanish-colonial households in Louisiana, Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia have shown that indigenous technologies and material culture were also incorporated into public arenas of colonial life such as architecture, dining, dress, and arms and armaments (Charlton et al. 2005; Charlton and Fournier 1993; Loren 1999; Rodríguez-Alegría 2005a, 2005b; Smith 1997a, 1997b; Van Buren 1999). Investigations at El Presidio de San Francisco in Alta California have found that colonial households there did not incorporate Native Californian material culture or dietary resources into their domestic routines, instead maintaining firm distinctions from local indigenous populations (Voss 2005, 2008).

Although in this article, I focus on the Spanish Americas, the centrality of domestic life and indigenous women to colonization has also been investigated by archaeologists studying French, British, Russian, and Dutch imperial projects throughout the Americas (e.g., Frink 2007; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Martinez 1994; Scott 1991; Spector 1993; Wagner 1998). Additionally, colonial-indigenous intermarriage and domestic practices are now commonly identified as central factors considered in comparative studies of empire (e.g., Lightfoot 2005; Rothschild 2003).

INTERMARRIAGE AND CULTURAL BROKERS

Half a century of archaeological research has shown that imperial projects relied on, and were transformed by, intimate and routine domestic practices. Two trends in this research warrant closer examination: (1) an emphasis on colonial-indigenous intermarriage and (2) the depiction of Native American women as cultural brokers.

Heterosexual marriage between colonial men and indigenous women has long been used by archaeologists as a literal and figurative explanation of the processes and outcomes of Spanish colonization. This is especially true in the circum-Caribbean region, where researchers have argued that the formation of a creole colonial culture was “achieved largely through intermarriage”: “Through these unions, non-European and syncretic European American traits were incorporated into Spanish households on a regular basis” (Deagan 2002:34). This focus on intermarriage is puzzling because archival studies, often conducted by the same researchers, indicate that intermarriage only accounted for a low frequency of colonial households (generally two to ten percent, and rarely as great as 23 percent; Voss in press). Instead, concubinage, slavery, and servitude were likely to have been the most common means through which colonists incorporated Native Americans and Africans of both genders into their households.

In recent years several archaeological studies have concluded that Native American women played active roles as cultural brokers in colonial households (e.g., Deagan 2003; McEwan 1991; Troccoli 1992). The term *cultural broker* is an anthropological concept developed to describe individuals or groups who mediate seemingly irreconcilable tensions: between the state and the community; between tradition and modernity; and across religious, class, ethnic, or racial differences (Press 1969; Szasz 1994; Wolf 1956). Anthropological models suggest that cultural brokers gain power by facilitating financial and legal transactions; yet their roles as cultural innovators place them in marginal social positions because, “Janus-like, they face in two directions at once” (Wolf 1956:1076) and thus cannot be fully trusted by either community. In archaeological studies of colonization, portraying Native American wives and servants of colonial men as cultural brokers has been a way to consider the social agency of such women. These studies have emphasized that colonial lifeways were transformed by local material culture and foodstuffs that Native American women introduced into colonial homes: “Given their active participation in Spanish homes, non-Hispanic women served as the primary agents of acculturation and were mostly responsible for many of the changes identified in Spanish colonial culture” (McEwan 1991:40). That is, “whether as wives, concubines, or servants, [non-European] women were the brokers for European, Indian, and African exchanges within Spanish-American households and communities” (Deagan 2003:8).

Such interpretations seek to foreground the cultural influence and historical contributions of indigenous women

who have often been portrayed as passive victims of colonization. However, the archaeological focus on intermarriage, and more recently, on cultural brokers, has served to domesticate imperialism by locating the processes and outcomes of colonization within households and interpersonal relationships. Such studies rarely discuss the effects of colonial institutions and labor regimes on colonized peoples or the fact that under colonial rule Native American women were at times coerced into concubinage, servitude, and marriage. As Rothschild (2003:31) notes, a “strong physical cruelty” often existed within the seeming intimacy of Spanish-colonial interethnic households.

Archaeological interpretations of colonization that emphasize intermarriage and cultural brokers also hazard replicating certain stereotypes of indigenous women. From Malintzin (La Malinche) to Matoaka (Pocahontas), one persistent cultural trope depicts sexually available indigenous women who assist colonial men in the domination of their own people. As postcolonial feminist scholars (e.g., Mohanty 1997; Powers 2002) have demonstrated, this sexualized trope of colonial domination continues to be reproduced in academic research and popular culture in the present day.

These imperial visions of colonial seduction also existed in the imaginations of colonial explorers. In the Spanish Americas, one prominent theme was the myth of Amazonia, a land of strong, usually dark-skinned, women warriors who hoarded great riches. On his first trip across the Atlantic Ocean, Christopher Columbus wrote in his journal that an Amazon island was located just east of Jamaica. Throughout Spain’s subsequent explorations of the Americas, it was often rumored that Amazonia lay undiscovered just beyond the reaches of charted lands. For example, after the conquest of the Aztec Empire, Hernán Cortés requested funds to search for an island of Amazons in the Pacific Ocean to the west of present-day mainland Mexico. When Cortés’s ships made landfall, the exploring party named the land “California” after Queen Calafia, a character in a chivalrous novel, *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (lit., *The Exploits of Esplandián*; Montalvo 2001). The novel, first printed in Spain in 1510, was widely distributed in the Spanish Americas in the 1520s. The book describes an island of fierce but attractive black women who force men to mate with them and then kill them. The novel’s hero, Esplandián, seduces and weds their ruler, Queen Calafia, and persuades her to be baptized. Calafia then renounces her pagan ways and relinquishes dominion of the island and its wealth to her new husband, who converts the rest of the Amazons and marries them to the men under his command. Through the sexual conquest of Calafia, Esplandián restores Catholic racial and gendered hierarchies to the conquered island (Bouvier 2001:6–12; Engstrand 1998; Hurtado 1999:xxvi; Polk 1991).

These lascivious tales were far from trivial. Colonial assumptions about indigenous sexuality were incorporated into the policies and practices of colonial institutions. In focusing on the domestic activities of indigenous women

married or cohabitating with colonial men, archaeological research has unwittingly perpetuated these imperialist visions. Archaeologists have tended to frame domestic labor within consensual relationships such as marriage without full consideration of servitude and slavery as instrumental mechanisms used to appropriate and control the labor (incl. sexual and reproductive labor) of indigenous women. Additionally, despite the known range of genders and sexualities present in both Iberian and Native American cultures (Blackmore and Hutcheson 1999; Roscoe 1998), most studies presume that sexual relations and sexual identities were heterosexual. Finally, as in the late medieval tales of the Amazons, indigenous men are curiously absent from most archaeological accounts of the domestic politics of imperialism.

SEXUALITY BEYOND THE HOUSEHOLD

The challenge facing archaeological studies of empire is to integrate research on households with investigations of colonial institutions and labor regimes. The case of intermarriage provides an excellent example: Spanish-colonial institutions and resources were mobilized to shape the composition of colonial households to fit the goals of colonial administrators. Intermarriage was initially promoted as a vehicle for cultural understanding. In 1503, Queen Isabela instructed the governor of Santo Domingo that “some Christians marry some Indian women and some Christian women marry some Indian men, so that both parties can communicate and teach each other” (Mörner 1967:26). Additionally, some high-ranking colonists were encouraged to marry into elite indigenous families to foster political and economic alliances. However, it was not until 1514 that a royal decree established the legality of marriages between colonists and Native Americans (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:221). That same year, the crown ordered that more Spanish women be transported to the American colonies to reduce the number of marriages between Spaniards and Native Americans (Mörner 1967:26–27).

In the 1620s, Spain adopted the Policy of Domestic Unity, which discouraged interracial marriages by providing funds to transport Spanish wives to American settlements and by offering incentives for single colonial men to marry Spanish women. In 1776, the Crown issued the Royal Pragmatic on Marriage, which prohibited “unequal” unions in the colonies (Castañeda 1993a). The effectiveness of these policies varied, but colonial endogamy was prevalent in most settlements. In cases when the colonial population had a highly skewed sex ratio, many male colonists elected to remain single rather than marry indigenous women (Voss in press).

Understanding the relationships between colonial policy, on one hand, and household composition, on the other hand, explodes the binary between “private” and “public” realms of colonial life. As Ann Stoler writes of European colonization more broadly, “Who bedded and

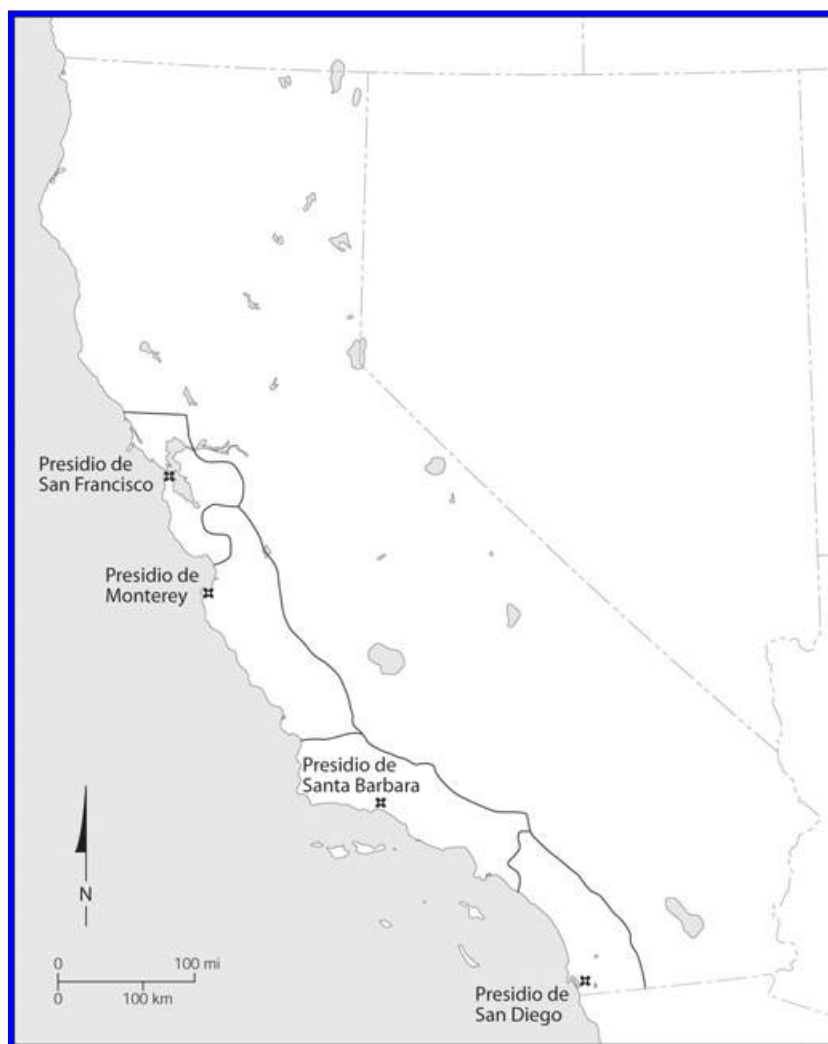


FIGURE 1. Alta California presidio districts (adapted from Costello and Hornbeck 1989:311).

wedded whom in the colonies of France, England, Holland, and Iberia was never left to chance" (2002:47). Throughout European colonial enterprises, ratios of colonial men to colonial women, and the prevalence of intermarriage between indigenous and colonial populations, followed from how colonial administrators felt sexuality should be managed and how racial categories were perceived. Household assemblages in the Spanish Americas must be interpreted by archaeologists as artifacts of imperial policy as well as the products of interpersonal relationships.

CASE STUDY: EL PRESIDIO DE SAN FRANCISCO

The province of Alta California was established in 1769 as part of Spain's final northwest expansion of its North American empire. Alta California was divided into four districts (see Figure 1), each headed by a *presidio*, or military outpost. El Presidio de San Francisco, founded in 1776 to guard the mouth of the San Francisco Bay, was the northernmost of these. The settlement served as the military, administrative,

and economic headquarters of the district, and it supervised the establishment of six missions and two pueblos in the region (see Figure 2).

The archaeological site of El Presidio de San Francisco was first discovered in 1993 (Voss and Benté 1996) and has been under continuous investigation ever since. Research has included studies of the settlement's architectural history along with excavation of residential quarters, associated domestic midden deposits, and neighborhoods that formed outside the formal military settlement (Blind et al. 2004; Blind and Bartoy 2006; Simpson-Smith and Edwards 2000; Voss 2002, 2008). Historic and ethnohistoric research provides specific information about the military colonial community as well as a broader regional context for site interpretation (e.g., Langellier and Rosen 1996; Milliken et al. 2005). Together these studies have garnered new perspectives on the sexual politics of San Francisco's colonization, including recruitment policies, ethnosexual conflict, architecture of sexual control, sexualization of military conflict, gendered labor regimes, and colonial ethnogenesis.

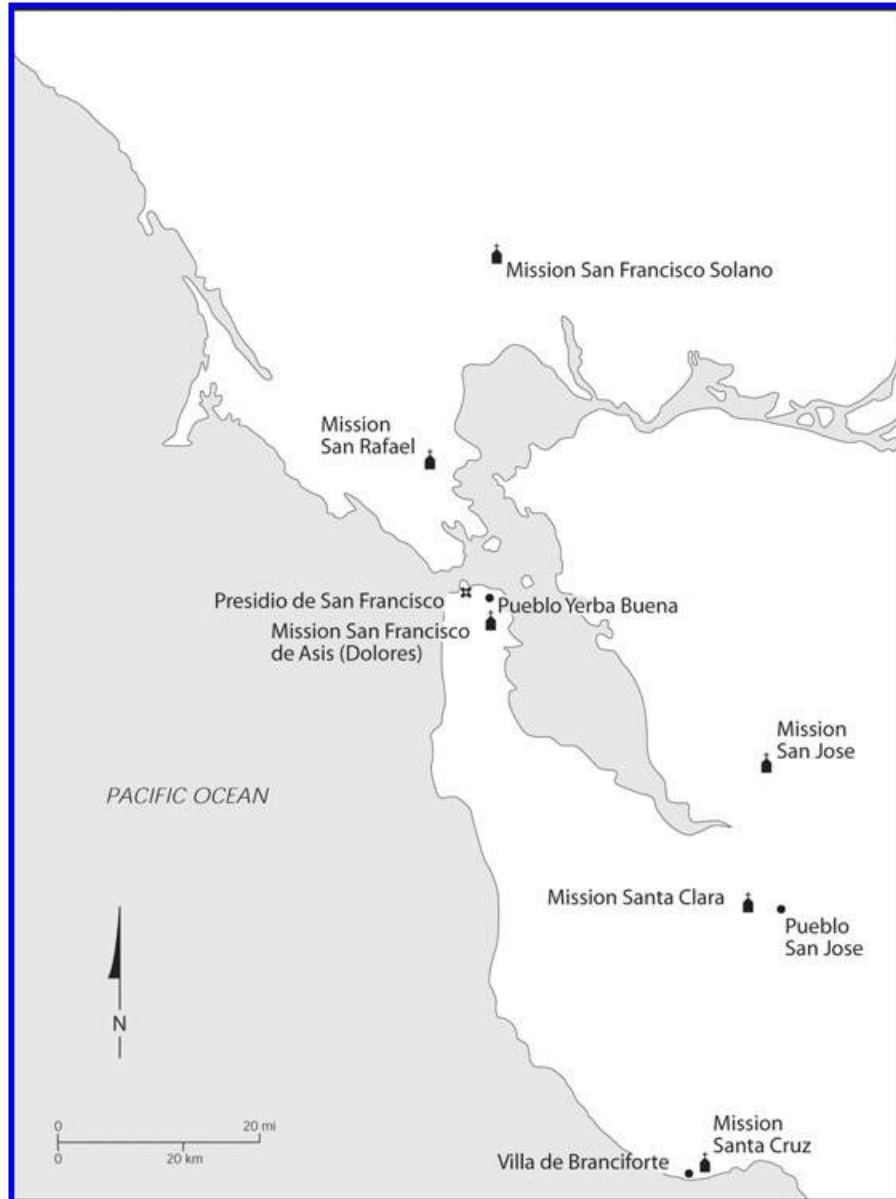


FIGURE 2. Spanish-colonial settlements in the San Francisco Bay region.

Recruitment Practices

El Presidio de San Francisco was established by an expedition of 193 military settlers led by Juan Bautista de Anza, a prominent colonial military officer in northwest New Spain. Most of the settlers joined the frontier army during a special recruitment drive in the impoverished and war-torn provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, today the region covering much of northwest Mexico. Promises of a steady income and opportunities for land ownership enticed the new recruits to leave their homelands for the most remote frontier of the Spanish-colonial empire.

Anza recruited not individual soldiers but entire families with demonstrated reproductive capabilities. He projected that each soldier and wife would bring six children with them to the new settlement (Chapman 1916). The ac-

tual figure was closer to four children per couple: 120 of the 193 settlers were dependent children (Langellier and Rosen 1996:191–193). The gendered and sexual composition of the new colonial settlement was thus set by state policy, and transgendered people, nonheterosexuals, and even unmarried heterosexuals were largely excluded from the colonial venture. As the settlement matured, the colonial community was almost entirely endogamous. This was not simply a matter of personal choice: under frontier military regulations, marriages had to be approved by the presidio's commanding officer, who was charged with enforcing the Royal Pragmatic on Marriage. During 1776–1834, only six marriages between colonists and Native Californians were recorded in San Francisco. Most of these were among older widows and widowers whose first marriages had been within their community of origin (Milliken et al.

2005:128–129). The institutional character of Spanish colonial settlements such as El Presidio de San Francisco was such that colonists were under greater surveillance in sexual and gender matters on the frontier than they had been in the civilian towns from which they were recruited.

Ethnosexual Conflict

From the expedition's first entry into the San Francisco Bay region, colonization was marked by ethnosexual conflict. This term, adapted from Joane Nagel (2003), is used here to refer to the clash between incompatible cultural beliefs and practices related to sexuality. Although colonization is generally understood as a conflict between different nations, ethnicities, races, or cultures, it is also a conflict between gendered and sexual systems (McClintock 1995; Stoler 2002).

San Francisco's military settlers and missionaries found Native Californians' appearance unsettling because most indigenous dress displayed, rather than concealed, the body's surface (Bouvier 2001:71–72; Hurtado 1999:10–12). The colonists were also simultaneously fascinated and repulsed by some indigenous gender identities and sexual practices. Native Californian cultures did not resemble the patriarchal society proscribed by Spanish religious and legal traditions. For example, both women and men held public and religious leadership positions. To the colonists, indigenous men appeared strangely feminine in their dress and occupations. Further, indigenous sexual relations included not only monogamous heterosexual marriage but also polygamy, premarital sex, same-sex sexuality, and transgendered practices; however, sexual modesty and restraint was valued and adultery was often severely punished (Levy 1978; Margolin 1978; Milliken 1995). The perceived sexual savagery of the regions' inhabitants provided religious justification for initiating the colonial policy of *reducción*, through which Native Americans were removed from their home villages and aggregated at missions to be converted to Christianity and taught farming and other "civilized" occupations.

The first armed conflict between colonists and local indigenous people in San Francisco was in part spurred by cross-cultural sexual contact. El Presidio de San Francisco and its companion mission, San Francisco de Asís, were established within the territory of the Yelamu Ohlone. The Yelamu initially fled the area but began to slowly return in the fall to hunt waterfowl and trade with the colonists. In early December, the colonists began to experience these visits as threats. Father Palóu, head priest of the mission, wrote in his diary that the Yelamu men "began to disgrace themselves, now by thefts, now by firing an arrow close to the corporal of the guard, and again by trying to kiss the wife of a soldier" (Palóu 1926:136). In response, Sergeant Grijalva, the second highest-ranking officer at El Presidio de San Francisco, had a Yelamu man arrested and flogged. When the man's companions tried to rescue him, Grijalva's soldiers fired gunshots to frighten them off. The following

day, Grijalva returned to the Yelamu campsite with additional soldiers, killing one Yelamu man, severely wounding another, and capturing and flogging two more (Palóu 1926:135–138).

This battle foreshadowed other campaigns to enforce colonial sexual and gender norms on colonized Native Californians. Like many Native American cultures, the Native Californian communities of the San Francisco Bay area recognized third and fourth genders that today are often called "two-spirits." Two-spirits were distinguished from other men and women by wearing clothing and doing work associated with the gender different from their physical sex. Marriage to, and sexual activity with, nontransgendered men and women was an integral part of two-spirit identity. Additionally, two-spirits in some California tribes had special responsibilities as healers, shamans, and undertakers (Hollimon 1997; Katz 1976; Kroeber 1925; Williams 1986).

Spanish-colonial religious doctrine, military regulations, and civilian laws only recognized two genders and condemned the two-spirits (whom the colonists called *joyas* and *amazonas*) as sodomites. In 1775, Alta California Governor Pedro Fages observed that there were two to three *joyas* in each village, and that all Indians were consequently addicted to "this abominable vice" (Williams 1986:87). Missionary Pedro Font wrote that the missions needed to eliminate these "sodomites [who are] dedicated to nefarious practices" (Font 1930:103). From that point forward, the colonists conducted a concerted campaign to eliminate two-spirits and same-sex sexual practices. By the 1820s, the missionaries reported that the once-numerous two-spirits were no longer present in missionized tribes, and as a result "this horrible custom is entirely unknown among them" (Williams 1986:139).

This violent suppression of two-spirits and same-sex sexuality was only part of the program of sexual control implemented by missionaries and military officials. With military support, missionaries also targeted premarital and extramarital sex, polygamy, and the use of birth control. As much as 25 percent of the annual mission budget for the Californias was used to purchase clothes to cover the Native California's "indecent" (Jackson 1999). Colonial policies about sexuality influenced the architecture of colonial settlements and the contents of supply shipments sent to the frontier from central New Spain. The archaeological record of Spanish colonial settlements was thus formed in part through the ongoing dynamics of ethnosexual conflict.

Architecture of Sexual Control

The stark differences between colonial and indigenous sexual ideologies meant that sexuality was a flashpoint of conflict throughout the colonization of Alta California. In San Francisco's missions, *monjeríos* (women's barracks) housed all unmarried Native Californian women and girls from late childhood until marriage. The *monjeríos* were particularly designed to prohibit premarital sex; abstinence was enforced by the priests with the aid of a matron.



FIGURE 3. *Modo de Pelear de los Indios de Californias (The Californian Indian Way of Fighting)*, by José Cardero, 1791 (courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; original at Museo Naval, Madrid).

Although the missionaries themselves considered the monjeríos to be benign institutions that protected indigenous women from lustful desires (Engelhart 1908–15:558), others were more critical. Foreign visitors (e.g., Kotzebue 1830) often described the monjeríos as unsanitary and crowded prisons that contributed to the spread of disease, a claim that has been substantiated by historical demographic studies (Bouvier 2001; Cook 1943; Jackson and Castillo 1995). Additionally, the monjeríos also increased indigenous women's vulnerability to sexual assault by priests and mission employees (Voss 2000).

Sexualization of Military Conflict

The monjeríos were only one element of the colonial landscape shaped by ethnosexual conflicts. Military conflict, in particular, was highly gendered and sexualized. Only men could enlist in the colonial military, a fact that was so widely accepted it was never codified into law. As a result, combat zones were highly masculinized regions of social life. Soldiers from the San Francisco presidio routinely attacked unmissionized Native Californians in their home villages in the coastal mountain ranges and the Central Valley. This created a region of colonial encounters in which colonial women were largely absent. Not coincidentally, military conflict within these inland zones was also sexualized (see Figure 3). Rape functioned as an unofficial but widely deployed military tactic, creating “a disturbing pattern of wholesale sexual assault” against Native Californians (Castillo 1994:283; see also Bouvier 2001; Castañeda 1993b; Cook 1943; Jackson and Castillo 1995; Monroy 1990). Junípero Serra, the founding administrator-priest of the Alta California missions, described such campaigns:

In the morning, six or more soldiers would set out together ... on horseback, and go to the distant *rancherías* [Indian villages] ... the soldiers, clever as they are with their lassoing cows and mules, would catch Indian women with their lassos to become prey for their unbridled lust. At times some Indian men would try to defend their wives, only to be shot down by bullets. [Jackson and Castillo 1995:75]

One Native Californian response to sexualized military violence was the spatial reorganization of village plans. Pre-colonial Native Californian villages in the San Francisco Bay area and in the Central Valley generally followed local topography and were loosely strung along a creek bank or the bay shore. Archaeological research indicates that work areas for food processing, basket making, hide preparation, and other tasks usually performed by women were located on the periphery of these settlements. For example, Barbara Bocek's analyses of artifact distributions from village sites in the midpeninsula region revealed a central core that contained dwellings and food preparation areas. Tasks requiring flaked or groundstone tools, such as hide processing and acorn and seed processing, were performed in a peripheral zone to the east and south of this central region (Bocek 1991). Similarly, Thomas Jackson has found that bedrock mortar features, used for grinding seeds and acorns, were often located circa 50 meters away from housing areas in late prehistoric villages. Jackson suggests that grinding areas might have represented a “discrete women's space” separate from the mixed-gender main village area (Jackson 1991:315).

During the Spanish colonial era, the location of women's work areas on the periphery of indigenous villages left them especially vulnerable to ambush by colonial soldiers. Missionaries such as Pedro Font described Native



FIGURE 4. Detail, View of Presidio of San Francisco. Louis Choris, 1816. This engraving depicts colonial soldiers escorting Native Californian workers outside the presidio's main quadrangle. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

Californian women fleeing from their work areas into their homes to avoid “the various excesses” of colonial soldiers (Castañeda 1993b). There are indications that at least some villages were deliberately reoriented to deter sexual assaults by colonial troops. For example, in 1797 Sergeant Pedro Amador reported that the Saclan village of Jussent had been reorganized into clusters of tightly packed thatch houses, with work areas located in the protected yards of each cluster. Further, new ditches around each housing cluster prevented colonial troops from riding into the village on horseback (Milliken 1995:157).

Military personnel were perceived as a sexual threat to Native Californians even within colonial settlements. Each mission housed four to eight soldiers who were charged with protecting the priests and preventing fugitivism. Initially, these troops were housed in the main quadrangle of each mission, next to Native Californian housing. However, by the 1790s most priests had ordered the construction of separate military housing outside the missions' main quadrangles (Bouvier 2001; Jackson and Castillo 1995). By the 1800s, the soldiers' residences were “always located on the opposite side of the quadrangle from the Indian dwellings” (Costello and Hornbeck 1989:310) to insulate Native Californian converts from the sexual abuses and secular influences of military settlers.

Gendered Labor Regimes

Sexualized warfare in San Francisco produced gendered labor regimes. After a successful battle, colonial soldiers separated their prisoners of war by age and gender, sending women and children to the nearest mission to be converted to Christianity. Native Californian men, however, were escorted to El Presidio de San Francisco, where they were sentenced to convict labor for several months to a few years. Native Californian male laborers at El Presidio de San Francisco worked primarily in construction and agriculture. Although war captives bore the harshest duties, the military command also obtained crews of adult male

laborers from nearby missions and through labor contracts with leaders of unmissionized Native Californian villages. Over time, the number of adult male Native Californians working at El Presidio de San Francisco increased dramatically, from 5–20 workers in the 1780s to 60–70 workers in the 1790s to as many as 100 workers during the 1800–10s (Voss 2008:77–83).

These gendered labor practices severely disrupted Native Californian family life, as men were separated from their wives and children for months and sometimes years at a time. Within the colonial settlement itself, archaeological evidence suggests that Native Californian men did not live in the main quadrangle, where most colonial families resided, but instead were probably housed in work camps north and east of the main quadrangle (Voss 2008:159–163). This spatial segregation may have been intended to minimize interactions between the indigenous workers and the colonial women and children living in the settlement.

At El Presidio de San Francisco, these gendered labor regimes fostered situations in which colonial soldiers performed a form of masculinity derived from the control of other men's labor (see Figure 4). This was particularly the case during the frequent construction projects that aimed to stabilize and expand the settlement's fragile mud-brick architecture. Designed by colonial officers and implemented by rank-and-file soldiers who directed the Native Californian workers, architectural projects were social venues in which power differences between men were materially enacted through chain-of-command decision making and labor disciplines.

To date, there is little historic or archaeological evidence of Native Californian women's labor at El Presidio de San Francisco, suggesting that those who worked there were probably hired privately rather than contracted by the military command. In 1777, José Joaquín Moraga, commander of El Presidio de San Francisco, ordered, “If it is necessary to employ the Indian women to mill grain or do other chores, they are to do it outside the doorway, in plain view, without being permitted to go inside (as has been done

until now), inasmuch as this kind of familiarity leads to grievances against both populations" (Milliken 1995:75–76). This short passage indicates that domestic workers were particularly vulnerable to sexual predation by their employers.

Colonial Ethnogenesis

Ethnogenesis refers to the emergence and articulation of new ethnic identities. The military settlers who founded El Presidio de San Francisco were people of mixed Mexican Indian, African, and, to a much lesser degree, European heritage (Mason 1998). Under Spanish-colonial law, the settlers were classified according to the *sistema de castas*, an elaborate legal code that included as many as 40 different racial classifications. The fine gradations in the *sistema de castas* provided opportunities for individuals to shift their *casta* through court cases, marriages, patronage, migration, changes in personal appearance, and, in many cases, simply by declaration (Cope 1994; Mason 1998; Moorhead 1975; Mörner 1967). Several military settlers at El Presidio de San Francisco actively manipulated the *sistema de castas* to improve their and their families' status (Forbes 1983). But in the early 1800s, the military settlers went a step further by rejecting the *sistema de castas* altogether and claiming a new shared ethnic identity: *Californios*. This new ethnicity simultaneously referenced the region in which the colonial settlers lived and also emphasized Spanish ancestry at the expense of Mexican Indian and African identities.

Californio ethnogenesis was a complex, multistaged process (Voss 2008:113–115). Throughout, the emergence of this new ethnic identity involved transformation of sexual codes and sexual relations. Ethnicity, race, and nationality have "sexual substructures" (Nagel 2000:109) through reference to actual or perceived shared ancestry, heredity, and kinship. In the Spanish-colonial Americas, *casta* designations were used to delineate honorable sexual relationships from dishonorable ones; and sexual relationships, in turn, produced the contested spectrum of racialized subjects that constituted the next generation of *castas*. The military settlers' rejection of *casta* rankings and the concomitant ethnogenesis of Californio identities must have had concurrent effects on gendered and sexual ideologies and practices.

The honor–shame complex provides a particularly useful lens through which to examine the intertwined transformation of ethnic, racial, and gendered practices. Within honor–shame ideologies, men's masculinity was gained through honor accrued through sexual conquests and by protecting the sexual virtue of female relatives. Honor and shame also differentiated between virtuous and fallen women, the latter of which were undeserving of protection from sexual assault. Masculinist ideologies of honor and shame likely contributed to the widespread patterns of sexual assault by some colonial men against some Native Californian women, as described above.

The architectural history of El Presidio de San Francisco's main quadrangle provides a material line of evidence of changing gender and sexual relations among the military settlers. In societies in which honor–shame ideologies are prominent, architecture is often used to support the preservation of feminine honor. Most commonly, residential architecture and public areas are partitioned or otherwise subdivided to create visual privacy and discrete enclosures, allowing women to conduct daily activities away from the public gaze. Formal spatial analysis of El Presidio de San Francisco's main quadrangle reveals significant changes in spatial partitioning and enclosure in colonial architecture (Voss 2008:173–202). Initially, partitioned residential space was a privilege accorded to officers, who lived in multiroom dwellings with private walled yards, while rank-and-file soldiers and their families lived in small one-room houses. However, the quadrangle and its central plaza were not enclosed (as was required by military regulations) but instead stood completely open on its eastern side. In the 1810s, this configuration changed: later residences consisted of single-room apartments, constructed in contiguous rows lining the central plaza. The plaza itself more than doubled in size, and for the first time the settlement was fully enclosed by a continuous exterior adobe wall (see Figure 5).

These changes signaled a transformation of spatial practices associated with the Californios' repudiation of *casta* classifications and the consolidation of their new shared ethnic identity. In the 1810s, practices related to honor and shame appear to have shifted from being a household-based elite practice to a paternalistic obligation of the military command toward the community at large. The newly rebuilt quadrangle allowed the settlers to physically control entrance to and egress from the settlement. The expanded, and fully enclosed, plaza offered a secure, visually protected interior space within which the military settlers could conduct their daily routines. In particular, this enclosure may have minimized contact between colonial women and the growing numbers of Native Californian men laboring at the settlement. This interpretation is supported by the artifactual evidence: almost no Native Californian artifacts have been found within the expanded quadrangle, although they are common in the extramural zones of the settlement (Voss 2008:159–163). Californio ethnogenesis, it appears, involved the policing of the ethnosexual boundary between colonial women and indigenous men, and furthermore may have involved heightened surveillance of colonial women's conduct by the community as a whole.

CONCLUSION

I began this article by noting the prevalence of household studies of colonization in the Spanish Americas. Although the insights garnered by household-scale investigations have been valuable, this emphasis has at times domesticated imperialism by portraying colonization as an interpersonal and consensual process. In Spanish-colonial

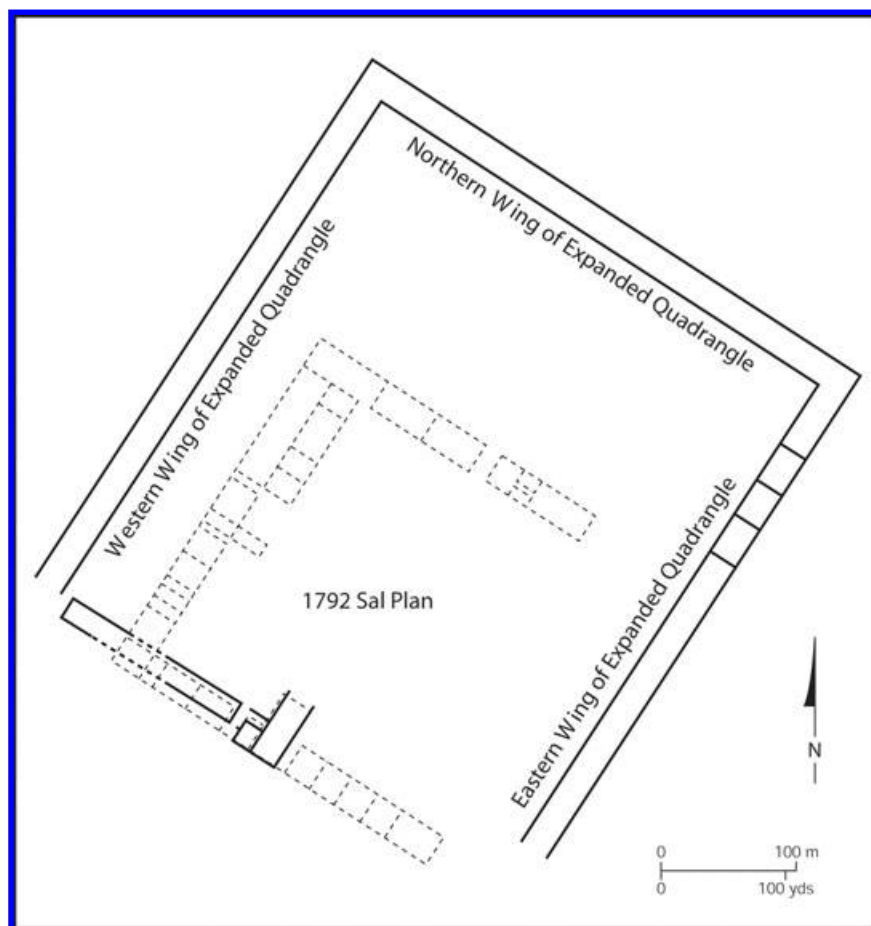


FIGURE 5. Schematic diagram showing relationship between El Presidio de San Francisco's earlier quadrangle (ca. 1792) and the later quadrangle expansion (ca. 1815).

San Francisco, the sexual politics of colonization were not located within marriages between colonial men and indigenous women. The colonial settlers were selected for their compliance with gendered and sexual norms and their proven reproductive capabilities. In the decades that followed the establishment of El Presidio de San Francisco, their new Californio identity emerged alongside heightened attention to differential masculinity and increased community surveillance of colonial women. The military settlers implemented colonial sexual policies that included violent campaigns against so-called sexual pagans and persecution of Native Californian two-spirits. Although not legally sanctioned, sexual assault was a patterned aspect of colonial-indigenous interactions, and gendered labor regimes profoundly disrupted the family lives of captive and conscripted Native Californians.

Although sexuality is sometimes treated as a trivial or private aspect of social life, the archaeology and ethnohistory of Spanish-colonial San Francisco demonstrates that sexual politics were central, rather than incidental, to the imperial project. The gender composition of the colonial population, and the forms that interracial sexual unions took, were conditioned in great part through the policies and regulations of the colonizing polity, rather than being

a personal matter among private individuals. There were certainly cases in which intermarriage and the formation of interethnic households was an important element of the processes and outcomes of colonization. Yet these interpersonal relationships were influenced by and in turn participated in more public imperial sexual politics. Further, interracial sexual contact between colonizers and colonized was often violent, strategic, and public, rather than consensual, domestic, or private.

This and other research also indicates that there was considerable variability in the sexual politics of colonial ventures throughout the Americas. This should not be surprising, as Spain's imperial program in the Americas encountered an astounding range of cultures, economies, and polities. These ranged from powerful empires, such as the Aztec and Incan empires, to regions that contained sparsely populated mobile hunter-gatherers. The sexual practices and gender systems of American indigenous communities were as varied as their economic and political systems and religious beliefs. Further, the objectives of Spanish-colonial ventures varied as well, including different degrees of religious, commercial, and military involvement. It follows that the sexual components of conquest and colonization would have been shaped by all these factors. Although the

institutional policies of the Spanish empire provided a degree of coherence in colonial settings throughout the Americas, nonetheless it seems advisable to refrain from assuming a uniformity of colonial sexual politics.

Household archaeology at Spanish colonial sites has made important contributions to scholarship on empire by drawing attention to the ways that colonization is implemented on the microscale. In the end, such household-level studies will provide the greatest insights when they are interpreted within a multiscale context that includes investigations of colonial institutions, including the church, the military, and governmental and commercial economic enterprises. Sexual politics forge intimate relationships between the institutional and the personal, relationships that reverberate throughout many scales of cultural practice.

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