

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Five Cycles of Education:

Kumeyaay/Kumiai Experience of Assimilation, Isolation, Resistance and Negotiation

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in

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(History)

by

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The Thesis of Cynthia Vazquez is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for  
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Chair

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Five Cycles of Education:

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by

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Professor Christine Hunefeldt, Chair

This study tracks Kumeyaay educational experience from past to present, focusing on state-run educational institutions. This study will further analyze the organization of knowledge by exploring all types of education: formal, informal, and nonformal. There are five educational phases for the Kumeyaay, beginning with indigenous education, subsequently followed by the introduction of formal education: Spanish (1769-1833), Mexican (1833-1848), American (1848-current) and Indigenous and American/Mexican education (current) time periods.

After years of resistance, forced assimilation, and isolation the Kumeyaay are re-taking their education. The Kumeyaay are using educational institutions as tools to “educate” or “re-educate” their youth.<sup>1</sup> If they do not reclaim their education, it will be

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1. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

lost to formal schooling. Thus, this study shows how the Kumeyaay are reclaiming their culture by the appropriation of educational institutions for the continuation of Kumeyaay traditions, memory, and language. These educational institutions range from language revitalization programs, museums, and other forms of education that originate in the household. The fifth phase of education for the Kumeyaay is a period of practicing sovereignty and the restoration of their traditional knowledge.

## INTRODUCTION



**Figure 0-1** Map titled **Kumeyaay Lands 1769-2000**, Connolly Miskwish, Michael, *Kumeyaay a History Textbook Precontact to 1893: Vol. 1*, El Cajon, CA: Sycuan Press, 2007.

The Kumeyaay are the native people of Southern California who have occupied this territory for 12,000 years.<sup>2</sup> Their territory spans to the far north of San Diego County, and reaches as far south as Ensenada, Baja California, Mexico, and extends east, reaching the Colorado River.<sup>3</sup> Their borders permanently changed after the construction of the first

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2. Erlandson et al., "One If by Land, Two If by Sea: Who Were the First Californians?," 53-69.

3. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*; Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*.

Spanish mission in 1767 in Alta California.<sup>4</sup> By 1848, Kumeyaay borders changed again with the implementation of the Guadalupe de Hidalgo Treaty.

The United States and Mexico constructed a new political border that dissected Kumeyaay Nation into two entities: north and south. Although the political border was drawn on maps, the enforcement of the border originated around the 1950s. Enforcement of the border made it difficult for the Kumeyaay to travel freely from north to south. The division between north and south ruptured Kumeyaay educational trajectory.

The Kumeyaay were introduced to formal education by the Spanish in 1767, which changed Kumeyaay traditional education forever. Formal education is tied to a colonialist agenda and an extension of imperialist ideas for indigenous peoples. The Kumeyaay experienced three waves of formal education beginning with the Spanish (1769-1833), Mexico (1833-1848), and the United States (1848-current). Colonialism is defined as “a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another.”<sup>5</sup> Historians often separate colonialism and imperialism.<sup>6</sup> However, according to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, colonialism is interconnected with imperialism. Imperialism is a “political and economic control over a dependent territory.”<sup>7</sup> At a glance, imperialism and colonialism are separate entities, but Smith argues that colonialism connects to the larger scheme of imperialist ideology. Colonialism and imperialism subject indigenous

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4. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rock*.

5. Kohn, "Colonialism."

6. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

7. Kohn, "Colonialism."

peoples as the “other.” The “other” is referred to the “other story” that is not European or Western.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to colonization of indigenous peoples minds, bodies, and souls, imperialist ideas permeated the “new” nation-state. Nation-states are defined as cultural boundaries that match up with the political boundaries [and sovereignty],” Mexico and the United States are examples of nation-states.<sup>9</sup> There are instances where nations are not states; the Kumeyaay Nation is an example of a nation, but is not a state because they are not completely sovereign. Instead, the Kumeyaay are considered a domestic sovereign nation under the United States. Nation-states will play a pivotal role in Kumeyaay schooling. The United States and Mexico worked on homogenizing their citizens by controlling language, religion, and culture through any means *i.e.* matching cultural and political boundaries.

It is imperative to understand Kumeyaay educational trajectory as it relates to colonialism and decolonization. Thus, this study is guided by the present situation of all types of education among Kumeyaay youth including informal, formal, and nonformal education.<sup>10</sup> Formal education belongs to the institutional apparatus and teaches children the art of organized knowledge approved by the government. Informal education is a

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8. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

9. "Nation-State United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization," *Nation-State United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*.

10. La Belle, "Formal, Nonformal and Informal Education: A Holistic Perspective on Lifelong Learning."

lifelong education beginning in the household and it is learned through experiences. Nonformal education occurs outside the household and outside the school *i.e.* community centers.<sup>11</sup>

The Kumeyaay community noticed how their children are systematically underserved by their governments. According to 2012 State American Indian and Alaskan Native (AI/AN) Education in California Report and national statistics, American Indian students have a high dropout rate. These statistics reflect the Kumeyaay student population. Quality education seldom reaches American Indian communities, and oftentimes their children are placed in remedial classes or in special education--many who do not belong there.<sup>12</sup> The Kumeyaay are taking steps to reclaim and decolonize their education while engaging their youth. By increasing native language speakers and traditional knowledge in their community, they are reinforcing positive ethnic identity, a tool that diminishes dropout rates and prevents at-risk behavior (González et al. 2005; Yosso 2006; Gándara 2008). Today the Kumeyaay are creating, directing, implementing, and managing a series of educational programs, workshops, and building tribal schools. Their goal is to pass on their traditions and wisdom into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but, most importantly, they are creating and infusing a positive ethnic identity among youth that will last a lifetime.

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11. Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum*.

12. Pewewardy and Fitzpatrick, "Working With American Indian Students and Families," Zhang and Katsiyannis, "Minority Representation in Special Education: A Persistent Challenge."

This study will outline the organic and forced changes that took place around indigenous communities of Southern California and Northern Mexico, specifically among the Kumeyaay Nation.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, this thesis attempts to uncover the different educational conquest phases of change that have taken place among the Kumeyaay.<sup>14</sup> My research will explore all aspects of education by taking two snapshots in history, beginning with the introduction of formal education known as the missionary period (1767-1833). Although this thesis opens with mission education, it does not mean indigenous education started at this point. Subsequently, indigenous education was interrupted once again with the establishment of nation-states. This period is known as the age of federal government. Formal schooling continued its trajectory during the Mexican period (1833-1848) and American period (1848-current). Chapter two will connect mission education with the introduction of federal education and its ramifications on indigenous education and knowledge.

The second snapshot, chapter three and four, will introduce indigenous education and knowledge. Chapter three will define indigenous education and traditional knowledge, and how it was used before the introduction of formal education. Indigenous

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13. Scholars previously used different spellings to identify Native Americans of southern California and northern México (Kroeger 1953). Today the Kumeyaay who live in the United States identify as a Kumeyaay or Diegueño--a name deriving from Mission San Diego de Alcalá, and for community members residing in México identify as Kumiai.

14. This is true for the Kumeyaay who were incorporated into the United States. After the Mexican-American War of 1846 and the subsequent loss of Mexico's territory Kumeyaay territory was slashed into two after 1848. Southern tribe member's history and experiences changed from their northern counterparts. Their experiences might be different, but the intent to incorporate the Kumeyaay by the nation was not unique.

knowledge was transmitted orally; thus, this chapter will connect precontact traditions with current traditions. Although there were changes that occurred in indigenous education throughout time, most of these traditions remain intact because land in the interior was left untouched by Europeans; thus, allowing them to retain their traditional knowledge and cultural traditions.<sup>15</sup> The last chapter will map decolonized indigenous education and their future. Ultimately, this thesis provides a panoramic view of Kumeyaay educational trajectory.

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15. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986*.

## METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to examine past and current Kumeyaay education and schooling trajectory. During a year and half, I worked with various Kumeyaay Indian Reservations in the United States and in Mexico. There are thirteen Kumeyaay Indian Reservations in the United States and four in Mexico; I mainly travelled to, three Kumeyaay reservations in the U.S. and I travelled to one in Mexico in 2012-2013. The majority of my time was spent at one reservation in the U.S. close to the border.

Due to the number of reservations and limitations of time and resources, I was not able to establish contact with the remaining Kumeyaay Indian reservations. Although, I attended community events organized by other reservations, this was the extent of my contact with other Kumeyaay Indian reservations. Ultimately, I worked with one community and their education center. While working with tribal members, my research question covered the concept of institutional education and its connection to traditional knowledge. During the course of this study, I used a variety of different methods Community Based Research (CBR) and Indigenous Based Research (IBR) to acquire a clear understanding of what education meant to the Kumeyaay

### *Evolving into the Research Question*

Initially, I worked with a CBR methodology that focuses on working “with” the community and not “on.”<sup>16</sup> CBR allows collaboration between the community and the researcher, a collaboration meant to institute changes within the community from the

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16. Tinkler, "Establishing a Conceptual Model of Community-Based Research Through Contrasting Case Studies."

developmental phase to the implementation phase. CBR is geared toward implementing change but also producing “new” knowledge, and to disseminate this knowledge to the community as well as academia.

CBR was the foundation I built from; however, it did not provide me with all of the tools needed when working with indigenous peoples. Later I moved from CBR to IBR. IBR is a method that intersects sacred knowledge and academic knowledge; it was my guiding tool for the remainder of my research. When IBR and academic knowledge intersect the knowledge flows in unison with each other and bridges both worlds to create one, and break boundaries between the community and academia. IBR methodology

include[s] tribal epistemology at the heart of this approach and a **decolonizing** aim, both of which are born of a unique relationship with Indigenous lands . . . most critical aspects of Indigenous research is the ethical responsibility to ensure that **Indigenous knowledges and people are not exploited.**<sup>17</sup>

Most importantly, the Kumeyaay community is adopting exactly what IBR trying to achieve: decolonization, indigenous research is ethical, and indigenous knowledges and peoples are not exploited. Hence, as Florence Shipek eloquently stated, “I have frequently been in a privileged position with many bands; consequently, I respect their desire to keep certain information confidential.”<sup>18</sup> This is true for me; many bands do not want their “nonprivate discussions, problems, and plans identified in a general work such as this.”<sup>19</sup> I have been in a position of privilege, and I respect that certain conversations

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17. Kovach Margaret, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 35-36; emphasis added.

18. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, xii.

19. *Ibid.*

are to remain confidential. For this study, I do not use names of the people I worked with; I only use names of interviews that are public knowledge, such as the interviews conducted by Barona Cultural Center & Museum.

During the CBR phase of my research, I interviewed ten participants between the ages of 18-70, seven females and three males. All questions were open-ended relating to their educational experience in and outside of school (see appendix). I used these questions as guiding tools, and in most cases I did not ask all of the questions. Participants spoke freely about their education experience; I would come back to the questions when the conversation flattened. In addition to interviews, I also attended two parent meetings and three community events. After the last interview I conducted, I realized that interviewing tribal members was no longer part of my methodology. The formality of the interviews made participants feel nervous and uncomfortable especially when they were recorded. Formal interviews, in my opinion, did not align with IBR because of the history between ethnographers and indigenous peoples.<sup>20</sup>

During the IBR phase of my research, attending parent meetings and informal conversations with tribal members on education was well received. The parent meetings were instrumental to attaining the research question. There were two parent meetings organized by one of the Kumeyaay communities I worked with. My involvement in these meetings was minimal, tribal members and friends of the community lead these meetings. During the parent meetings, tribal members were asked questions surrounding their children's educational experience. They were asked whether they thought their children

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20. Vine Deloria Jr. has an excellent chapter on anthropologists and research in *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*.

were receiving quality education; what kind of school did they envision for their children; and what type of education they saw for their child.

At these meetings, “school” was used as opposed to “education” because community members sought to open a tribally centered charter school. Parent meetings revealed that parents want a curriculum that engages their youth and to “teach them real history and not through worksheets.”<sup>21</sup> Tribal members want teachers and administrators to move away from “banking education” and more towards a “problem-solving” education.<sup>22</sup> Kumeyaay parents are asking for an education where their children are engaged and not pushed-out.

After I attended three community events, weekly meetings, I saw that tribal leaders and tribal members want to engage their youth. They want to accomplish this goal by using existing educational institutions to teach Kumeyaay history, language, traditions, and learning styles.

The transmission of traditional knowledge was a recurring theme at the community meetings, and this led to my two research questions:

- How was education used to colonize the Kumeyaay during the three periods of colonization (Spanish 1769-1833, Mexican 1833-1848, and American 1848-current)?; and
- How are the Kumeyaay using formal education to “decolonize” more than 200 years of subjugation?

These two research questions originate from the concept of education, knowledge, colonization/schooling, and decolonization. The answers to this study are important to the

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21. Parent meeting, July 10, 2013.

22. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Kumeyaay Nation because it aligns with their goal to reinvigorate their knowledge and traditions.

### *Sources*

For this research, I used different sources including, but not limited to, *testimonios*, mission archival documents such as confessions and priests journals and parish records, historical accounts written by outsiders, oral histories, interviews, and participant observation. Interdisciplinary methods were used in this study, which include borrowing from history and anthropology. Interdisciplinary lens zooms out into the past by using primary sources such as confessions, mission archives, and oral histories to locate specific patterns associated with the use of traditional and institutional education. Then zooms in by using IBR method to see where Kumeyaay education is today and in the future.

Relying on traditional archives such as mission baptismal records and priest journals only provided one side of the story. That is why it was pivotal to talk to Kumeyaay community members during my research. Stories on indigenous education is not written; instead, passed down orally. Even though Kumeyaay stories are beginning to show up in print, but understanding the depth of the story and the meaning is passed down orally. Written and unwritten sources combined provide a crisper picture when looking at the Kumeyaay educational trajectory.

### *Community Concerns*

In the past, state schooling and religious institutions served to educate, assimilate, and distort Kumeyaay heritage and culture.<sup>23</sup> Today, educational institutions are meant to reinvigorate 'Iipay/Tiipay language, Kumeyaay traditions and history. However, the animosity and suspicions of the Kumeyaay towards official educational institutions runs deep (Grande 2004).

One of the concerns of the Kumeyaay community expressed regarding my involvement in the educational project was whether my knowledge on the community would eventually transcend academia. A valid concern because every year academics from different disciplines--anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, linguists--visit their community to conduct research.<sup>24</sup> Often, the community hopes for an intervention from academia; however, that knowledge often remains confined to the ivory tower of academics.<sup>25</sup> For Tinkler (2004) "new" knowledge should focus less on *advancing knowledge*, within academia, and focus more on progress of "social knowledge" to help find solutions for the communities we are working with. The goal of this thesis is to be used for the community for their present and future educational needs.

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23. Lomawaima, "The Unnatural History of American Indian Education," Swisher and Tippeconnic, 1-32; Grande, *Red Pedagogy*.

24. Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*.

25. Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities*; Kovach, *Indigenous Pedagogy*; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*.

## CHAPTER 1

### Formal Education and the Missionization Program

I wish it were the olden time now, Alessandro,” sighed Ramona, “when the men like Father Salvierderra had the country. Then there would be work for all, at the Missions. The Señora says it were like palaces, and that there were thousands, all working so happy and peaceful. “The Señora does not know all that happened at the Missions,” replied Alessandro.<sup>26</sup>

The excerpt from *Ramona* written by Helen Hunt Jackson is one of the many popular novels written about indigenous peoples of California and their experience with formal education. This novel does two things: romanticizes the mission period and sheds light on the education methods used under the mission period. Alessandro talks about the “other” Kumeyaay history, the untold story in formal schools. This chapter will map the narrative of the educational effects and schooling methodologies applied by missionaries onto the Kumeyaay community during the Spanish period in Alta California. Specifically,<sup>27</sup> this chapter will explore how the introduction of formal education in missions interrupted indigenous educational methods and their surroundings.

### Borderlands Theory

*It's not a comfortable territory to live in, this place of contradictions.*<sup>28</sup>

The historian Herbert Eugene Bolton coined the term Borderlands. Bolton’s initial theory of Borderlands further pushed away from his mentor Frederick Jackson Turner’s Frontier theory. The Frontier thesis encompassed “American social development” by

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26. Jackson, *Ramona*, 23.

28. Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera The New Mestiza*.

expanding west and engulfing Native Americans into American culture.<sup>29</sup> Turner's definition views the American period of colonization as the only educational period of Amerindians and does not take into consideration the mixing occurring before the American period. The Frontier theory viewed the land and its people as "new," and ripe for imperial domination. However, the Borderlands theory adopted by Bolton views this space as a "place of contradictions" ruptured from the Frontier thesis and acknowledges more than a physical space; rather it incorporated an understanding of the geographical and subconscious space. The Borderlands space creates, reconstructs, and reinforces new and old knowledge in the Southwest. To understand the *fluidity*, juggling of cultures, and operation of a pluralistic mode, one must go to the origins of education as a project implemented in the Borderlands. Missions were the first borderlands educational institution operating in a *pluralistic* mode in Alta California. Inside the missions physical and imagined borders are created between missionaries and the Kumeyaay.

Missionaries often represented complicated and contradictory roles; they were teachers and "saviors." They delivered the conquest policies directed by the Crown. The Spanish Crown used the laws to control missionary work and measure success. While working towards the elimination of indigenous languages, ironically missionaries preserved indigenous cultures and languages. Missionaries (re)educated indigenous peoples by using "formal education" as a tool to assimilate the Kumeyaay into Christianity and European civilization. Missions dichotomized love and fear in indigenous peoples, creating a border between the converted and unconverted, of learning

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29. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 3.

and unlearning. Ultimately, missions were a space of constant fluidity and negotiation between missionaries and Kumeyaay people. And unlike the Frontier Theory, that engulfs one culture completely into the dominant culture, Borderlands Theory works by mixing and interchanging knowledge between both parties.

Interchanging knowledge created a hostile environment. One party fought to keep a high degree of their culture and their language while the other wanted to erase it. For oppressed groups retaining language and culture in the Borderlands is an everyday negotiation; it was an interchange in which the Kumeyaay were involved in the physical and imagined space inside the mission. Borderlands education births a double identity.<sup>30</sup> In the end Borderlands subordinated groups accept and come to terms with all identities that are constantly changing; identities, therefore, are in a state of flux.<sup>31</sup> As this chapter contends, for the Kumeyaay the introduction of “formal” schooling began a generation of identity schizophrenia.

#### Introduction of Formal Education

Education branches out into two areas: the first branch of education values experiences, and the unwritten knowledge passed down from generation to generation. The second branch is the invention of man, a human institution, and human development, which is formal education.<sup>32</sup> Valued knowledge evolved over time, and the “value knowledge” that we know of today was not the case then for valued knowledge which

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30. Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera The New Mestiza*.

31. *Ibid.*, 101.

32. Lodge, *Plato's Theory of Education*.

included morality and religion. This knowledge was under the direction of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church took on the responsibility in assuring the entrance of more souls into heaven, while valued knowledge assured the continuation of civilization within the Spanish Empire. The Spanish Empire called on the Franciscan Order to undertake the moral obligation and responsibility by instructing indigenous peoples of the new world in the path towards achieving salvation and benefiting from the fruits of Iberian civilization.<sup>33</sup>

During the 1500s, the Spanish Crown used various religious orders to carry out their imperial goals including the Franciscan, Dominican, and the Jesuit orders. In Alta California, the Franciscan Order was chosen by the Crown to replace the Jesuits in 1767. The Franciscans were experts in missionizing indigenous peoples; in fact, they used education to convert the indigenous peoples of the New World. It was Fray Pedro de Gante, a Franciscan, and the first educator and the first missionary of Mexico who perfected the art of teaching Christianity and thus “civilizing” indigenous peoples.<sup>34</sup> Gante’s Plan was the prototype used by every missionary when on a mission in the borderlands.<sup>35</sup> This plan focused in working with and not against indigenous knowledge, by incorporating indigenous traditions when teaching during the initial contact phase. The initial missionization period went on from the 1500s, up to 1793 in Alta California. By 1793, the Spanish Crown was concerned that Native Americans were not fully

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33. Barth, "Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North American (1502-1821)."

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

assimilating into Spanish culture, and issued a Royal Decree that forced missionaries to teach in Spanish and eradicate indigenous customs.<sup>36</sup> This decree proved difficult for the missionaries in Alta California because they were in the initial stages of education and conquest.

In addition to teaching and instructing in the local indigenous languages missionaries used a wide array of methods to proselytize natives. Missionaries used the arts and music to convert and educate indigenous peoples as one of their main educational methods. Another missionary pedagogical method included resorting to corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was used to discipline rebellious pupils while also scaring other students into behaving in a proper Christian manner. Kumeyaay introduction to “formal” schooling began in 1767 with the erection of the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá.

#### Mission Ideology, History and Education

After a 100-year hiatus from Alta California, the Spanish Crown attempted once again to colonize Alta California, or what is today California. Rumors reached Spain that Russia and England were encroaching on their land. By 1767, the Spanish Crown received a letter from the Spanish Ambassador stating that, indeed, Russians had landed somewhere in North America, and allegedly suffered three hundred casualties at the hands of indigenous people.<sup>37</sup> José de Galvez, the Spanish Royal Inspector in New Spain,

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36. Ibid.

37. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 5.

stated in 1768: “There is no doubt that in any case we have the English very close to our towns of New Mexico, and not very far from the west coast of this continent.” Their fears were exaggerated, but the Russian and English invasions were nonetheless true. Spain needed to act quickly before they lost their amassed territory to the Russians and the English.<sup>38</sup>

For Spain, establishing missions were the low-cost solution to cultivating the harsh lands, colonizing the indigenous people, and maintaining geopolitical control of Alta California. Furthermore, if this territory were lost to England or Russia, the Spanish Crown would be in debt and open to further invasions of other Spanish territories. When taking over another land, the prince must consider several factors into consideration--to prevent problems that arise and assure some success as stated in Machiavelli *Prince (Il Principe)*. Machiavelli also advises that a prince should consider colonies as a cost-effective form of expansion: “When one holds a state with men-at-arms in place of colonies, one spends more income of that state in guarding it.”<sup>39</sup> It was to no surprise then, that New Spain experimented with the *encomienda* economic system throughout the sixteenth century. The *encomienda* system relied on the *encomendero* to be the sole person in charge of “civilizing” indigenous peoples in the new colonies. These, however, were not land grants: *encomenderos* were instructed with the task of civilizing and Christianizing Indians through work. This system triggered headaches for the Crown and

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38. Taylor, *American Colonies*, 454.

39. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 11.

loss of revenue as well as a rapid decline of the indigenous population.<sup>40</sup> Ultimately, the monarchy turned to missions to accomplish what the *encomienda* economic system could not--increase revenue and new subjects for both Crown and Church.

Machiavelli advises princes to maintain a successful colony under their tutelage; the prince must choose to “caress or eliminate” those who do not follow the newly imposed laws for the fear of “revenge” is real during the first years following conquest.<sup>41</sup> The Spanish regime in New Spain moved away from elimination towards “caressing” indigenous peoples by using missions.<sup>42</sup> The Crown reached an agreement with the Franciscans, through which the order was to be responsible for maintaining the military presidio in San Diego “over the next sixty years . . . [with] food, clothing, and leather goods.”<sup>43</sup> Although the Spanish knew the mission system to be outdated, it continued to serve a useful purpose for civilizing the indigenous population and expanding the Spanish Empire without draining the Spanish purse. The Mission program “caressed” the indigenous populations into the Spanish system and new Christians to the Church.

As the Spanish began to colonize Alta California, they soon realized the land was not like central Mexico, nor were the people of a similar liking. The natives were as

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40. Van Wells, *Missions in the Southwest*.

41. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 11.

42. The Mission of San Diego de Alcalá was founded as the first mission in Alta California. However, there were missions established in what is today Baja California, Mexico. The Mission of San Diego also established the boundary between north and south. That would later be used to create the boundary between the United States and Mexico.

43. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*, 26.

diverse as the land, speaking up to 100 different languages bound by a complex system of alliances and societal rules. Colonial formal education arrived with the missionaries and the Missionization Program. The introduction of formal education for the Kumeyaay was the beginning of their struggles to maintain their indigenous knowledge alive.<sup>44</sup>

Missionaries saw themselves as bearers of civilization according to the Spanish and Catholic worldview.<sup>45</sup> Civilizing indigenous people also meant creating an environment reminiscent of Spain. Recreating the Spanish environment included teaching the Castilian language, wearing European clothing, following the Catholic religion, living in adobe and stone houses, and the Hispanicization of Amerindian culture also involved a strict adherence to the Spanish political hierarchal organization with loyalty and obedience to the King of Spain. The final requirement involved replacing most aspects of the indigenous culture with Spanish culture.<sup>46</sup> To the Spanish, these categories were a sign of civilization.

Civilizing the Kumeyaay was an educational process through which indigenous people were to be instructed in Catholic and Iberian precepts by the missionaries. Spanish law permitted missions to operate during a ten-year period before integrating the indigenous population into Spanish society. By law, priests were to instruct catechism to the people interested in converting. “Choosing” conversion came in many ways, for the Kumeyaay “voluntary” conversion came in the hands of Spanish soldiers, only after the

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44. Lomawaima, "The Unnatural History of American Indian Education," 1-32.

45. Barth, *Franciscan Education and the Social Order*.

46. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 5.

destruction of their food sources.<sup>47</sup> In the past, the Kumeyaay had experienced foreign intruders coming to their land, but Spanish settlement in Alta California dramatically altered traditional forms of living. Missionaries, for their part, believed the Kumeyaay “were delighted to come into the missions [as] they didn’t know from one month to the next or one day to the next what they were going to eat.”<sup>48</sup> That was a cultural misconception on the missionaries’ part, for the missionaries needed the Kumeyaay to survive in this new land. Priests learned from the Kumeyaay about the land and its intricacies.<sup>49</sup> There was an exchange of knowledge occurring every day between both parties, and although these exchanges mainly undermined indigenous knowledge by attempting to uproot it, they both learned from each other. Unfortunately, the Spanish missionaries’ goals were to socialize and inculcate the Spanish way of life through pedagogy. For example, the Kumeyaay had a complex system of hunting and gathering and managed their land through controlled fires. This was the preferred method used by the Kumeyaay for the regeneration of useful plants and medicine, and the decrease accumulation of fuel.<sup>50</sup> Delfina Cuero remembers when her family “clear[ed] a lot of land. The men cut trees and they did other things while we carried, piled and burned the

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47. Gutiérrez and Orsi, *Contested Eden*.

48. Jackson and Edward, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization*, 85.

49. Gutiérrez and Orsi, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*.

50. Connolly Miskwish, *Kumeyaay a History Textbook Precontact to 1893*, Vol. 1, 26.

brush.”<sup>51</sup> To the missionaries, the knowledge the natives had on the land meant that they could exploit it. They taught the Kumeyaay the European way of cultivating the land, but the Europeans depended more on indigenous knowledge to adapt to a new environment than vice versa.

### Missionary Methodologies

Catholic missionaries used an array of teaching methods to “civilize” the Kumeyaay. The first method of formal education introduced to the Kumeyaay was catechism. The Crown required missionaries to teach catechism to all new converts before formal baptism. Catechism is the most basic Catholic instruction. During the first years in Mission of San Diego (1771-1777), missionaries baptized more than 452 people.<sup>52</sup>

During the early years of the Catholic Church, catechism served to increase the number of disciples.<sup>53</sup> Catechism evolved into a tool used to proselytize. Catechism education is methodological, and it was a requirement for all new converts to pass the class before baptism and subsequent Christian life.<sup>54</sup> The subtext of catechism instruction controls indigenous peoples through spirituality. Catechism was the first step to formal education for the Kumeyaay. The process was different from mission to mission, but

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51. Shipek, *The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero*, 25.

52. The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006. On November 5, 1775, Mission of San Diego de Alcalá was attacked by the Kumeyaay. The Kumeyaay burned down the mission and assassinated a priest. All Baptismal records before 1775 were reproduced by priests.

53. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*.

54. *Ibid.*

frequently catechism instruction was conducted between eight days to thirty days. Missionaries determined how quickly the student learned the material.<sup>55</sup> During the early colonial epoch missionaries required the use of translators known as *temastians*. These translators took on different roles, and one very important role within the mission was to act as the eyes and ears of the missionaries. They were also responsible for determining the length of time an adult or child was to be instructed in catechism.<sup>56</sup> Catechists required adults and children to attend classes assigned by their age group. Adults instructed in Catechism were required to recite *La Doctrina* twice a day in the church “alternating between Spanish and native language” with or without the presence of a priest.<sup>57</sup> Children on the other hand were required to recite “twice [or] more daily in front of the priests’ quarters.”<sup>58</sup> Although all natives were seen as neophytes there are levels of differentiation vis-à-vis the instruction between adults and children in Catechism.<sup>59</sup>

#### Mission Education for Kumeyaay Children

Catechism instruction did impart the deeper teachings on the Christian doctrine; instead, they taught the indigenous peoples with elementary knowledge on the Catholic religion and their function within the Church’s structure. The priests were not concerned with whether or not the translated information was understood. On the contrary, they

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55. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*, 93.

56. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850*, 72.

57. Sandos, *Converting California*, 93.

58. Ibid.

59. Sandos, *Converting California*.

wanted assurance that the instructed responded correctly. Their pedagogical approach was rote memorization:

The teaching of Spanish took the form of the Indians memorizing the catechism in that language, of the recitation of five or six Spanish prayers daily by all the children's and adults who could be assembled, and of listening to the sermons which the missionary preached at least weekly. These were not formal classes in the Spanish language, but rather highly specialized instruction in the acquisition of specific formulas in strange tongue.<sup>60</sup>

Priests were not truly interested in "teaching" the Kumeyaay; instead priests were interested in assuring their pupils understood the basics teachings of Spanish and Christian salvation.<sup>61</sup>

In the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá, priests were less concerned with creating schools or formal instruction because San Diego presented special circumstances associated to the environment and their people. San Diego's droughts and the length of time it took to deliver materials into Alta California pushed missionaries to halt construction of schools for indigenous children.<sup>62</sup> Instructing natives in their Kumeyaay language was part of Gante's plan, but the Crown later realized they needed to exercise more direct control over their new subjects, and this required the extermination of their

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60. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 423.

61. Franciscans are known for their commitment to education. They established one of the first schools in Mexico. In Barth (1945) PhD dissertation he described Franciscan ideology and their commitment to educating indigenous peoples. Educating the masses was their mission. When they arrived to Alta California this changed drastically because it was towards the end of Spanish colonial period and their mission was cut short due to Mexican independence. Missionaries were more concerned over the fact that they had a short amount of time to colonize Alta California. In their opinion schools were to follow shortly after their complete control of Alta California.

62. Sánchez, *Telling Identities: The California Testimonios*.

native tongue. The 1793 Royal Decree set back missionaries in their goals during the first years of indoctrination. Yet, priests allowed the Kumeyaay to speak their language during the initial re-education period.<sup>63</sup> Lockhart describes phases of language change, and the initial contact is critical in that natives retain their languages during the first phase of missionization.<sup>64</sup>

Missionaries experienced communication problems during the first years of catechism instruction mainly because it was in Spanish and translated into Kumeyaay.<sup>65</sup> The mission and the unpredictability of the weather provided an avenue for the Kumeyaay to negotiate these strict spaces.<sup>66</sup> For example, when the missionaries were unable to provide enough food for the Mission Indians the priests allowed them to leave

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63. Van Well, "The Educational Aspects of the Mission in the Southwest."

64. Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 1992.

65. Information on catechisms and their instruction is limited. The documents available are a handful. Van Well PhD dissertation *The Educational Aspects of the Missions in the Southwest* (1942) is comparative and thorough analyses of missionaries and their educational aspirations in the Southwest. Another comparative on missions in North America is Lomawaima's chapter "The Unnatural History of American Indian Education" in *Next Steps* (1999). *Converting California* (2004) by James Sandos a great reference illuminating different techniques missionaries used to convert children. This included using catechism and choirs in assimilating the indigenous population. In *Pushed into the Rocks* (1988) by Florence Connolly Shipek brings to light the lack of sources on catechism and schooling in the mission during the early years. Mission of San Diego de Alcalá was a unique case because the priests were not able to provide food to the converts throughout the year and thus the converts were able to leave the mission in search of food. James Lockhart's *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (1992) describes the amount of contact between Spanish and indigenous peoples increases or decreases the amount of change between cultures. The Kumeyaay were able to retain a high level of their traditions and language due to the lack of everyday interaction with Spaniards.

66. A school was eventually built next to the mission but not until the early 20th century; Van Wells, *The Educational Aspects of the Missions*.

the mission and practice traditional hunting and gathering.<sup>67</sup> In addition, to these two factors many others ran away to the mountains away from the mission.<sup>68</sup>

These two factors allowed for the Kumeyaay to retain their language and culture. The Franciscans did not build schools in Alta California, they did not have the opportunity to do so, and as a result the Kumeyaay retained a high degree of their language and culture. Reading materials in Spanish hardly made their way into Alta California.<sup>69</sup> The priests mainly used the catechism books they designed, which were used to teach indigenous converts the Catholic hierarchy and Spanish culture.<sup>70</sup> Priests conducted oral exams to make sure the new converts were ready for baptism. The Kumeyaay were expected to “know” the *Doctrina* by repetition

the Sign of the Cross, Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed; Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity; the *Confiteor*, Ten Commandments, Six Precepts, Seven Sacraments, the Necessary Points of Faith and the Four Last Things. Known throughout Latin America as the *Doctrina Cristiana*, this summary of the Deposit of Faith was required of the Indians *before* they were allowed to be baptized.<sup>71</sup>

Each test was composed of about roughly twenty questions the priest asked the person confessing before the baptism. The test was written in their language and generally the exam was conducted orally, sometimes the exam required Kumeyaay translations in order

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67. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*.

68. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*.

69. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*.

70. Sandos, *Converting California*, 96.

71. Weber, *Vignettes of California Catholicism*, 165.

to convert successfully.<sup>72</sup> In the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá catechism was translated in a similar fashion.

Friar Junípero Serra knew mission children were an important component for the indoctrination period; he saw them as “natural as a babe suckling milk from a mother’s breast.”<sup>73</sup> The newly baptized indigenous people recited a version of Friar Serra’s catechism and in “San Diego Indian boys memorized recitals and then began to preach it in surrounding villages.”<sup>74</sup> Catechism was not the only form of instruction; like other performing arts such as music, dances, religious dramas, and fiestas, it was also used an important part of the indoctrination process.<sup>75</sup> The Catholic festive tradition included singing and the Franciscans were prepared to teach the European musical language to the indigenous boys. The missionaries’ role in the choir depended on how much the children sang in church. Friar Junípero Serra enjoyed singing and he used his passion to teach the young boys. The first song he taught the mission children was the *alabanza*.<sup>76</sup> Missionaries’ musical pedagogical approach included “plainsong combines sacred text--

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72. Esselen and Rumsen are native languages spoken in the northern part of California by San Francisco and San José region. The mission traveled up north up to San Francisco; Sandos, *Converting California*, 96.

73. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 144.

74. Ibid.

75. Barth, "Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North American (1502-1821)," 192.

76. Sandos, *Converting California*, 129; Van Wells, *The Educational Aspects of the Southwest Missions*.

words with melody.”<sup>77</sup> At first, due to the lack of communication, the priests used hand motions and pointing to teach music.<sup>78</sup> Kumeyaay children quickly picked up their language skills by participating in choir. They acquired a wholly new language by learning in “‘chunks,’ just as they learn music” and “‘had better command of Spanish than other [indigenous children].”<sup>79</sup>

Most Kumeyaay learned a basic command of Spanish, but the boys in the choir were taught by the priests on how to read and write Spanish. Choir boys were sought out to have more responsibilities in the church by the priest, “these Indian men chosen by the priest for their ability to replicate European sound in song were among those who did receive instruction in Spanish.”<sup>80</sup> Art and music was used to teach the boys. The Kumeyaay people were not exposed to the lavish pieces of art like that glistening in gold and pieces of art framed in the chapel. Missionaries were busy individuals; working, giving sermons, and converting indigenous people, they focused their attention on a selected few who would translate and alleviate religious duties from the priest. Each mission ran differently, and no two missions were alike and this was due to geography and the particular temperament of any head priest.

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77. Sandos, *Converting California*, 133.

78. *Ibid.*, 134.

79. *Ibid.*, 147; Barth, *Franciscan Education*.

80. Sandos, *Converting California*, 96.

### Vocational Training

Generally, inside the missions the priests established schools for indigenous children; however, this was not the case in Mission San Diego de Alcalá, or in most other missions in Alta California. Although, the missionaries did not build a school for the children they did instruct the youth outside of the realm of religious matters. Christian ideology aligns itself with “good work ethic.” Salvation is not for those who idle away, for sloth is part of the seven deadly sins and failure of a mission was not the agenda. Vocational study was a necessity for the survival of the missionaries, the salvation of souls, theorized by the Church as neophytes, and the overall Missionization Program in Alta California. Missionaries were granted permission by the Crown to “civilize,” heathens, and to do so the missionaries needed services outside of the Church.

In Alta California, priests hired *mestizo* artisans from central Mexico to train Kumeyaay children. During 1791-1795 Father Serra had an influx of about twenty artisans contracted by the Crown for four to five year contracts.<sup>81</sup> Skilled artisans from central Mexico were substitute teachers to a few Kumeyaay boys. Not all boys were chosen to learn masonry; some were forced to work in the fields. Substitute teachers cultivated experts during their stay in Alta California. The artisan instructors taught native students through hands-on experience on subjects such as masonry, carpentry, shoe making, gunsmiths, and blacksmiths.<sup>82</sup> Mexican artisans were so sought after that Franciscan Lausén requested more artisans in a letter to the Viceroy:

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81. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 277; Archibald, "The Economic Development of the Hispanic California Missions," 238.

82. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 277.

if you think it advisable, Your Grace may request two or more tailors who are men of good conduct, and suitable teaching. To them could be assigned a number of mission and a group of boys, on the understanding that they are to travel and move from one mission to another, bringing their apprentices with them.<sup>83</sup>

Substitute teachers were required to be people of “good character” because the priests did not want the school children to become corrupted by any foreign influences. Education was always part of the Missionization Program and it was incorporated into everything they did.

Native women were important and integral to vocational training. Products produced by women were sold in markets to outsiders. Girls were taught and trained in the domestic arts by teachers. Military wives and *Beatas* taught young girls the vocation of being a woman. Most notably known in Alta California was the *Beata* (The Pious Woman), Apolinaria Lorenzana, who was well-versed in many trades. Apolinaria represents a unique case because she taught herself how to read and write from a young age, but more importantly, she taught other young women from all backgrounds how to read and write. The Franciscans were progressive thinkers, offering education for all. They believed in teaching indigenous women basic reading and writing skills. According to Antonia I. Castañeda’s *Presidarias y Pobladoras* (diss. 1990) women were interested in learning how read and write “they taught their own and in some cases other children, to read and write. Some even learned to speak and understand Amerindian languages and dialects.”<sup>84</sup> Apolinaria was not the only woman who taught in the missions, María

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83. *Ibid.*, 241.

84. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras," 216.

Ramona Noriega was also a teacher and a military wife who educated her eleven children, stepdaughter, and the neighbor's children, how to read and write.<sup>85</sup>

Franciscans used the healing arts, such as midwifery, as another method to “educate” Native Americans.<sup>86</sup> Apolinaria and Eulalia were *parteras* or midwives. Apolinaria was a licensed nurse and was “well known and respected” by everyone. As a nurse, she cared for women with advanced syphilis by taking them to the mineral hot springs to alleviate the sores and fevers--and this is knowledge she probably learned from the Kumeyaay.<sup>87</sup> Education was not only confined to the vocational training or the *doctrina*, it was passed down by “oral history and literature learning in California.”<sup>88</sup> Dorotea Valdez acknowledged the importance of education--formal and informal--“My education was very limited, yet my memory is good.”<sup>89</sup>

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85. Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios*.

86. Barth, *Franciscan Education*.

87. Castañeda, *Presidarias y Pobladoras*, 219.

88. *Ibid.*, 217.

89. *Ibid.*

## Kumeyaay Graduation from “Formal Education”

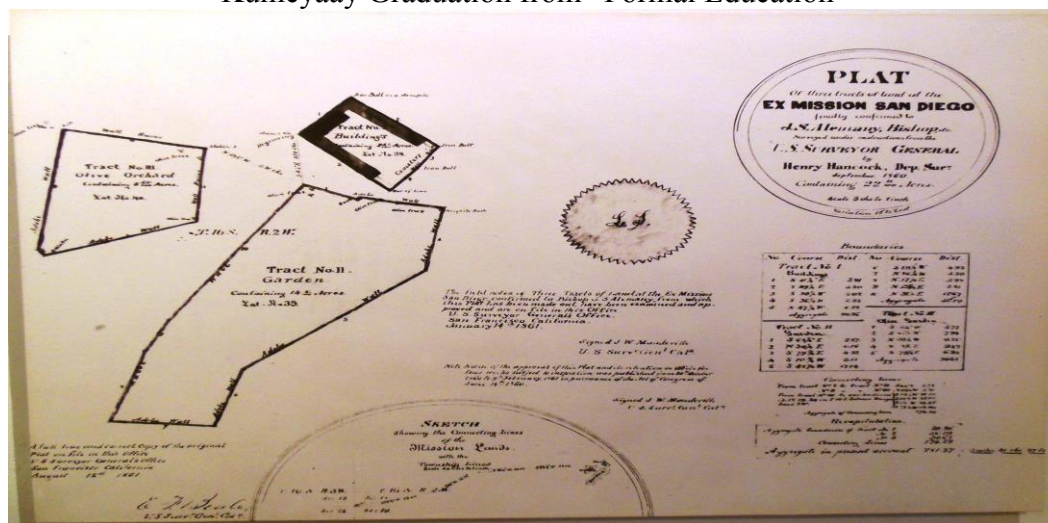


Figure 1-2 San Diego de Alcalá Blueprint. San Diego de Alcalá Museum plaque, May 9, 2013

Students who graduated from “formal” education were placed in leadership positions. The priests relied on Kumeyaay labor and support. They needed their pupils to feel that they were in charge. Without the pivotal support of these chosen few, the Missionization program would have failed. Franciscans sought out children because they were critical to the missionary program. In Franciscan thought children are conceptualized as the gateway to the Christianization of their parents; “through their graduates changed that social order.”<sup>90</sup>

In order to change society through their graduates the initial phase of missionary education stressed that through Christian pedagogy they had to break down the Indian and construct a “new” Spanish Christian subject. Social order is vital to the European model of learning. Social order as a construct is seen in society, in the Catholic faith, and in the classroom. Pupils who graduated from formal education were promoted as

90. Barth, *Franciscan Education*, 197 & 198.

overseers of their people. When it came to selecting a model for building, the Mediterranean architectural tradition was the style of choice for missions. The space within the mission was arranged in a hierarchal manner representative of Spanish societal hierarchy, “in the representation of social spaces, like in all representation, space is often subject to being either idealized or reified.”<sup>91</sup> The cathedrals were central to the missions, because both the “cathedral and the bell tower were the highest point structure.”<sup>92</sup> While the missions structure varied the basic structure included “the central quadrangle, built around an enclosed interior courtyard, contained the church, the *convent* (or apartments for the two resident padres), visitors’ quarters, kitchens, storage rooms, craft production areas, and *monjerío*.”<sup>93</sup> In the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá, the structure was built similarly to the basic architecture. Mission architecture fitted well with the Missionization Program because it required that the missionaries have the “all seeing eye.” Kumeayaay graduates of the Missionization Program became the mission’s overseers when friars were absent. *Temastians*, *alcaldes* (overseers), and “educated” women were the backbone of the mission, and without them the Missionization Program would have not succeeded. The priests needed leaders who were able to maneuver both worlds and who were willing to believe in the efficacy of the Missionization Program. The mission panopticon was complete with the “all seeing eye” on the mission Indians.<sup>94</sup>

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91. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*, 45.

92. *Ibid.*, 51.

93. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 56.

94. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

Immediately after the construction of a mission, priests looked for children or adults to serve in leadership positions. One powerful position for a young Kumeyaay was the *temastian* position or missionary assistants during catechism. *Temastianes* assisted priests during catechism and with other churchly matters. The *temastian* acted as a cultural intermediary, translator, and interpreter because they moved from one world into the other.<sup>95</sup> *Temastianes* were the missionaries' right hand during the all phases of missionization. The *Temastianes* were young boys who were taught how read and write in Spanish and Latin and they became the ideal translators.<sup>96</sup> These translators were placed in leadership positions as catechists once they graduated. *Temastianes* reported to the missionaries if anyone missed class or if pupils were practicing their ancestral forms of worship. This often led to disciplinary actions by the missionaries. Although, *temastianes* were placed in leadership positions for the missionaries they were problematic and difficult to discipline because *temastianes* were generally young boys with a basic understanding of the Spanish tongue and were in power position. One can only speculate as to the extent the newly baptized Kumeyaay Christians fully understood the workings of the Christian doctrine.

Women also held leadership positions if they were of *mestizo* descent and from central Mexico. Women like Apolinaria Lorenzana and Eulalia Pérez were known as *la ama de llaves*, which was a leadership position within the mission complex. As keepers of the keys they were responsible for specific duties such as keeping inventory of the

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95. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 289.

96. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*; Barth, *Franciscan Education*.

mission's stores and supplies, foodstuffs, yardage, and dry goods. As *Ama de llaves* these women were integral components to the mission system because they oversaw everything inside the walls of the mission. These women at times had different roles within the mission. In Apolinaria's case she was more than an *ama de llaves*, she was responsible for the duties of the kitchen, was a teacher, nurse, and the godmother of about a thousand children in Alta California.

#### Funding Missionization Program

Formally educating the Kumeyaay required ample funding or the Missionization Program risked failure. Under Spain's rule, the mission system was the primary economic institution of California. The mission economic system initiated the process of primitive accumulation, or the shift of feudalism to the early stages of capitalism; we must note that the Kumeyaay entered this economic shift from hunter and gathers. Although, the mission system never became fully capitalistic, it maintained a semi-feudal state.<sup>97</sup>

The Mission of San Diego de Alcalá was required by the Crown to be self-sustaining and to provide goods to the Presidio, a task that strained missionaries and their ability to supply food and materials for everyone in San Diego. During the early period of the Missionization Program, the missionaries and the Spanish military fought to maintain complete control of the land, money, and people. Father Serra won the fight in 1773, when the viceroy of New Spain stationed in Mexico City granted Father Serra's request to transfer all of the temporalities from the military to the Church under the condition that the missions provide goods to the Presidio. Control of temporalities meant the

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97. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*.

missionaries now had purchasing power to buy supplies and food. The Spanish Crown did not hesitate in granting Father Serra his demand for it would cut costs down for the Crown by limiting sending goods to Alta California from central Mexico. Now, Father Serra and his predecessors had complete control of the land and the people of Alta California including, “[c]ontrol[ling] most of the arable land, vast livestock herds, and a workforce of thousands of Indians who tended the herds and plowed mission fields.”<sup>98</sup> No one could hinder indigenous training.<sup>99</sup>

Scholars debate on whether the mission labor system “constituted communal, slavery, or feudal-like conditions.”<sup>100</sup> The mission labor system incorporated each type of labor in order to support the mission system. Labor was divided by gender and vocation. Specialized jobs appeared later in missions. Men worked as *mayordomos* and they were responsible for overseeing the livestock, workshops, and reported to the missionary in charge of temporal affairs.<sup>101</sup> Men worked outside in the fields and *rancherías*. Women were in charge of the everyday operations in the missions--economically and socially. They were involved in all occupational aspects by “supervis[ing] the cooking and distributing food in the *pozolera* (communal cooking and eating area); storing, inspecting, and disbursing supplies; and supervising the *neófitos* who were cooks,

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98. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*, 22.

99. Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1800s*, 14.

100. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 66.

101. Archibald, "The Economic Development of the Hispanic California Missions," 235.

seamstresses, soap makers, and wine makers.”<sup>102</sup> Inside the mission, hierarchies between indigenous and Spanish-Mestiza women were important. This was done purposely by the Franciscans when they placed women of Spanish-Mexican descent in positions of power due to their ethnicity. Spanish-Mexican women were teachers and overseers of the newly converted indigenous women.<sup>103</sup> Replicating the racial hierarchies of New Spain, therefore, was an integral component of Franciscan education. Controlling funds was imperative to the Missionization Program. Funding the Missionization Program was part of the greater schooling system. While many of the Kumeyaay worked in low-level positions in the missions they applied what they learned during catechism classes and vocational training to maintain the Missionization Program.

#### Kumeyaay Formal Education on the Environment

*In the order and manner described, the Spaniards made their marches over vast territories that became **more fertile and more pleasant** the farther they penetrated to the (?). In general, the whole country is inhabited by a large number of Indians, who came forth to receive the Spaniards ... They are very docile and tractable, especially from San Diego onward- 1769.<sup>104</sup>*

This passage, from the *Diary of Miguel Costansó*, was produced during the Cabrillo expedition. The Spanish view of nature was different to that of the Kumeyaay. The land that Spaniards traversed in their expeditions was seen as pristine and untouched, unbeknown to the Spanish missionaries and soldiers; however, that land had been molded

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102. Chavez-Garcia, *Negotiating Conquest Gender and Power in California*, 21.

103. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California*, 84.

104. Beebe and Senkewicz, *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846*, 117. Emphasis added.

for thousands of years by the Kumeyaay. The Kumeyaay assisted with plant growth after the wet season and prevented certain plants from growing through the use of controlled fires. Nature provided acorn for the Kumeyaay--an important food source--and they assured the land was taken care of.<sup>105</sup> This changed after the missionaries arrived. The land was drastically transformed by the introduction of new microbes, animals, and flora by the new intruders.<sup>106</sup>

The Spanish associated specific animals associated with “civilization” and “education,” this was based on “economic organization based on agriculture and ranching.”<sup>107</sup> Domesticated animals and plants such as cattle, horses, sheep, and goats and corn, barley, were used to stimulate the new economy.<sup>108</sup> The Franciscans were unaware of the effects these Old World introductions would have on the landscapes. These animals and plants changed the environmental panorama and at the same time changed Kumeyaay food source.<sup>109</sup>

The introduction of livestock into Alta California changed the ecology of the land in a short amount of time, and “horses and other livestock represented an unprecedented package of economic, environmental, and biological impacts. Trails formerly suited for

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105. Anderson and Whitworth, "A World of Balance and Plenty Land, Plants, Animals, and Humans in a Pre-European California," 26.

106. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

107. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*, 8.

108. Ibid.

109. Anderson, “A World of Balance and Plenty and Plenty Land, Plants Animals, and Humans in a Pre-European California.”

foot traffic and goods carried by hand were now conduits for animal traffic.”<sup>110</sup> Mission livestock increased quickly by 1803, “6,813 to 77,578, with horses, mules, sheep, goats, and pigs showing similar gains.”<sup>111</sup> The exponential growth of livestock in Kumeyaay country forced them to move further inland or move into Mission of San Diego because native vegetation had been almost entirely destroyed.<sup>112</sup>

There were Indians who willingly converted into Catholicism and became Mission Indians as they would be known; however, many others were forced to become “educated” because their food source was destroyed. These Kumeyaay came into the Missionization program forcefully and were then introduced to “formal” European education. During their stay at the missions they were taught how to become European farmers. Missionaries instructed the Kumeyaay in what plants needed to be cultivated, how to use Old World tools and the colonizers attempted to change Kumeyaay way of looking at the land.

#### Discipline within the Confines of the Mission

Before Christian conversion, indigenous individuals had the liberty to leave the mission whenever they wanted. Once the passage into Catholicism began, they were restricted from leaving the mission. This was done for two reasons: firstly, the converted Indians were free laborers to the mission; and secondly, conceptualized as neophytes they were seen as children who needed instruction and guidance. Those who converted to

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110. Zappia, "Indigenous Borderlands: Livestock, Captivity, and Power in the Far West."

111. Sandos, *Converting California*, 85.

112. *Ibid.*, 79.

Catholicism--regardless of sex or previous status in their native society--were viewed as children by the priests. Some members of the Catholic orders believed Indians were beings unable to think for themselves. Therefore, the “baptized Indians became legal wards, children subservient to their priests/fathers at the mission to which were they assigned. [The] mission Indians lost personal freedom and could travel [outside the mission] only with a pass signed by a priest.”<sup>113</sup> Spanish law allowed for priests to act and see themselves as the fathers and the caretakers of the natives who would instruct them on morality.

Corporal punishment was part of the indigenous life in the mission. Missionaries saw themselves as fathers and the Indians as their children. Junípero Serra asserted, “the spiritual fathers should be able to punish their sons, the Indians, with blows” and Father Lasuén said, “[L]ike any good father...of a civilized nation...should forbid his children.”<sup>114</sup> The implementation of corporal punishment was a daily occurrence in the missions. The fathers saw this type of harsh discipline as necessary to “civilize” the indigenous people, and to become civilized was an integral part of their education. Although, missionaries saw it as necessary they expressed guilt and lamented hurting Indians. As any other parent, they believed corporal punishment a necessary evil.

Paternalistic feelings were common by priests; the priests saw themselves in reference to the natives as the king saw himself to his Spanish subjects; as father and children. Just as subjects were children to father king, so were natives to priest. Priests by

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113. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*, 206.

114. Gutiérrez and Orsi, *Contested Eden*, 147.

law “assumed that role of the paternalistic father to native [adults] legally defined as children (*niños con barbas*, or children with beards) and by law were permitted to use corporal punishment to discipline them.<sup>115</sup> This included anything from “coercive measures, including solitary confinement, whippings, stocks, and leg chains, to punish neophytes for infractions against work schedule and moral code.”<sup>116</sup> Corporal punishment was thought to be cruel and excessive at times by the Spanish Crown, but the missionaries swore by these measures. Dating as far back to the conquest of Mexico, missionaries felt and believed they were “fathers” in every sense of the word, and as “fathers” they had the right to instruct Amerindians as children.<sup>117</sup> The priests of Mission of San Diego “educated” the Kumeyaay through these measures and the more pressure they placed on the Kumeyaay, the more resistant the indigenous people became. The Kumeyaay were resistant to the abuses of the priests and violence against their women; on several occasions they revolted, and in one case they burned down the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá and assassinated Father Jayme, a young priest at the time in 1775.

### Conclusion

Alessandro exhibited all of the traits transferred from his formal education, singing and playing the violin, but he did not forget his past. The moment missions were introduced into Alta California native identity shifted into a borderlands identity, and now the Kumeyaay were forced to navigate, and resist a new culture. Simultaneously and

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115. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*, xiii.

116. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, qtd in 60.

117. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 322-323.

subconsciously cultural systems changed for both parties from increased interactions. The Borderlands exploded and created an imaginary and real space where everyday negotiations occurred between cultures, history, ideologies, mentalities, and educational systems.

This chapter discussed the introduction of formal education for the Kumeyaay and its ramifications. The Missionization Program (i.e. formal education) was transmitted through the Franciscan Order. Missionaries were trained under their own methods and ideology in what constituted acceptable education for Native Americans. Methods applied by the missionaries ranged from mundane memorization to the use of the arts and music, and vocational training. These methods assured the immersion of Christian and Spanish ideology and education into everyday life.

The Missionization Program required funding to continue “educating” indigenous peoples. The mission system was step-up as its own heterotopia, economically independent and self-sustaining inside a micro-bubble. Within the confines of the mission walls the priest provided food, clothing, and other materials fabricated and labored by the Kumeyaay. The environment was part of the equation. Dispossessing the Kumeyaay from their land forced many Kumeyaay to transition into the Missionization Program. The environment, which was a natural classroom for the Kumeyaay, became drastically transformed by the introduction of cattle and European forms of agriculture into Alta California. The ecology changed forever.

Formal education could not be completed without graduates. Once a pupil graduated from the program they were placed in leadership positions. *Mestiza* women, *temastian*, *alcaldes* were the extension of the priests eyes. They contributed to the

Missionization Program by instructing catechism, translating, and managing the land according to Spanish traditions. In order to maintain the program discipline was a requirement. The priest made sure that everyone followed the rules or there were consequences to be paid. Corporal punishment ranged from public humiliation to gruesome beatings.

This process of (re)education took years to accomplish. According to the Crown it was to be accomplished within ten years, but such projects were seldom ever completed within this time restriction. The priests were Kumeyaay teachers who were willing to go to extreme lengths to assure they received education that would allow them to navigate Spanish culture.

## CHAPTER 2

### Formal Education: Boarding Schools to Public Schools, 1833-1900s

The first phase of Kumeyaay education dealt with indigenous education and the second phase dealt the introduction of formal schooling for the Kumeyaay. The Missionization Program used various techniques to (re)educate the Kumeyaay; one critical method was the use of religion to school the Kumeyaay. After missionization education, the following two stages of national and democratization. The Mexican phase of Kumeyaay education was framed by Mexican liberalism, an education that transferred from the hands of the Church and into the hands of the nation state.<sup>118</sup> These two new nations--Mexico and the United States--created and molded a new national identity, one in which educated the masses and now was part of the new Missionazation Program. In these two educational phases and the birth of the nation-states, pedagogical methods were borrowed from the Church and adopted by the nation-state. To further understand the Mexican and American educational phases and its effects on Kumeyaay education, we must take a deeper look into formal education. Formal education interrupts indigenous education, initiated by the Church and later practiced by Mexico and the United States. This chapter will unravel the framework of formal education, and how it was used by Mexico and the United States to socialize the Kumeyaay and incorporate them into a new national identity that is prevalent today.

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118. Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928*.

### Formal Education for the Masses

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, nationalism reached its climax and education branched out into two areas. The first branch of education values experiences, unwritten knowledge passed down from generation to generation. The second branch of education is the invention of man, a human institution and human development which makes up formal education.<sup>119</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, enlightenment ideas hit the world stage, and as a result, national states borrowed heavily from these ideas. The rise of scientific knowledge, secularization, right to sovereignty, and the idea of the nation-state became prominent ideas among thinkers and philosophers. Men like Voltaire, Pain, Locke, and Rousseau, enlightenment scholars, believed that the state needed to take a different role on how it implemented formal education. This proposed education, a logical education, broke away from human experience and morality as valued knowledge--this knowledge now belonged within the confines of the Church. The Church was responsible in assuring the entrance of souls into the heavens while logical knowledge assured the advancement of civilization.

The Enlightenment period illuminated the path of humanity away from the dark ages into an era of the accumulation of knowledge, logic, and science. While the Enlightenment era changed western thought on what constituted education and who had the power to implement it, these ideas did not originate with Enlightenment philosophers. Western philosophers adopted heavily from Greek thinkers. Aristotle, Socrates, and Epicurus contributed to the rule of law and education. For example, Plato's, *The Republic*

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119. Lodge, *Plato's Theory of Education*.

documents the perfect city and what type of education it offers, one available for all of their citizens.<sup>120</sup> Socrates envisioned a perfect city, one that provides its citizens with compulsory education regardless of age, class, and sex. Compulsory education did not mean quality and equal education for all. Citizens were not equal; they were segregated according to class and rank. Parent's class was determined by whether one was born into gold, silver, and/or bronze and children received an education according to their rank. Each class was associated with specific attributes. For example, citizens born into the gold class received leadership education called "philosophies." Attributes associated with leadership were valued and cultivated in youth. It is important to note that even at this time. Socrates discussed separating knowledge from formal and informal education--a radical position at the time, as was proposing compulsory education for all.

The blue print for the perfect citizen was written by the Greeks, revived by Enlightenment thinkers, and implemented by nation-states. The ultimate goal for formal education was to groom the perfect citizen.<sup>121</sup> In order to "educate" each tribe, community, and nation they must have some commonalities to communicate and understand each other. These common roots are disseminated through communication. As nation-states were creating their identity, they needed a sense of homogeneity, commonality, and common understandings to survive.<sup>122</sup> Communication is a type of "memory culture" that influences and links a group, the environment, language, customs,

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120. Plato, *The Republic of Plato*.

121. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*; Lomawaima and McCarty, "*To Remain an Indian*."

122. Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 4.

and rituals.<sup>123</sup> Transmitting knowledge of rituals, culture, customs, traditions, and cosmologies are unique to each community, and the context it is learned. In the nation-state education context linking the past to the present, requires the knowledge to be passed down by writing.<sup>124</sup> Every civilization has their unique system of symbols used to document their past, either orally or written. Formal education is then contingent on what the government decides to teach in a school. Knowledge passed down is controlled by who transmits it, where it is transmitted, and when it is transmitted. Formal education follows a guideline of rules, and it must tie back to the benefit of the state and the continuation of their civilization.

#### Language, Literacy, and Writing Systems

The use of language, literacy and writing systems are classified under formal education. In today's formal education competency is a requirement in all three areas: language, literacy, and writing. These frequent markers are used in formal education to demonstrate the students' competency of societal rules and laws and whether they will be contributing members of their society. The prerequisite is set by the government and how it is implemented. Power and control come from the organization of human knowledge. There are different techniques on what is taught, how it will be transmitted, and who has the power over these markers. For Saint Augustine, this was "an issue of hierarchy, decided by its place in the theological discourse and the organization of human

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123. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*.

124. Ibid.

knowledge.”<sup>125</sup> The question of “original” language is a point of whom--what group of people--the language belongs to, and who are excluded from this language.

Controlling the use of language equates to power. The Missionary period was well known for this as Saint Augustine, ties the use of “original” language with hierarchy. How is language organized? For Saint Augustine, “original” language of Christ was written in the Bible. However, when taking a closer look on the “official” language Saint Augustine does not refer what language is spoken, but what is written--in this case it is the word of God, but can be any language ordained by the leaders. Declaring an official language excludes people who do not speak or read the language they are outside of the organized language, and for those who believe in the official language they are holders of the truth--this includes the nation, church, or community.<sup>126</sup>

The power of written memory converted Romans from a pagan society into a monotheistic society that later swept throughout Europe and the world. Written symbols are performed and are powerful tools specifically used religiously.<sup>127</sup> The Christian religion split from primary religions, religions that use oral traditions, and turned into secondary religions, thus adopting the concept of holding the ultimate truth.<sup>128</sup> The ultimate truth held by missionaries was used to break indigenous education by moving

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125. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 43.

126. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*.

127. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*.

128. Assmann, *The Price of Monotheism*.

rituals from memorization to “textual continuity.”<sup>129</sup> Textual continuity defined as a living history that travels across time. It was used to diminish the threat of becoming an illegitimate religion.<sup>130</sup> This is important because the framing for Missionization Program preserves the Christian God through the written word. Written works were used within the religious realm in order to record rituals and stories about their God. Written knowledge set the foundation for keepers of knowledge known as priests. They were required to performed rituals similarly and correctly every time as instructed in the written word.<sup>131</sup> Jan Assmann calls it “continuity” under single language concepts of culture later became “textual continuity.” Knowledge stayed in these books forever fossilized, without an end, thus the continuity.

Societies who acquired the written record of knowledge--i.e. knowledge--were “civilized” and holders of the truth in the eyes of Europeans during the sixteenth century.<sup>132</sup> “Civilization” carries the connotation of power and subjugation of the “other.” The “other” referred to working class, rural, women, and indigenous peoples.<sup>133</sup> In any society or community, the “other” is one who do not subscribe to European ideals, beliefs, laws, language, and culture. Nations and religions believe they are truth bearers, and actively work to consolidate a single national language and religion; thus, attempting

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129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid.,70.

132. Ibid.

133. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

to remove the “otherness,” including the native tongue. Formal education was a tool used to civilize indigenous peoples to school in the concepts of nationalism and Christianity.

These conquerors, nations and religions, imagine or invent traditions, rituals, and practices to “govern overtly or tacitly.”<sup>134</sup> They break away from the culture they are dominating and “inculcate certain values” to serve as a “continuity” of their history.<sup>135</sup> The use of language and writing is also critical to further the idea of “continuity” of the conquerors past as it also creates a set of values and social rules to be followed by the masses. Walter Mignolo describes this management of continuity as the consolidation of “vernacular language needed the letter [was used] to tame the voice and grammar [of the other and] to control the mobility of the flow of speech.”<sup>136</sup>

Mignolo gives a great example behind the power of controlling language. In 1492, Spanish grammar writer Nebrija convinced Queen Isabella of Spain the authority of his grammar book. Nebrija argued his book gave her, the Queen, control over the “barbarians.” Controlling the language was part of missionization. The “other” must be destroyed completely in order to reduce a rebellion against their power.<sup>137</sup> It is a necessity to convert the colonized into the colonizer’s dominant language. Conversion translated to a powerful tool for queens and kings of Europe, and soon they adopted this view on integration of one language.

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134. Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

135. Ibid.

136. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 45.

137. Machiavelli, *The Prince*.

Written language is only powerful for those who hold the ability to read the symbols. Early on clergymen and nobility held the exclusive power of literacy and powerful positions, a responsibility tied to their rank. People in these classes were taught how to read and write from a young age in the formal setting. An increase of literacy and communication exploded in Europe during the sixteenth century with the invention of the printing press among the upper class.<sup>138</sup>

Restricting the power of reading and writing to men in nobility and clergymen was systematically done by their government and religion. These two institutional entities controlled the pen. The masses were forced into submission because lack of access to schools and thus increase illiteracy. To control the pen one has to control the “other,” as Nebrija argued. Maintaining the power of knowledge--literacy and writing--within tight circles upheld the power structure. Although increased literacy in Europe was related to the creation of the printing press, there were other contributing factors that increased literacy. One indicator included the forced interaction of people through trade.<sup>139</sup> Ideas exchanged between people, and by the end of the eighteenth-century knowledge was free-flowing and more accessible, and accessibility required more control over the written word tightly run by those in power.

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138. Houston, "Literacy and Society in the West, 1500–1850."

139. Ibid.

### Organization of Knowledge in Formal Education

Now that language and writing was tightly under the yoke of the government and in the church, organization of this knowledge is required. In formal education, knowledge is organized in a hierarchical pyramid before it is transmitted from the teacher to the pupil.<sup>140</sup> This pyramid organizes knowledge, people, and the use of space and time in order to maximize reproduction.<sup>141</sup> Hierarchy teaches the child rules of power that begins with their teacher--as we saw with mission education. From a young age, the child is inculcated to accept the hierarchy of society through formal schooling. The child learns that s/he is inferior to their teacher, their teacher is inferior to the administration, the administration is inferior to the school district, and so forth. The construction of the school replicates a hierarchical structure; the erection of school walls to the construction of the classroom, every space is organized in such a manner. Modern day schools continue to use this model where the administration building is the “all seeing eyes.”<sup>142</sup> The administration building is often located in the middle or at the front of the school and it serves as the locus of power within the school walls. Buildings are constructed to enclose students within the walls of the school to maximize their production.<sup>143</sup>

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140. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

141. Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum, and the School and Society*; Marx, *Capital Volume I*.

142. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

143. Marx, *Capital Volume I*.

One way to maximize knowledge production is to organize the classroom in a way that resembles a “factory line.”<sup>144</sup> Classroom organization establishes a hierarchy between the teacher and students in organizing individual desks in rows facing the teacher.<sup>145</sup> Organizing the classroom this way with the teacher in the front of the classroom, establishes a hierarchy. It also delivers the “disciplinary gaze” to assure the students’ are on task.<sup>146</sup> This hierarchical structure increases students’ production without necessarily inflicting physical pain. Another form to capitalize learning is regulating time. Time is capitalized by assigning subjects that will be taught in the allotted time given by the teacher. When school begins, the students are instructed from the moment they walk onto school premises. Students are told when they can take breaks, for how long they can take breaks and when they can leave school. Everything is controlled by the teacher, and the teacher follows the rules imposed on them by the school. The school has to deliver to meet state requirements. All aspects are overseen by the nation-state.

Curriculums are another form to control time to maximize input and output. Instructor’s curriculum specifies what material will be covered, how it will be covered, and how much time is needed for students to acquire and respond to new material. The curriculum is replicated for each incoming group of students. John Dewey focuses on the power of the curriculum and acknowledges this power is used to “teach” children without

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144. Dewey, *Democracy and Education*.

145. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

146. Ibid.

teaching.<sup>147</sup> Teaching without teaching means that students are not taught real-life concepts. Students are taught through worksheets and other materials that do not teach students to conceptualize and think. Paulo Freire touches on this point, “[v]erbalistic lessons, reading requirements, the methods for evaluating ‘knowledge,’ the distance between the teacher and the taught, the criteria for promotion: everything in this ready-to-wear approach serves to obviate thinking.”<sup>148</sup>

#### Transfer of Power from Church to State

The organization of knowledge and the dissemination of the material is important in how formal education functions. The apex of formal education is controlling language and writing, it works from a top-down pyramid model. Transferring power from the Church to the state was not an easy transition. Furthermore, the methods adopted by each institution differ to an extent, especially how each institution disciplines their pupils. Formal education has always been tied to discipline. In this section, secularization and disciplinary methodology will be unraveled beginning with the exchange of power.

Formal education incorporates three important components: control of the body, mind, space and time. To control this aspect of classroom discipline the use of torture--that is public humiliation through any means possible--will be inflicted to keep them all within these social limits. Psychologists and educators call this rewards and punishment. Children are rewarded when they respond correctly to the teacher’s request, or they are

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147. Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum*.

148. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 57.

punished for not responding to the command correctly given by the instructor. Disciplining through education establishes a hierarchy between the adult and the child.

Informal education, teachers are vectors of truth and knowledge; after all they have the command of written language. During the sixteenth-century to the early nineteenth century, priests were in charge of educating the masses through the word of God in the national language. This changed with the arrival of secularization. Secularization removed centuries of Church tutelage on education and power was transferred to the state. Until then, priests were known as the truth holders and were given ultimate power over their subjects. Anointed by the Church and supported by the state, priests assured all their students were well versed in the word of God. The institution of religion offered more than education, it offered salvation and an entrance to heaven. Power shifted, and science instruction replaced religious instruction as Emile Durkheim points out; “among the more advanced thinkers science has replaced religion.”<sup>149</sup> The truth shifted from a sacred space to a secular space, and now secular teachers are holders of the truth. Thinkers, as Durkheim calls them, replaced theologians. Knowledge of truth moved away from God’s hands and focused on non-godly matters including homogeneity of the nation and the ultimate citizen. Citizens are schooled in the dominant language and culture, history and laws, but most poignantly pupils are molded into “good” subjects/citizens. Division between religion and education ruptured, and formal education becomes scientific and logical. The use of formal education no longer held the power of God’s punishment.

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149. Durkheim, *Moral Education*, 69.

Through all of these changes, discipline was not removed from formal education. Formal education borrowed disciplinary methods from the Missionary Program. Durkheim asserts that discipline and education are interlocked together, and one cannot have one without the other. All types of education, disciplining is needed if not required by the state, however how disciplinary methods were applied to children were not identical. Rules, or boundaries, are set by each culture, community, and in this case the nation was instrumental for the complete control from the panopticon, in many cases.<sup>150</sup> However progressive the state might have been, the nation enforced consequences for those who did not follow the rules imposed on teachers and students.

First, priests adopted the “father” role and were entitled to “save” their flock by any means possible, even using physical violence to educate Native Americans.<sup>151</sup> Salvation is the key to missionary educational methods because it subjugates indigenous peoples, and it segregates from converted to unconverted, educated to uneducated, and civilized to uncivilized--it creates the “other.” The “saved” natives are now holders of the “truth,” and their family and friends who were not converted did not know the “truth.” Priests and the neophyte, newly converted American Indians, worked closely to bring more people to the “truth.”

Before secularization, the Catholic Church was known as THE expert in delivering discipline when “educating” native populations during the late 1770s in Alta California. By this time, the Catholic Church had hundreds of years of perfecting the art

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150. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

151. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*.

of discipline, beginning in the eleventh century. Punishment encompassed anything from a simple scolding to torture when educating the Kumeyaay. Pain inflicted on indigenous peoples ranged from starvation to public humiliation.<sup>152</sup> In an interview with a Kumeyaay member, he remembers stories passed down to his grandfather about living in Mission of San Diego de Alcalá. In the story, his great-great-grandfather stole food from the mission because he was starving. When he was caught by the priests, they whipped him in front of everyone. This, of course, did not deter the little one from stealing food.<sup>153</sup> Submission was the goal of the priest and torture was the preferred method used on the Kumeyaay. Priests mostly focused on setting examples so others would not revolt against them.

By the eighteenth-century, as Foucault describes, a transitional phase from physical discipline to non-physical discipline occurred outside the classroom and much later it was adopted inside the classroom. The use of corporal punishment moved away from the public's eye and into the dark shadows. The horrifying "disciplining" by using torture devices and public executions were no longer the norm. This is important because the public's perception changed on what is acceptable and not acceptable when disciplining. The change also occurred inside the classroom, disciplinary methods evolved from physically hurting the body to reorganizing physical space in the classroom

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152. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*; Gutiérrez and Orsi, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*; Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850*; Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest*; Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*.

153. Informal conversation with tribal member, May 5, 2013.

to give the illusion of discipline.<sup>154</sup> A component of the “illusion of disciplining,” is the watchful “master’s eyes.” As a result of the watchful eye, “educational space unfolds; [and] the class becomes homogenous, it is no longer made up of individual elements arranged side by side” pupils are numbers.<sup>155</sup> Through “master’s eyes” or the “disciplinary gaze,” the “new” corporal punishment, teachers keep order and control in the classroom. The use of physical discipline is removed, and replaced with self-monitoring. The “disciplinary gaze” is a reminder of the power the instructor holds. This is important because nation-states over the course of time replaced physical punishment with the “disciplinary gaze” to discipline students.

Formal education is set-up in a hierarchical manner between students and teachers. Organization of time, space, and knowledge is a component of formal education. Each hierarchical ladder is dedicated to maximizing input and production from the students. Everything is controlled by the nation-state. Disciplining is a strong factor to the success of formal education and the formation of the nation.

### Educational Phase 3: The Mexican Period

The following phases shifted from the hands of the Church and the Spanish into the hands of the nation-state. Mexico and the United States take on different educational systems. In these two phases the nation-state controls education and inculcate national values into the Kumeyaay. Although there is a shift in power, missionary educational methodology is practiced in these two phases, with a minor change; religion is no longer

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154. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

155. *Ibid.*, 146.

the core. In the following phases the national state oversees formal education; the Church is no longer allowed to teach Kumeyaay children. The shift occurs during the enlightenment period, and liberal ideas made it to the newly formed Mexican and American state. Each government had its own philosophy on education. For the Mexican government, education encompassed a liberal compulsory free schooling offered to every Mexican child. After all, the Mexican state was creating and carving a new Mexican liberal identity.

The Mexican period for the Kumeyaay was another form of education. This new education cradled a new ideology and a new way of being--one that was aligned with Mexican identity. The missionization period was over, and a new era began, an era of (re) education for the Kumeyaay. Mexicans came into the picture with a new ideology specifically targeting education. Mexican independence birthed a new type of people and nationalism since 1810. Mexicans were neither Spanish nor indigenous. Instead they were a mix of both ethnicities, and this amalgamation was used as a tool to differentiate this new breed of people. In Mexico, the fight for independence was occurring; a struggle that went on for more than ten years. During this tumultuous time in Mexico, Alta California and all of Mexico's northern territory took care of their own affairs. Missions continued to be run by priests in Alta California. In 1812-1813, Mexico passed laws to dismantle the mission system in Alta California. By the time Mexicans reached *Antigua California*, the missions were in ruins after secularization laws passed.

However, Missions kept a tight knit control of the wealth and labor provided by the mission system. Priests were forced by the Mexican government to hand over their wealth to the state. In theory missionaries had to distribute mission land and wealth to the

Mission Indians of California which, of course, did not occur as originally envisioned. Due to the administrator's greed they did not redistribute the land to the natives who worked it for so many years even before the Spanish invasion.<sup>156</sup>

During this time, *Alta California* went through a transitional phase of power. The Californios, wealthy Mexicanos, struggled to fight with the newly formed Mexican state. Californios included men from the patriarchal Vallejo family and they envisioned a different type of education, a liberal one--"a secular and individualistic doctrine."<sup>157</sup> Liberal ideologies ran rampant across Latin America, and it crossed borders into Alta California. The newly found liberalism practiced by well known families in California established a climate for progression, at least in theory it did.<sup>158</sup> This progress included compulsory education.

#### Formal Education and Rebellion

Mexican liberals tied progression with compulsory education.<sup>159</sup> The Mexican educational program, a liberal and positivist education, sought to remove Mexican "backwardness" by eliminating all indigenous languages and history and consolidating it into the imagined community of the new Mexican national identity. This identity incorporated the *mestizo* background, the mixing of both indigenous and European

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156. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*.

157. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*; Thomson, "Popular Aspects of Liberalism in Mexico, 1848-1888."

158. *Ibid.*

159. Friedlander, "The National Indigenist Institute of Mexico Reinvents the Indian: The Pame Example."

culture. Hierarchy between races was a common practice in New Spain and later in Mexico; however, the European side always subdued the indigenous side. They were known as *gente de razón*. Mexico's early national period and liberal ideology would only succeed by using formal education as a tool to "missionize." Mexico's compulsory education started in 1868. Half of the Kumeyaay people experienced Mexico's compulsory education, and the other half experienced the American educational program. Before the American period, began with no Mexican period education was provided, in fact, the first school opened in Alta California in 1847, and it was a private school established by English settlers.

The Mexican phase bred a Kumeyaay rebellion. The Kumeyaay saw their chance to take land that rightfully belonged to them after secularization. Many of the Mission Indians, indigenous people who converted and lived in the mission, did not receive what they were promised, instead, after secularization they were without a home and land. Several Kumeyaay looked for work in the newly established ranchos while others joined their clans people. The Kumeyaay resisted colonization. This was as a result of the lack of food and environmental turmoil's Mission of San Diego experienced. Missionaries were unable to house all of the converts at one time. The Mission of San Diego de Alcalá often lacked food and for that reason the Kumeyaay were allowed to leave and scavenge for food.<sup>160</sup> This provided a unique situation for San Diego natives as they had a "privilege" other indigenous groups did not have, that is the retention and continuation of

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160. Sandos, "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California."

indigenous education. Missionaries sometimes allowed for the converted to leave the mission and practice traditional ways of life when they did not have enough food to give them.<sup>161</sup> The environment also played a role in the high retention of language and culture for the Kumeyaay.

Lack of organization and cohesion by the government in Alta California provided the opportunity for the Kumeyaay to re-take their land. In an excerpt by Apolinaria Lorenzana, Mexicans felt the Kumeyaay were coming to take over their land. She recalls an incident:

We were at the mission [Mission of San Diego] when Doña Juana Moreno's family arrived. They were headed to Santa Ana or Los Angeles because they had relatives there. They told us that the families were abandoning San Diego. Doña Juana asked Father Olivia for a room where they could spend the night, and he gave her room right next to his and to mine. The Indians' threats were increasing. Two days before, six or seven Indians arrived at the mission on horseback. They were carrying little sticks with red flags attached. This was a bad sign. . . The Indian said they were in Guajomita, a place very close to the mission. Everything seemed very suspicious.<sup>162</sup>

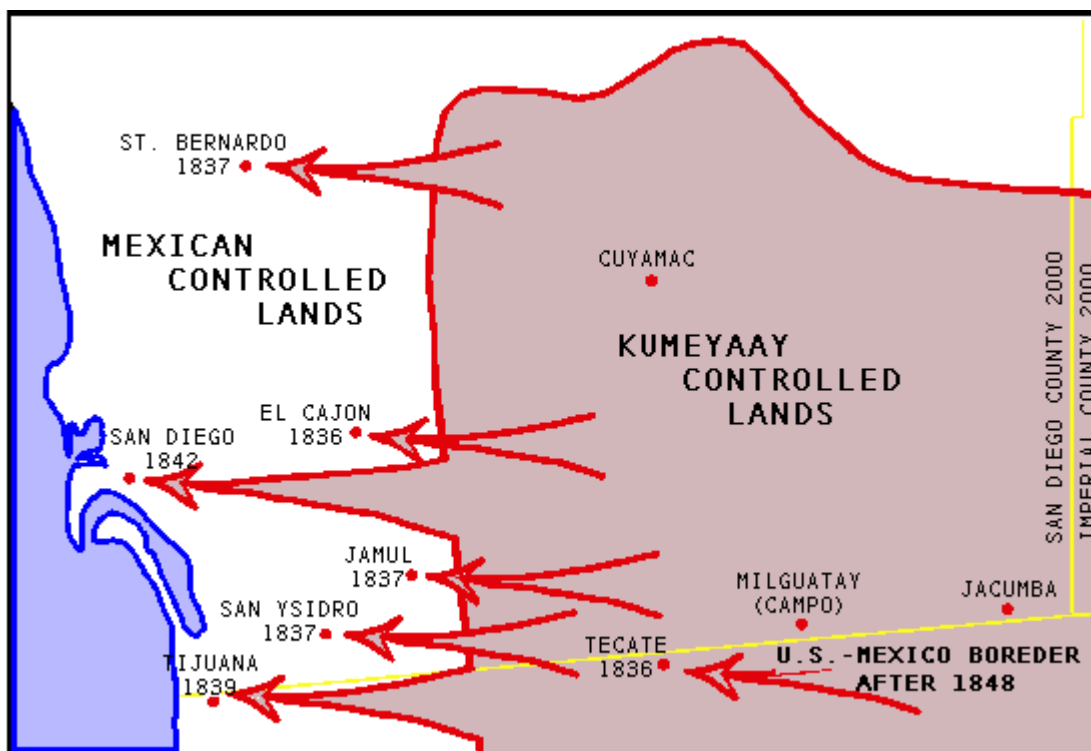
Later, their suspicions came true when they heard of the news that the Indians were planning on attacking the mission and killing all the white people. When the Kumeyaay attacked neighboring ranchos and re-took their land was a signal that they were going to fight until the end. Dismantling the missions and not giving the Kumeyaay the lands that rightfully belonged to them only fueled the attacks. The rebellion was proof that mission education did not remove indigenous education, as the Spanish and missionaries had hoped. Michael Connolly Miskwish's *Kumeyaay a History Textbook Precontact to 1893*

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161. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*.

162. Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios*, 183.

mapped how many ranchos the Kumeyaay attacked and how they were slowly re-taking their land. At one point, the Kumeyaay almost re-took San Diego.<sup>163</sup> Re-taking Kumeyaay land was done for survival and simultaneously they were re-claiming their indigenous education.



**Figure 2-3 Kumeyaay Attack Ranchos & Coastal Lands 1836-1842.** In Connolly Miskwish, *Kumeyaay a History Textbook Precontact to 1893*, Vol. 1

Mexicans were optimistic and tried to overcome the failed attempts of missionization by the Spanish. Mexicans adopted some of the unsuccessful educational methods used by the Spanish and the missionaries by relocating artisans and teachers in Alta California to teach all children from diverse backgrounds.<sup>164</sup> This was a failed

163. Connolly Miskwish, *Kumeyaay a History Textbook Precontact to 1893*, Vol. 1.

164. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*.

attempt from the Mexicans because they did not achieve their goal of assimilating the Kumeyaay into the newly formed Mexican national identity. Instead, Mexico lost control of the Kumeyaay. Even when the Mexican government sent teachers and artisans this was now a lost cause. Mexico missed an important institutional component by not building schools and controlling formal education in Alta California. As an alternative, Mexico relied on the Church to continue to teach indigenous children. Church educational power extended to indigenous peoples and simultaneously also reached wealthy Mexicans like the Vallejos. The Church repressed knowledge by controlling what types of books were permissible to read. Ultimately, they controlled the people both spiritually and intellectually.<sup>165</sup>

The Mexican educational program did not accomplish its goals; instead, the educational program inflamed the passion of fighting within the Kumeyaay, who fought the Mexicans off their lands. The conflicts ended when the Americans came into Mexican territory and won the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. Mexico and the U.S. signed the Treaty de Guadalupe in 1848 that ended the war, but also split Kumeyaay territory into an American and Mexican side. Kumeyaay residing in the south of San Diego continued the Mexican educational agenda. Mexican formal education broke away from American educational program, each program brought about different experiences for the Kumeyaay.

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165. Ibid.

#### Educational Phase 4: American Period

The Kumeyaay, who stayed in the new state of California of the United States, experienced another type of formal education. At this point, each government, the U.S. and Mexico adopted different ideologies on how to deal with the “Indian problem.” The state of California was not favorable to Native Americans. Instead of legally executing the terms stated in the Treaty of Guadalupe.

When California officially became a state in 1850 Americans Californians enacted a series of methods to rid themselves of Native Americans. In 1851 American Californians adopted various approaches to deal with the “Indian problem.” First Californians favored genocide.<sup>166</sup> A war of extermination was waged on the indigenous peoples of California by Governor Peter H. Burnett. Governor Burnett stated in his annual message of January 1851, “war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct.”<sup>167</sup> By 1860 a law passed in California allowing for young Indian children to be “bought” as “apprentices” by farmers and miners, this was a form of legal indenture.<sup>168</sup> This extermination policy went on until 1870.

Californians had one goal: exterminate the Indian. The state took two different routes, first one of the physical extermination and then one of formal education. The

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166. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo required the United States extend full citizenship to indigenous peoples of the land. As well as distributing land and access to formal education.

167. Heizer and Almquist, *The Other Californians*, 26.

168. Ibid.

policy adopted by the United States was to aggressively isolate and exterminate American Indians. Access to education for American Indian children was not available; legally they could not attend school. By 1868, the U.S. policy towards the indigenous population shifted from isolation to forced integration through “peaceful policies,” otherwise known as another Missionary Program. The U.S. contracted missionaries to “educate” indigenous children in the West.<sup>169</sup> The “peaceful” method was not translated with the people. There were a series of mixed messages in California, one to eliminate or integrate.

The Indian Civilization Fund Act passed in 1819 permitted indigenous children to attend school, and receive public rudimentary education. Access to schools was not provided by the state of California. By the 1850s, California adopted a series of schizophrenic laws to “protect” while excluding indigenous children from receiving an education. After working hard to eliminate California Indians, California was looking to “protect” Indians. However, these laws did not “protect” California Indians they further alienated indigenous peoples by placing them under arrest and pushing them out of their land. These laws permitted kidnapping and “adopting” Indian children to “protect” them and shelter them. This policy followed the Missionization Program, by removing the indigenous child from their parents, the children would be schooled to remove their Indian culture. Kidnapping was a well known practiced that went into the 1900s, as illustrated in Leslie Marmon Silko’s novel *Garden of Dunes* (1999).<sup>170</sup> Even though the

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169. Fritz, "The Making of Grant's "Peace Policy,"411-430.

170. Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes*.

US provided secular education to their citizens, African American and indigenous peoples were outside the American paradigm. In 1855, California legally excluded natives from public schools, and in 1860, the Common School Act solidified their stance.<sup>171</sup> California leaders were plagued with the “Indian” problem, and they saw no results from their previous stance. Slowly, Californians changed their stance in providing an education to native Californians, and by 1874, California legislature passed a law permitting separate schools for indigenous peoples.

Once the genocide was “over” during the late 1800s, the U.S. utilized education as the means to “civilize” indigenous peoples from North America. Americans sought out to inculcate an American national identity through exclusion and formal schooling. Schooling indigenous peoples was a “central component of the new peace policy, and as government agents framed new treaties they included provisions for schools and formal education.”<sup>172</sup> Schools were established on the reservations with a minimum of twenty students. The designed curriculum and government officials pushed or “motivated” youth on vocational subjects.<sup>173</sup>

Boarding schools became the norm in the United States during the late 1800s through the 1980s. Boarding schools were similar to missionary schools, only secularized. After California failed extermination policy for most of the late 1800s, the on-going war between indigenous nations and the U.S. was unbearable. President Grant

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171. Carrico, *Strangers in a Stolen Land*.

172. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*, 11.

173. *Ibid.*, 12.

changed U.S. policy with tribes by enacting a series of policies known as Peace Policies-- a series of laws enacted to assimilate Native Americans.

Throughout this gruesome period between tribes and the U.S., indigenous peoples never gave up fighting for their sovereignty. The initiation of the Peace Policies was one of the first steps from the U.S. government and recognizing indigenous peoples as natives of the land. Simultaneously, they were dispossessed of their land and sent to reservations. The main goal of the Peace Policies was to assimilate indigenous peoples into the "American" way through missionaries.<sup>174</sup> The United States government also recognized indigenous tribes as a governmental entity by entering into almost 400 treaties with tribes by 1868.<sup>175</sup> Peace Policies emphasized books and religion instead of military occupation and guns. This meant the U.S. goal shifted towards education as a means to "civilize" and "Americanize" native peoples. Even though missionary education (1568-1870) ended by this time and the federal education period began (1870-1968) Americans utilized missionary methodologies.<sup>176</sup> Methods borrowed from the missionary period were seen all over in the boarding schools. Children were seen as empty vessels that needed to be filled with American knowledge in American schools, away from their parents and their people. The initiations began with the outer appearance outside of the classroom by cutting hair, changing clothes, and gender segregation--similar to mission schools.

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174. Fritz, "The Making of Grant's "Peace Policy," 411-30.

175. "Timeline - Native Voices," U.S National Library of Medicine.

176. Warner, "Education and the Law: Implications for American Indian/Alaskan Native Students."

Boarding schools were created to replace day schools. Isolation was the remedy to reform the “savage.” In 1879, some indigenous families volunteered their children to attend boarding schools while others were forcibly removed from their homes and their families.<sup>177</sup> Boarding school curriculum extended from the classroom to include removing any evidence of “savagery.”<sup>178</sup> The next step taken by the U.S. government in “killing the Indian” was the extraction of indigenous languages and cultures for the complete transformation and acceptance into a civilized society.

The boarding school curriculum was organized into two sections: academics and vocational.<sup>179</sup> While indigenous children attended school in the morning, where they were taught to read and write in English, the other half of the day was dedicated to vocational training. Gender defined what type of education each child received. Girls mainly learned how to sew, lace making, and cooking while the boys were taught carpenters, do metal working, and masonry.<sup>180</sup> Many were acculturated and assimilated into American mainstream culture by losing their traditions and language.

Academic education occurred during the day, was conducted in a timely manner with a curriculum, a white teacher, and inside a classroom. These “educational” methods are not new. In an interview conducted on October 23, 2013, with a Kumeyaay elder she recalls stories passed down by her grandmother’s experience when she attended school:

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177. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*.

178. Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, 14.

179. Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*.

180. *Ibid.*, 24.

**CV:** Any experiences that your mother talked about in the household regarding education, or in this case your grandmother? Did she ever talk about, um, her experiences with education? Or the education system?

**Participant:** Ha. Ha. Ha. She did. Both my grandmothers did because they were, you know, born in the. . . you know, 1900s. So. Early 1900s. So, one of them, my dad's mother had gone to school. She said they had taken her to school. She didn't go to school. She came from, umm, by San Ysabel area that way.

**CV:** Mhmm.

**Participant:** She didn't go to school there. She had to work when she was a little girl because her mother died when she was nine. So, her aunt took her and she had to become a house servant for the ranchers. But, when the missions, umm, kind of got involved and would take them down to the mission, down to San Diego by USD or USD, is that?

**CV:** Mmhm. Ohh. Ooh. Okay. Yeah. Yeah.

**Participant:** So, uh, she said when they were there they tried to give them an education. But they taught her how to be a house servant. How to wash. You know?<sup>181</sup>

Per the participant, her grandmother staying “you know” referred to the dystopic education her grandmothers received while they were attending their “vocational training,” even though the mission period had ended by the time the participant is referring to. Early in the Mexican period, priests and nuns continued to be in charge of Indian education. Vocational training continued in boarding schools.

Others negotiated and rebelled against the oppressive space by running away, disobeying teachers and authority figures, and pretending they did not know how to speak English.<sup>182</sup> During the boarding school period 1890s to 1930s, forced acculturation resulted in the loss of indigenous languages and traditions, oral history, and identity.

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181. Interview conducted by Cynthia Vazquez with a tribal member on October 13, 2013 at Barona Cultural Center & Museum. Please note that the opinions expressed in this oral history belong solely to the narrator and do not reflect the views held by Barona Cultural Center & Museum or the Barona Band of Mission Indians.

182. Ibid., 22.

After the boarding school period, the new “Indian” returned home to the reservation and generations of children experienced cultural genocide.

### Conclusion

This chapter charts the evolution of formal liberal education beginning with a lengthy introduction of nation-state philosophy of education. This philosophy carried on from the Spanish, to Mexican, and to the American period. Each political phase adapted the re-education philosophy as its own. Policies adopted and implemented were unique to each period’s philosophy. Spanish used missions to “civilize” California Indians, while the Mexicans failed in “educating” California Indians, and instead of building schools, the young nation was plagued with uncertainty and chaos. This uncertainty provided an avenue for the Kumeyaay to re-take their land and re-take their education. Later the American period proved to take a more direct approach to schooling the Kumeyaay. Americans primary goal was to exterminate the Indians physically from California. Once the extermination method did not succeed, California turned to formal education. Their education methods excluded the American population from any legal ramifications when “adopting” Indian children. The other formal education method included boarding schools. These schools were the remedy to removing the “Indian” during the later and early 1800s-1900s. After failed attempts to use violence to educate indigenous children the Americans turned to “non-violence,” that is, to eradicate Indian culture via assimilation. Formal education attempted to break down indigenous children and socialize them with American ideals. These ideals were methods also used by missionaries, and this included: removal of the native language, dressing like an “American,” removing the children from their parents, and providing vocational training.

The missionary educational phase interrupted Kumeyaay education. The Kumeyaay adopted new words, new ideas, and a new way of being. The missionary program did not end with secularization; the methodology was extended with the Mexican and American governments. Although, each government infused their curricula with national sentiments underlined with control and subjugation; the Kumeyaay resisted and negotiated through each phase to maintain their education and culture. They fought for their land, their culture, and education.

## CHAPTER 3

### Kumeyaay Education

Education covers many aspects of life, and it is not often relegated to the formal classroom. This section will begin the second snapshot in history starting with indigenous education. For generations, the Kumeyaay educated their young through traditional ways. Indigenous children were not confined to learn by time limits, and education was not relied upon on a single person giving instruction. Instead, indigenous education, or traditional education, was conducted everyday within the home and outside. The Spanish, Mexican, and American conquests, however, altered traditional forms of education for the Kumeyaay. This chapter will discuss the different definitions of education and elucidate how the Kumeyaay educated their children before the first arrival of Europeans and how they educate their youth today. Furthermore, this chapter will describe the educational systems indigenous people use to teach their children. These systems include stories, religious and political ceremonies, and the use of the immediate environment as a classroom. We must note that these pre-Contact practices were passed down in various ways, most notably orally from generation to generation. Later these orations and ceremonies were recorded by missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and by anthropologists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some of these accounts of “traditional” Kumeyaay culture thrived throughout generations although colonial agents attempted to use the information they

collected on the Kumeyaay to either Christianize or democratize (citizenship) the local indigenous groups.<sup>183</sup>

### Education vs. Schooling

Currently, the idea of American education encompasses buildings, textbooks, teachers/counselors, bells, playgrounds, and administrators. This type of education is known as formal education, a form of compulsory education that is designed for the masses. The state runs and oversees all aspects of compulsory schooling. The state determines at what time instruction begins, what type of knowledge will be imparted in the classrooms, and what services will be provided for students. Another form of education is known as informal education. Informal education originates from the home, representing a “lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment.”<sup>184</sup> The parents teach morality, social manners, and cosmology. A different form of learning comes from non-formal education, which is an organized system of learning outside the institution and outside the home, and it is unique to “particular subgroups in the population.”<sup>185</sup>

Indigenous education often falls under the pedagogical models of informal and non-formal education. As a Kumeyaay woman, Delfina Cuero, reminisced about her schooling when she was younger; “we gathered green vegetables and roots. My mother

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183. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

184. La Belle, Formal, “Nonformal and Informal Education, 161.

185. Ibid.

and grandmother taught me what to gather.”<sup>186</sup> Delfina’s education originated at home from her parents, grandparents, and the larger community. The Kumeyaay have a system of learning where both informal and non-formal meet; this is known as traditional knowledge or indigenous knowledge.<sup>187</sup>

Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2006) argues that “Amerindians see their social system organized in the ways as human institutions,” and the Kumeyaay social system is organized in such a manner, their system of learning originates in the household and community.<sup>188</sup> For example, medicine men play important roles within Kumeyaay society as leaders and as teachers of theology, botany, and astronomy. Medicine men have four roles in the tribe, they: 1) cure diseases, 2) act as intermediaries between this and the next world, 3) lead spiritual rituals, and 4) teach the healing arts.<sup>189</sup> Medicine men transmit knowledge on religious and medicinal matters.

The Kumeyaay concept of education entails a system of teaching through experience, listening, and “seeing.”<sup>190</sup> These are modes of acquiring and transmitting knowledge.

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186. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*.

187. Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*, 2006.

188. Viveiros De Castro, "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism," 282.

189. Farrell Almstedt, *Diegueño Curing Practices*; Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*.

190. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*, 2-3.

They do not separate experience from learning, rather it is part of their education.<sup>191</sup> Learning is part of the experience of acquiring knowledge. For the Kumeyaay the land is their classroom; the immediate environment is the laboratory. As in Delfina's testimony, her mother and grandmother are her teachers and pass down knowledge on what plants to eat from and how to use these plants to cure ailments; "We were taught about food and herbs and how to make things by our mothers and grandmothers all the time."<sup>192</sup> Indigenous knowledge about the land and traditions are practiced today and are transmitted to the youth within the home and through community events. Due to the colonizer's legacy of forced integration, the traditions practiced today have changed, but the transmission of information has not changed.

Thus, education and schooling represent two different aspects to the Kumeyaay. The first part, schooling originates with the colonizer and is oppressive. The second part, indigenous education is part of their history, culture, and identity. Indigenous education encompasses life experiences and traditional knowledge not found in a book. Instead, it is passed down orally, as it always has.

#### Indigenous Education Systems

Pre-Hispanic indigenous education systems made the environment their classroom. The environment and Indian education are intimately intertwined they are the "oldest continuing expressions of 'environmental' education in the world . . . they

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191. Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*.

192. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*, 43.

represent an environmental education process.”<sup>193</sup> Knowing the land was part of their traditional knowledge and education because the acquisition of this knowledge was crucial to their people’s survival. Geographically, the land in Alta California offered unique types of flora. In the south of Alta California, current day San Diego County, pre-Contact ecology was a

texture of interior foothills and valleys is a mosaic of woodland with scattered trees of pine and oak, or chaparral with densely rigid shrubs, or open grassland that collectively covers one-third of California’s area. The borders between vegetation patches are often narrow and abrupt.<sup>194</sup>

Grassland covered about one-fourth of the region, centered much of the Central Valley, which supported large herds of pronghorn, deer, and tule elk.<sup>195</sup> The environment intimately intertwines with Kumeyaay lifestyle. The Kumeyaay were skilled hunters and gatherers and moved according to the season looking for food. They were low-level agronomists and extremely knowledgeable of the land they inhabited:

horticultural methods--include[ed] weeding, pruning, irrigating, sowing, selective harvesting, and tilling--native peoples influenced Alta California lands in more subtle dimensions.<sup>196</sup>

The Kumeyaay, like other native groups, were well aware of their surroundings. They understood the science of nature and that nature needed fires for specific species of plants to regenerate and grow. They thrived with the use of their environment; they did this

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193. Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*, 21.

194. Anderson, Barbour, and Whitworth, "A World of Balance and Plenty Land, Plants, Animals, and Humans in a Pre-European California," 12-25.

195. *Ibid.*, 26.

196. *Ibid.*, 15.

successfully by understanding their surroundings for thousands of years. Harmony with the environment means being highly attuned to the seasonal cycles, and in so doing the Kumeyaay collected food in “[m]any places [that] were comfortably inhabited because of the sensory and memory ties to those special areas. A cordage gathering site, a pinyon collection area, or a fishing rock . . .”<sup>197</sup> Controlled fires and acquired knowledge of the land over thousands of years required the transmission of knowledge to their children. Delfina recalls that her grandmother and mother’s knowledge of the lands was transferred to her through rituals:

My grandmother told me about what they did to girls as they were about to become women. But I’m not that old! They had already stopped doing it when it when I became a woman. Grandma told me they dug a hole, filled it with warm sand and kept the girl in there. They tattooed her all around her mouth and chin. They would sing about food and see if she would get hungry; to see if she could stand hunger. She wasn’t allowed to eat. They danced around the top of the hole.<sup>198</sup>

The meaning behind this ritual was to decrease wrinkles and help women birth healthy babies. Delfina’s grandmother passed down this indigenous knowledge through the spoken word and this memory and tradition, which is no longer practiced, became ingrained into Delfina’s consciousness.

Education was passed down in the process of living by teaching without teaching.<sup>199</sup> Models for teaching indigenous children included introducing the idea,

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197. Ibid.,18.

198. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero Her Autobiography*, 39.

199. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*.

modeling, and finally allowing the child to replicate what has been taught to them.<sup>200</sup> In Kumeyaay society Bird Singers practice this model of teaching when instructing younger tribe members. In most cases if the child did not learn the skill during their lifetime they could be in danger while hunting or searching for food. In the case of Delfina's family and, the same holds true for most of the Kumeyaay, they lived in poverty and did not have access to "formal" education. According to the teachings imparted to Delfina, "in those days" the elders had extensive knowledge on the lands and greenery. Their knowledge fed them and cured them of most ailments. Parents and grandparents taught the young Kumeyaay about the different curative powers the flora held, and taught them how to distinguish between which herbs kill or cure. Delfina remembers how her mother and grandmother taught her what to look for and "My mother and grandmother taught me what to gather . . . there are herbs for stomach pains, colds, toothaches, and everything that Indians knew," this is still practiced today.<sup>201</sup> In addition, she recalls how men and women had certain responsibilities within their tribe "[t]he men cut trees and they did other things while we [women] carried, piled and burned the brush."<sup>202</sup>

The environment, therefore, provided for a natural classroom for the Kumeyaay. They used their surroundings to teach without teaching their youth; knowledge was imparted informally during religious ceremonies, Bird Singing, or when engaging in arts

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200. Lomaiwaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*.

201. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*, 27 & 45.

202. *Ibid.*, 25.

and crafts such as making a pot. Bird Songs are songs about life, death, and morality sung during events and wakes. Kumeyaay children had an array of materials to learn from, anything from how to cure ailments to making materials for their everyday necessities and hunting. In their cosmology, Mother Earth provided everything for their people, and they extracted it from her for their collective survival. In addition to surviving, nature plays a pivotal point in indigenous philosophy and spirituality. Mother Earth is at the center of their rituals, religion, and culture.<sup>203</sup> Traditional knowledge on ecology passed down from generation to generation, and it remains imperative for Kumeyaay cosmology.

#### Education and Morality

Education for the Kumeyaay intertwines morality with schooling. Unlike the European use of corporal punishment, the Kumeyaay disciplined children through stories and experience. Melicent Lee's children's book, *Indians of the Oaks* illuminates a young white boy's experience living with the Kumeyaay. In the story, a Kumeyaay family adopts him and he immediately becomes a Kumeyaay student. The family who adopted the young boy taught him about the land, the variety of plants, and learning through experience. At many points in the story, Pi-on, the father, taught the white child how to observe and follow Pi-on's lead. As the boy transforms and grows, he then understands the difference between western and indigenous pedagogy:

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203. Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*.

‘I am going to try my bow and my new arrows,’ I said to Huti-yah-mi-yuck. I looked over at him. He was already drawing back his bowstring. I knew right then the difference between the white boy and the Indian. The white boy says, ‘I am going to do this.’ The Indian does it. The white boy says, ‘What is this?’ The Indian looks at it and finds out what it is for himself.<sup>204</sup>

Pi-on, the father, taught the boy with patience, and when the boy made mistakes, he was disciplined not with blows, but with stories and body language. Children learned to obey by observing others and by paying attention to their surroundings. Not all tribe members followed the Kumeyaay way and for these tribe members the disciplinary action was taken. Seldom, the Kumeyaay punished those who did not follow the rules and the laws within the community. Their method of corporal punishment did include hurting the individual through blows, and if the infraction was grave, the individual was banished from the community.<sup>205</sup>

#### Learning through Action

As mentioned earlier, Indigenous forms of education emphasized “learning through action” which means that parents, masters of the arts and crafts, and community members taught children by showing. Ceremonies were and are a systematic form of learning for indigenous peoples. Through the instruction of elders and medicine men, children acquired vital knowledge, such as how to cure illnesses, what to eat from the earth, and they also learned about the cycles of life. Fixico states that through these indigenous methods, the

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204. Lee, *Indians of the Oaks*, 57.

205. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers*.

[f]irst [step] is to listen, observe, be patient for a sign (which [has] caused others to call traditional Indians passive), and lessons are learned by receiving or taking in this information . . . after receiving knowledge, which may not always be understood at first, then a person reacts by imitating the elder who might be a teacher, or reacting to the instruction learned from nature, and knowledge is learned in this way like the mainstream by doing—the practical experience and this knowledge of doing one’s job, taking an exam, hunting, and so forth.<sup>206</sup>

These are a couple of instances describing learning occurring through active participation or kinesthetic learning. Another form of learning through action is Bird Singing. Gifford describes this type of transmission when interviewing Charles Beans.<sup>207</sup> Charles Beans, a Kumiai, speaks about his experience and how he learned Bird Songs “[h]e learned the [Ti]ipai songs by hearing his paternal grandfather sing them. He received no training in singing them.”<sup>208</sup> According to Gifford the songs had no meaning and were only sung by community members “to feel good.”<sup>209</sup> This, of course, is not the case; Bird Songs have importance and meanings behind each song.

These songs are important within the overall framework of indigenous education. Some of the main concepts imparted by Bird Songs are: teaching without teaching, an awareness of the cosmos and the role of humans within the greater cosmos, and these songs are also pedagogical devices stressing religious beliefs; they “tell of the migration at the beginning of time, they trace their history, and are sung by “many different

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206. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*, 13.

207. Gifford, “The Kamia of Imperial Valley.”

208. *Ibid.*, 63.

209. *Ibid.*

linguistic heritages”<sup>210</sup> Bird Singers are composed of males ranging from ages as young as ten and reaching up to sixty years old. Boys who become Bird Singers must go through rigorous training and must memorize twenty hours of Bird Songs before they can sing to the community.<sup>211</sup> The boys are trained by their elders in the natural classroom, which is outside and sometimes under trees.<sup>212</sup>

Every Kumeyaay child is exposed to Bird Singing from a young age and they are also taught the meanings of the songs as they grow up, and those children who are truly interested in Bird Songs become Bird Singers.<sup>213</sup> The process of choosing a child is contingent on how interested and dedicated they are to learning the songs. Bird Song training occurs when older male tribal members are available to teach. Most often Bird Singers are older male relatives i.e. brothers, uncles, grandfathers. Ceremonial events like powwows or gatherings provide the classroom for children to practice bird singing. Young children follow the lead of senior and experienced males during the ceremonies. Bird Songs are sung by men during rites of passage ceremonies. Elders and boys sing while women dance. At times men and boys join women and girls when they are dancing. Bird Songs are about life and death, religion, and about the community’s gender roles. Although they are sung in ‘Iipay/Tiipay, songs include words from neighboring tribes,

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210. Hinton, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages*, 42.

211. *Songs of the Colorado*.

212. *Songs of the Colorado*.

213. Conversation with a tribal member, July 29, 2013.

such as from the Hukon language stock, which is part of the Yuman family of languages.<sup>214</sup>

The Kumeyaay community believes children interested in teaching Bird Songs must possess something that they describe as the fire inside. The fire refers to the interest and willingness to pass down tradition. The fire within comes from the Kumeyaay origin story. In their creation story two brothers, Teaipakomat (older brother) and Tcaipakomat created the sun and the land. The oldest, Teaipakomat saw there was no light, after his first attempt at creating light, it was too dim, he had created the moon. He realized humans needed more light and so he took more clay and threw it to the sky where it remained as the sun, inayu.<sup>215</sup> According to Stan Rodriguez, a Kumeyaay tribal member and Kumeyaay language instructor, talked about the fire inside in the “Our People. Our Culture. Our History.” (2013) documentary

our word for our soul our spirit is called *matao*, the fire that glows within ourselves. So, when we say, in our language, when we greet somebody *how'ka*. We are basically saying, may that fire in you continue to glow brightly.

That fire Stan Rodriguez is referring to is the continuation of their traditions and traditional knowledge. The fire is linked to traditional knowledge; once again the environment is tied to their education, and those children with the “fire inside” will later transmit their knowledge to future generations.

Oral traditions are an important component of Kumeyaay pedagogy. In this fashion, Bird Songs, creation stories, traditional knowledge on medicinal herbs, and

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214. Hinton, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages*.

215. "Kumeyaay Creation Story." Kumeyaay Creation Story.

morality ceremonies have been and continue to be transmitted orally. This knowledge encapsulates morality and indigenous education taught during tribal ceremonies. Educating and transmitting knowledge followed a lineage from mother to daughter, father to son, and medicine man to apprentice.<sup>216</sup> Bird Songs are one type of oral traditions and another very popular genre in Kumeyaay oral transmissions are Coyote Stories.

Coyote stories are a significant component of the oral traditions among the Kumeyaay, as it is for the other tribes across the Southwest. Native Americans use animals in their stories that are prevalent to their area such as bears, coyotes, wolves, turtles, and crows. Native peoples endow these animals with human traits; this is known in anthropology as anthropomorphism. In Western literature tradition these stories are called fables. Fables are short stories aimed to teach a moral lesson involving animals or inanimate things with human personalities.<sup>217</sup> Fables can be written or told orally, and virtually all cultures have their types of fables relating to their cultural values.

Coyote stories (fables) often have a moral meaning behind them, and at other times they are told to simply pass time. Coyote Stories teach children how to behave and listen to their elders. For the Kumeyaay the coyote is the personification of the hero and the deviant. The coyote is always curious and a majority of the time gets into trouble due to its unwillingness to listen to the elders or friends. The stories are told in a kindhearted way to teach children lessons on morality and on social consequences without having to “tell them” about the story’s intended meaning. Delfina recalls a Coyote Story about a

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216. Ibid.

217. Eyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v. "fable."

coyote trying to deceive two crow sisters by attempting to convince one of the sisters to allow him to go with them in the tree. The coyote's goal was to eat one of the sister crows. One of the crow sisters had compassion for the coyote and threw down the end of the rope. As the coyote climbed up the rope, he spoke aloud about how he was going to grab one of them and eat her. The sisters heard the coyote, and at this point in the story the sisters agreed that he was untrustworthy and cut the rope. The coyote met his demise for not keeping quiet, and the sisters learned a valuable lesson in not believing in peoples' words but in their actions. Delfina explains the lesson of the story

This story explains how we have to watch men--there are some good and some bad men. We knew that these stories were told to teach us how to behave and what to expect. The old people did not have to tell us what the story explained at the end of the story.<sup>218</sup>

The use of stories reinforced how children needed to behave, but most importantly they taught them about their history and cosmology and to teach without teaching. The elders did not need to get into detail about the meaning of Coyote Stories, the children inferred the meaning.

Today Bird Songs and Coyote Stories continue the oral tradition practiced by the Kumeyaay. These stories and songs are evolving. Bird Songs are not sung in gatherings, and most recently have been sung during the Mourning Ceremony. The Mourning Ceremony is extremely important because it is an obligatory ritual performed after for the deceased. As these oral traditions evolve, and moved into other rituals, the community elders teach youth not to forget about the value of their traditions and education.

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218. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*, 42.

### Natural Teachers

“Informal” education describes indigenous education because it incorporates both experiences and acquired knowledge. To the Kumeyaay, their surroundings and the land was their school. There was not a designated time to learn, the day was designed to learn in an informal setting by parents, Elders, and masters of the art i.e. medicine men and chiefs. The entire community is involved in teaching a Kumeyaay child about the cherished Kumeyaay traditions. Specifically, Elders and Medicine men are respected teachers in the tribe because they transmit their knowledge through an experience.

The community’s elders are the center of wisdom within the tribe and are generally the storytellers. Like many indigenous communities, Kumeyaay society is gerontocratic. A privileged place is assigned to Elders within the community, due to their age and experience. Everyone in the community respects Elders. Delfina tells us that children had to be on their best behavior in the presence of elders:

[t]hey used to have a lot of rules for young children about how to behave. If strangers come to the house, you know, old people, you’re not to run in front of them or bother them. You stay away until called. <sup>219</sup>

Children were taught to respect their Elders and to always abide by community rules. In most Amerindian communities an Elder is anywhere between 50-60 years of age. Elders play an important role within the tribe by acting as teachers and teaching their youth the ways of the Kumeyaay.

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219. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*, 38.

The Kumeyaay believe wisdom is knowledge and wisdom can be attained through experiences, this is why Elders are respected as natural teachers.<sup>220</sup> They gained knowledge from their ancestors and the land because of their age, life experiences, and because of the knowledge passed down to them. Elders are natural teachers within the tribe--transmitters and givers of knowledge. While working with the community, community members spoke about this interchangeable knowledge between generations. Elders learn from the community's younger members as much as the youth learn from them.<sup>221</sup>

Other important masters of the Kumeyaay traditional arts are medicine men. Before the Spanish landed on the shores of San Diego, chiefs were important figures, but not as important or powerful as the medicine man/woman. Medicine men, like Elders, are also considered natural teachers, and hold a special place within the Kumeyaay community. Shamans were spiritual leaders, scientist, and doctors. Medicine men were required to know how to conduct rituals and needed to have an extensive knowledge of the cosmos, the phases of the moon in particular.<sup>222</sup> In addition to acquiring this wisdom, they also needed to be extremely knowledgeable in cures and in using plants for medicinal purposes. Rituals were timed during specific days of the year; thus they were known as "sunwatcher[s]." Shamans hold important positions in the community because they were intermediaries between the physical and spiritual worlds.

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220. Ommer, Coward, and Parrish, "Knowledge, Uncertainty, and Wisdom," 20-41.

221. Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*.

222. Shipek, "The Shaman: Priest, Doctor, Scientist in California Indian Shamanism."

Medicine men belong to a different order of existence; belonging to dual realms endows them with the ability to cure ailments. Shamans, however, are also dualistic beings. Tribe members believe that shamans also practice witchcraft and use magic to inflict pain on people who have offended them. One Kumeyaay describes the power of the shaman by saying,

[A] person whose children are dying, even of such disease as consumption, will imagine that some evilly disposed wizard is bewitching them. He will perhaps go to some wizard and ask him who is killing his children. The wizard will inform that a certain person is doing so; and after this, nothing will make the man believe otherwise.<sup>223</sup>

Setting a persons' mind about who "bewitched" their child is a long lasting mood that can only be undone by the medicine man.<sup>224</sup>

Each shaman's ritual practices are unique, and each adopts their arsenal of personal healing techniques. Children interested in the healing arts were chosen by medicine men to follow their tradition and also to pass on their specific form of knowledge. The selection of shamans and their passage into medicinemanhood is important to the tribe. Medicine men have a system of pupil recruitment into the healing arts. Medicine men are healers and transmit their extensive knowledge of curative plants, cosmology, rituals, and history to future shamans. Candidates who are chosen by older doctors undergo years of training, which then leads up to the medicine man rite of passage. Elders select a child apprentice between the ages of nine to fourteen. These

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223. Farrell Almstedt, *Diegueño Curing Practices*, 16.

224. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*.

children demonstrate that they possess the necessary attributes for their journey into the magical and healing arts.<sup>225</sup>

The child must possess qualities and interests in the healing arts, have visions that foretell the future, and magic. Incessant dreaming is a strong indicator in who is to become a medicine man, because dreams hold special power for the shaman they prophesize and reveal special information on how to heal.<sup>226</sup> In the story below, a Kumeyaay discusses how a certain man became a rattlesnake shaman:

From infancy[,] this man dreamed of curing rattlesnake bites. The faculty grew in him. He remained content until he was an adult. Then, when a rattlesnake bit a man, he told people that all his life he had dreamed of curing such bites, that he was not going to try [any] secret[s]. He cured him, [and] then he took a wife and continued his vocation. No one ever doubted him because he was always effected [sic] a cure when he announced his intention.<sup>227</sup>

Although the facts of the story are uncommon--i.e., he did not become a shaman until adulthood--it was known that he dreamed about curing people from snakebites since from a young age. It is unclear whether he went through the procedure in becoming a shaman which included the ingestion of *toaloché*-- a hallucinogenic plant used in ceremonies.<sup>228</sup> In another story of coming, Gertrude Toffelmeir describes one shaman's childhood experience

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225. Shipek, "The Shaman: Priest, Doctor, Scientist in California Indian Shamanism."

226. Toffelmeir, "Dreams and Dream Interpretation of the Diegueño Indians of Southern California."

227. Farrell Almstedt, *Diegueño Curing Practices*, 11.

228. Toffelmeir, *Dreams and Dream Interpretation*; Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*.

[h]e was chosen at the age of nine by his mother's father, a dream and herb specialist, to become a dream doctor because of his frequent dreaming and his attempts at interpretation, his curiosity about his grandfather's magic and his proven skill and luck in hunting which in turn depended upon his observance of warnings and advice obtained through dreams.<sup>229</sup>

The interest of the child was observed by the community and the child was later chosen to undergo training as a medicine man. The community noticed the trademarks relating to the arts. First, we infer that the parents motivated the child into this career path and supported their child to take upon this path. Second, “his curiosity”--the fire inside--meant he was fascinated by his “grandfather’s magic” which made him a good candidate for potential medicinemanhood. Finally, the child’s “good luck” meant he was already chosen to pursue this path. Another vital note, the community always observed their children even when playing the “frequent dreaming” and “attempts at interpretation” demonstrates that play time is a good time to learn.

Dreams hold special power for the medicine man because they prophesize and reveal special information about how to heal.<sup>230</sup> The process is as followed

Diegueño initiat[ion] is carefully selected by older doctors as to health, intelligence, good sense, energy and abundant sexuality. Boys between the ages of nine and fourteen who have attracted the attention of their elders because of their interest in magic and doctoring, precocity of dreaming and successful prophesies are encouraged under the training to become a doctor.<sup>231</sup>

Children are always watched, especially when tribe members allocate special duties to particular Kumeyaay children who are believed to be gifted. Sometimes teachers are not

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229. Ibid., 217.

230. Toffelmeir, *Dreams and Dream Interpretation*.

231. Farrell Almstedt, qtd. in *Diegueño Curing Practices*, 10.

needed. As a Diegueño tribal member commented that “no one teaches” the medicine man, but there is a system of selection, a system of teaching, and transferring knowledge from teacher to student.<sup>232</sup> Religious symbols are their learning materials. The candidates are guided into the arts and are not taught as one Kumeyaay states, “No one teaches him. He just knows it and some he learns. He never writes any of it down.”<sup>233</sup> Medicine men acquire their knowledge through formalized and ritualized repetition by conducting community ceremonies. The rituals are a system of order and hold together the community.<sup>234</sup> These systems are in place to reinforce important lessons to community members and continue the traditions stressing how to “teach without teaching.”

#### *Parents as Educators*

Parents are also natural teachers. Children learn directly and indirectly from their parents. Guiding an infant from birth to adulthood, parents play an important role in a child’s life. Children need their parents for their survival and for this reason women and men were assigned different roles on how to teach their children the Kumeyaay way. Women and men have their specific roles within the household and as teachers their role is to educate their daughters and sons according to traditional gender relations. Traditionally boys and girls underwent rigorous rites of passage to mark the end of their childhood and their entrance into adulthood. These experiences taught the young what it meant to be a man or a woman. Boys learned “practices which are supposed to prove the

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232. Ibid.

233. Ibid., 10.

234. Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

possession of magic power” and girls “primarily with the prospect of motherhood.”<sup>235</sup>

Women were responsible for gathering food such as acorns and other staples and for making *ollas*, baskets, and necessary household items. While men were mainly responsible for feeding their family, they also assisted their partners in gathering food. Both men and women were instrumental and responsible in teaching and passing traditional knowledge to their children. Older women, grandmothers and mothers, taught their young girls how to be a “women.” Delfina Cuero described gender roles when she was growing up:

The women had to do their work while the men worked too. Either we do this or we starve . . . girls were taught these things and how to be clean by their grandmothers. If a young woman was going to make an olla, she must go off by herself. . .they used to have a lot of rules for young children about how to behave.<sup>236</sup>

Gender traditions were transmitted from generation to generation regardless of the forced assimilation imposed by the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans. Men are still required to go out while women take care of the household. Today, both men and women participate in teaching the youth the traditional Kumeyaay ways regardless of gender. Gender roles are beginning to become blurred as time passes. In the documentary, *Songs of the Colorado* (2011) a woman Bird Singer from Mexico was present at the gathering.<sup>237</sup> The ways the songs will survive are through tribe member’s willingness to recite them, regardless of gender. She was the last of her clan to fully memorize all of the

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235. Waterman, *The Early Ethnography of the Kumeyaay*, 285.

236. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*, 36-38.

237. *Songs of the Colorado*.

Bird Songs. Her grandfather saw the fire within and taught her the songs before he passed away.

### Political Leaders and Transmission of Knowledge

Political, religious, and social organizations are all intertwined for the Kumeyaay. Hierarchical relations existed among Kumeyaay leaders. In addition to redistributing goods and valuables to their people, the *kwaaypaay* were responsible for training their sons in the ways of a *kwaaypaay*. *Kwaaypaay* transmitted their knowledge on leadership qualities to their sons that were next in line as clan leaders. It was necessary for the sons to acquire the tools and knowledge of their ancestors before leading others.<sup>238</sup> These young leaders were required to lead the clan through important tribal ceremonies. Leslie Spier notes how the person she was interviewing talked about their grandfather's brother teaching and training him as a future chief: "He told Jim to note all things well, particularly the [M]ourning [C]eremony, so that he could some day [*sic*] be chief."<sup>239</sup> The possibility of becoming a tribal chief was contingent on the son. Not all sons whose father's were chiefs became chiefs themselves. The young boy had to acquire chief leadership qualities, and like the medicine men, the boy had to show "signs" for his path. Often, the successor was known to the clan; however, this was not always the case. When a *kwaaypaay* departed from this world the successor, often their son, but not always, was chosen from

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238. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*.

239. Spier, *Southern Diegueño Customs*, 309.

all the *kwaaypaay* sons.<sup>240</sup> The line of succession was not a surprise to the clan; most frequently the clan knew who was to be chosen because the chief had “instruct[ed] him for years.”<sup>241</sup> Sometimes though, the son could refuse the offering. When this happened another male family member was chosen for the leadership position as a chief of their clan.

Once a new *kwaaypaay* took on their new role they were responsible for their most important ritual: leading the Mourning Ceremony. The *kutsteyay* (medicinemans) and *kwaaypaay* conducted the Mourning Ceremony together. The *kwaaypaay* “had a speaker and a council of *kutsteyay* (shamans), who were specialists in resource and ritual management.”<sup>242</sup> They worked together as a team to deliver important rituals to their community and pass down knowledge to the youth.

### Conclusion

Pre-Contact education continued throughout the generations, the Kumeyaay had a specific system in place on how to teach their youth. This system, or Indigenous Knowledge, is transmitted through organized activities around nature also known as spiritual ecology. Greg Cajete defines spiritual ecology as

[indigenous] education is both a foundational process and field through which traditional American Indian education occurs. For Indigenous people, Nature and all it contains formed the parameters of the school. Each foundation of Tribal education is exquisitely complex. Dynamic

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240. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*.

241. Spier, *Southern Diegueño Customs*, 309.

242. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 7.

contexts develop from a unique and creative process of teaching and learning.<sup>243</sup>

This complex way of learning has a system of whom and when a child will be learning. Their first contact of learning about nature and survival are from parents. Parents use materials from their environment and use them as regalia to transmit their knowledge. *Olla* making, hunting, and learning about curative herbs are learned from home and the community. Elders are one of the many teachers a Kumeyaay child learns from. Elders also hold a special place within the tribe and clan because they are the ones with the knowledge and wisdom they learned from their ancestors. In addition to elders, medicine men and chief leaders, the *kwaaypaay*, are teachers and hold specialized knowledge on their trade.

Indigenous curriculum includes oral traditions in which knowledge was and continues to be transmitted from the teacher to pupil. Coyote Stories incorporated nature to teach children about morality and behavior; an education that expanded beyond materiality. During special ceremonies, these oral traditions thrived during Bird Songs. Mothers and fathers also taught their children about gender roles within their family and the tribe. Women were taught how to gather herbs and make the household a home while the men hunted and occasionally assisted the women in laborious work.

Kumeyaay children learned outside, through an intense interaction with nature. In this natural classroom, they learned how to survive from the land. Controlled fires were a necessity in the rebirth of plants and the continuation of life for the Kumeyaay. The environment, parents, medicine men, elders, and ceremonies were all elements needed to

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243. Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*, 39.

make up Kumeyaay schooling. The Kumeyaay did not “school,” they educated their children with the tools they acquired over the generations. Every generation transmitted their knowledge in a systematic way, by incorporating the informal and nonformal education into their “curriculum.” Indigenous education equated to lifelong learning.

The immediate rupture of indigenous education occurred after Spanish colonization in 1767. From this point in history, their education will now include a western Christian education. An education that will classify them as the “other,” ironically, their knowledge will amalgamate with the Spanish, Mexican and American periods. Kumeyaay indigenous education morphed into a different type of education. Today, the Kumeyaay are finding ways to re-claim part of the pre-contact education while living in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## CHAPTER 4

### Reclaiming the Past

The impact of linear education on Indian people has severe consequences, although this has not suppressed native intellect and the achievement of American Individuals. Cultural discrimination has persisted in white school systems since the boarding school years, in mission schools, and in public schools, which Native Americans have attended.<sup>244</sup>

Cultural discrimination originated with the introduction of formal education and as Donald Lee Fixico stated it “has severe consequences” on American Indians, yet over time it never completely “suppressed native intellect.”<sup>245</sup> As we have seen, the Kumeyaay resisted and negotiated their subjugation imposed on them by formal education throughout every educational phase: Spanish (1767-1833), Mexican (1833-1848) and American (1848-current). Present day, the Kumeyaay continue to fight with the American government to reclaim their indigenous education, after all it is their sovereign right to do so, as it is for all indigenous peoples.<sup>246</sup>

This chapter will cover the current state of Kumeyaay education and their experiences inside formal schooling. While looking at formal schooling, I will analyze educational models adopted by the Kumeyaay and dovetail into Kumeyaay educational sovereignty. Furthermore, this chapter will examine the obstacles and concerns that arise when mixing indigenous education and formal education. After looking at these issues,

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244. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*, 167

245. Ibid.

246. Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*, 26.

this chapter will uncover the contemporary formal educational experiences and their effects on Kumeyaay children residing in the United States. This chapter will mostly cover Kumeyaay residing in the United States, and then briefly cover Kumiai from Mexico and the methods they are using to re-claim their indigenous traditions.

### Education and Sovereignty

Chapter three covered laws and the treatment of Native Americans, this section will cover U.S. laws that led towards controlling indigenous education by tribe members. Sovereignty “is a bundle of society’s inherent human rights to self-government, self-determination, and self-education.”<sup>247</sup> Ironically, sovereignty is closely aligned with indigenous education. The United States educational policies enacted over time slowly released control to Native Americans. Before control was transferred into American Indians hands, the U.S. passed series of laws meant to dominate native souls, minds, and bodies *i.e.* Grants Peace Policies. This changed during the 1900s. The U.S. enacted nineteen laws passed in two waves during this time. The first wave of legislation occurred during the 1900s-1930s. The Snyder Act of 1921 was the first law targeting indigenous well-being. This act funded the Indian Office and in return they “provide social, health, and educational services to Indians.”<sup>248</sup> In 1934, the Johnson O’Malley Act provided funding to American Indians because it allowed the Secretary of the Interior to

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247. Lomawaima and McCarty, *To Remain an Indian*, 26.

248. Warner, "Education and the Law: Implications for American Indian/Alaskan Native Students," 66-75.

contract various governmental entities and grant funding in order to provide education, and other services.<sup>249</sup>

During the second wave (1960-1970), congress enacted a series of educational policies.<sup>250</sup> These laws included the Elementary and Secondary Act (1965), Indian Elementary and Secondary School Assistance Act (1968), Indian Education Act (1972) also known as the Kennedy Report, and most importantly the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975). The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act initiated a new “era when Congress began emphasizing and reestablishing tribal sovereignty.”<sup>251</sup> Throughout this new era, the U.S. government provided funding for Indian education and services while simultaneously releasing power to tribal members. Tribal members now managed their education. The laws passed by Congress created a ripple effect and paved the way for today’s indigenous education and their control over it.

#### *Traditional Meets Formal*

After 500 years of colonization of the mind, body, and spirit inflicted onto indigenous peoples, their education system was retained and passed down. After resisting forced assimilation for generations, indigenous thought and native scholars flourished during the 1960s. It was not until the 1960s, that American Indians claimed their Indian pride and identity with the rise of the American Indian Movement in 1968 and Red

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249. Ibid.

250. Ibid.

251. Ibid.,70.

Power.<sup>252</sup> Shortly after scholarship on indigenous history, education, and indigenous identity were found in bookstores written by Native Americans. The most notable scholars of the 1960s included Dee Brown, Vine Deloria Jr., and N. Scott Momaday--they opened a door into the Indian experience and what it meant to live in a white world.<sup>253</sup>

These scholars interrupted the way academia saw and portrayed Native Americans, and carved out safe spaces in higher education by introducing Native American Studies into universities across the United States.<sup>254</sup> Furthermore, tribally controlled colleges were on the rise, as a result of the passage of the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978. The Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act provided government funding for higher education controlled by tribal governments. These were great accomplishments for American Indians in the United States during the 1960s-1970s.

Even with all of these implemented changes in formal schooling--most notably in higher education--California schools lagged behind. California public schools continued to use curricula that portray the stereotypical Indian in textbooks.<sup>255</sup> To California public schools, indigenous peoples were not “civilized” because they did not have a writing system. Thus, Native Americans cannot have a history, and if they do not have a history,

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252. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*.

253. *Ibid.*, 106.

254. *Ibid.*, 110.

255. Garcia, "Native Americans in U. S. History Textbooks: From Bloody Savages to Heroic Chiefs."

they are incapable of thinking critically.<sup>256</sup> Therefore, logic and objectivity cannot derive from indigenous knowledge because it does not classify as history, instead it is reclassified as *oral traditions*.<sup>257</sup> These sentiments stem from colonialism as Alastair Pennycook states “it is not so much that colonialism produces unique behaviours, words and ideas[,] but rather it makes a set of practices and discursive frames more available, more acceptable.”<sup>258</sup> Acceptability to a particular type of knowledge is practiced in formal education *i.e.* promoting American, English, and French imperialism.

In formal education, the “truth” only lies within western writing, literacy, discipline, logic, and science, the “other” is not relevant. History proves that the educational apparatus systematically excludes the Kumeyaay from “formal education.” Values of formal education rooted from the Enlightenment program permeate into today’s classrooms. Many of the interviews conducted for this study, participants often referred to being excluded by their teachers because of their ethnicity. In an interview conducted on October 21, 2013, a participant stated her experience and exclusion in the school she attended located on the reservation. She talked about the lack of support by teachers and fellow students

**CV:** Besides what was happening at home. Did you find any support in school? Or from teachers?

**Participant 1:** The support system there. I really did not have any support system. . . umm . . . and the teachers were more harsh on me than the other students, and I was like, what is so different about me? Because they are always picking on me a-a-and I was [had] bad grades.

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256. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

257. *Ibid.*, 34.

258. Pennycook, *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*.

**CV:** Mmmhmm.

**Participant 1:** And then I transferred when I was in the tenth grade. I transferred over to San Diego, where I was much more accepted there. I got more A's there.<sup>259</sup>

In her case she left public school on her reservation to feel more accepted. In another interview with a female participant, she touched on these feelings of exclusion from school officials

**CV:** What does education mean to you?

**Participant 2:** It means a lot. I mean growing up. I wanted to do good in school. I wanted to get out here. . . yet the school made it very harder [*sic*], us as natives, and other races to make it out, you know, I mean. There's a lot of racism I think.

**CV:** Give me an example.

**Participant 2:** Well there [were] times I would get in[to] arguments with white kids and I get suspended.

**CV:** Where did these arguments stemmed [*sic*] from?

**Participant 2:** Where we lived and us not being, I guess, white?<sup>260</sup>

To this day, indigenous peoples continue to be the “other” in the classroom, and so continue to include ideas of the past, that is, ideas of “uncivilized” and “primitivity, and include ideas of colonization of the mind.<sup>261</sup>

The use of curricula in the classrooms is the teacher's ultimate tool of ready-made knowledge and power, and most often does not include “the other.”<sup>262</sup> The knowledge in the curriculum is presented to students in a hierarchical manner that places a Eurocentric

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259. Interview with a tribal member, October 21, 2013.

260. Interview with a tribal member October, 24, 2013.

261. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

262. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*; Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*.

perspective on top and pushes an imperialist agenda.<sup>263</sup> Curricula in schools are dangerous to indigenous peoples. The Kumeyaay experience within the education system is that of discomfort and pain. Today schools continue to undermine their traditional ways by teaching a curriculum that does not fully represent Native American history because there is a “relative absence of native testimony” according to the California Department of Education.<sup>264</sup> For example, in the State of California third and fourth graders are introduced to California history. In social studies class students learn about California pre-contact period, the mission period from 1767-1832, and Mexican/rancho period 1833-1848. The Department of Education in California acknowledges in their website that they need to incorporate more Native voices and maltreatment in the hands of the missionaries.

During the 1960s, a diverse group of minorities came together and contested the representation of people of color in school history books.<sup>265</sup> Native Americans illuminated another outlook on their history to the California Department of Education committee meetings. Zevi Gutfreund dissects this period of educational reform in the state of California by narrowing his focus to the social studies curriculum during the missionary period. Native Americans argued the official social-studies curriculum romanticizes Native Americans during the pre-contact and missionary period, and did not

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263. Ibid., 68.

264. *A Look at 4th Grade in California Public Schools and the Core Standards*, California Dept. of Education.

265. Gutfreund, "Standing Up to Sugar Cubes: The Contest over Ethnic Identity in California's Fourth-Grade Mission Curriculum."

give an accurate representation of their history.<sup>266</sup> For the first time in the 1960s, California Department of Education took into consideration Native Americans pleas to change the official curriculum to be more culturally sensitive and inclusive.

Reforming the curriculum for third and fourth graders was not an easy goal for California Native Americans to attain. Finally, more than half a century of discussions between the State of California and Native American activists these changes are finally implemented in the classrooms. One of the arguments California Department of Education used to uphold colonialist education in the classroom was the “limited” sources from Native Americans.<sup>267</sup> “Limited sources” is another way of stating American Indians do not have “written sources,” and thus do not have histories.<sup>268</sup> In a conversation, with a tribal member he wants public schools to portray American Indians most accurately in history books, and taught appropriately to children according to their age.<sup>269</sup>

Decolonizing indigenous peoples minds requires reconciliation with their history.<sup>270</sup> Reforming education is complicated. Today the California Department of Education is trying to find a middle-ground to meet Native American activists. This

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266. Ibid.

267. *A Look at 4th Grade in California Public Schools and the Core Standards*, California Dept. of Education.

268. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*.

269. Conversation with a tribal member on May 6, 2013.

270. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

minute success for Native Americans is positive and moving in the direction of inclusion for all. Today the California Department of Education is trying to find a space between an imaginary history and romanticization of this period, and trying to move away from victimizing American Indians. After all of this, how can the California Department of Education promote and install pride in California's history as a positive trajectory to students without alienating oral history passed down by the first peoples of California? How much does the California Department of Education include indigenous voices and their oral traditions into the curriculum when the foundations of colonialism in formal education continue to permeate in schools?

### *Reforming Formal Schooling*

In the last 20 years, the resurgence of indigenous education and sovereignty is occurring globally among indigenous peoples. For many indigenous peoples, schooling represents forced assimilation, isolation, and the removal of their culture. Today, many indigenous peoples are reclaiming educational spaces. They are utilizing the tools they have acquired throughout generations from educational institutions that are often oppressive spaces, and creating their educational spaces. In the United States, American Indians have re-focused the lens from a nationalistic homogenous education based on individuality to sacred sciences and traditional knowledge based on communal education.<sup>271</sup> Traditional knowledge/education includes but is not limited to: dropout

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271. Identity labels are complex. For some, identity includes language, culture and ethnicity factors they cannot change. For others, identity is fluid and changes with how one feels. Indigenous, Native American, American Indian, Indian or Kumeyaay/Kumiai/Diegueño or the name of their tribe are all words and identities adopted by the person. In the case of the Kumeyaay many identify as Diegueño,

prevention curricula, tribally controlled charter schools, language revitalization programs, and museums.

These indigenous movements are working towards reclaiming their education and moving away from hundreds of years of (re)education. Academia is taking notice of the knowledge offered by indigenous peoples, especially ecological knowledge.<sup>272</sup> Many universities are reaching out to indigenous peoples to collaborate in projects that bridge knowledge from academia to traditional knowledge. Academia is collaborating with indigenous peoples in conservation efforts, while at the same time exchanging ideas.<sup>273</sup> Traditional knowledge is now seen as “living symbols” that have meaning and power and acceptability by all of society.<sup>274</sup> The “truth” changes over time and as researchers continue to collect data that information will ultimately become knowledge.<sup>275</sup>

With the acknowledgement of traditional knowledge in academia, schools have also become aware of “informal” education. Programs and curriculums are being developed to incorporate indigenous knowledge and traditional knowledge. What was once thought of as a deficit is now an asset or funds of knowledge. American Indians are

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Kumeyaay, and Kumiai. Each of these names refer either to the geographic space they come from such as Kumeyaay in the US and Kumiai in Mexico. The use of Diegueño originates from Mission of San Diego de Alcalá. This name was imposed of the Kumeyaay/Kumiai from the Spanish.

272. Huntington, “‘We Dance around in a Ring and Suppose’: Academic Engagement with Traditional Knowledge.”

273. Ibid.

274. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*.

275. Ommer, Coward, and Parrish, “Knowledge, Uncertainty, and Wisdom.”

drawing from Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) framework where culture is not thought of as negative but is, in fact, an asset for school achievement.<sup>276</sup> This shift is occurring more frequently inside and outside school and inside tribal lands.

#### Transforming Classroom Space

Historically classroom space was and continues to be used as a tool to colonize indigenous people. Today that space is being reclaimed by the Kumeyaay in order to educate and promote Kumeyaay identity, culture, traditions, and language. Leaders from tribes are undertaking projects to accurately portray history. In 1995, the education director Monique La Chapa, Campo Band of Diegueño Mission Indians approached and collaborated with the Campo Elementary School to create a curriculum that accurately and “authentically [re]present by their tribal identity.”<sup>277</sup> “This project was ahead of its time,” as stated by an official from San Diego Office of Education because subsequently four years later California State Board of Education made significant changes to the K-12 curriculum in history and social science. The changes made were now transparent for all to see. Conversations between the state and the community were on-going during this project.<sup>278</sup> Although these changes were significant, they still lacked “authentic representation” of Native Americans.

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276. González, Moll, and Amanti, *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing Practice in Households, Communities, and Classrooms*.

277. Labastida and Caldeira, *The Kumeyaay People*, 1.

278. Klingensmith, *History-social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve*.

Furthermore, changes made by the State of California, does not necessarily mean they translate in the classroom. Teachers still need to make themselves aware of the local indigenous tribes and for many this simply might be too much work. They have to research and attempt to know a culture they might not understand, and possibly have never been exposed to. There are about four curriculums for third and fourth graders on Kumeyaay traditions and knowledge, the most recent was published in 2009 by Priscilla Porter, *A Kumeyaay Curriculum*. According to the San Diego Education Department, this is the most widely used curriculum by teachers in Southern California. Administrators and teachers have to conduct research and choose a curriculum fitting to their community. This is a rigorous task to undertake by administrators and educators. Due to time constraints, teachers and administrators rely on curriculums and printed materials disseminated by the California Department of Education to represent the Kumeyaay most accurately. Today it is unknown how many elementary teachers adopted and updated their sources and curriculums on the Kumeyaay when covering history in the third grade.<sup>279</sup>

#### Effects of Formal Education

In California, indigenous youth experience a series of issues when they attend formal schools. According to the State American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN) Education in California 2012 Report, in 2011, there were 382,558 graduating students, of which American Indian and Alaskan Native (AI/AN) made up 0.7%. Disproportionally AI/AN have high dropout rates and do not receive high school diplomas. In 2007-2008,

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279. Porter, *American Indians of the Local Region: The Kumeyaay A Curriculum Guide for Grade 3 Teachers Based on California History-Social Science Standard*.

the dropout rate of AI/AN cohort was about 6% higher than the state average. Acquiring statistics on Kumeyaay youth on the verge of being pushed-out is difficult to obtain. In one of the communities I worked with, we found that in 2006 one tribal member from the community completed all of the kindergarten through graduate requirement. That means youth from this community are pushed-out and do not receive their high school diploma. Some students decided to take an alternative route and receive their General Educational Development (GED).

In addition to the high dropout rate, Kumeyaay language is less spoken by tribal members at an increasingly alarming rate. It is estimated by linguists that the Kumeyaay language will no longer exist in the next generations to come if it is not revitalized. The Kumeyaay have come together from all of the reservations including Kumiai from Mexico and created an educational space where multiculturalism is promoted.<sup>280</sup> Multiculturalism in the classroom is a space set-up to promote different cultures and negotiate their identity, language and traditions. Across the United States and Latin America there is a movement to preserve indigenous languages. In Latin America, for example, countries like México, Perú and Guatemala are promoting bilingual intercultural programs. These programs were created to increase literacy rates by first teaching in the indigenous language and then teach Spanish.<sup>281</sup> Although the classes are instructed in the dominant indigenous language of the area, the undertones of colonialism

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280. Vásquez, "Forthcoming: Riasotire: An Approach to the Construction of a Bilingual Intercultural Indigenous Model of Education for a Community among the Ide Makuna of the Colombian Amazon."

281. Bartlett, Lopez, Mein, and Valdiviezo, "Adolescent Literacies in Latin America and the Caribbean."

continue to infuse through the educational policies. These changes are noble, yet there is a misunderstanding about indigenous language operated by the state. A Kumiai woman from Baja California expressed her discontent of the bilingual program offered in Mexico; she is concerned that teachers sent to her community by the Mexican government do not know how to speak Kumeyaay correctly, and that these teachers do not understand the culture. “How can someone who may have learned the ’Iipay/Tiipay language outside the community understand the dynamics between the different dialects between communities?” she questioned.<sup>282</sup> What might work in one community might not work in another. This of course creates some problems for the nation-state and sovereign tribes.

### Controlling Kumeyaay Education

#### *Early Education and Primary School*

Early intervention educational programs lay the foundation for early exposure to formal learning, increase confidence, increase literacy, and positive identity--all contingent on how the program is managed and by whom.<sup>283</sup> It is important children receive quality education throughout their formative years. Barona Band of Mission Indians realized their children needed a different type of schooling, one that offered a mix between traditional knowledge and formal education. In 2002, Barona Band of Mission Indians Reservation opened Barona Indian Charter School. The school offers classes from kindergarten up to sixth grade. As a charter school, it is publically funded by the

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282. Informal conversation with a Kumiai tribal member, October 2013.

283. Bowman, "Early Childhood Education."

state of California. Native American students are primarily targeted to attend the school located on the reservation, but it is open to all, as required by the law.

In 2013, the school serves seventy-three students, of which twenty-three students are of American Indian origin.<sup>284</sup> Barona Indian Charter School mission is to expose students to Kumeyaay culture and language, while simultaneously instructing a core curriculum required by the State of California. Every public school is ranked according to quality of teaching, curriculum, and class size. Barona Indian Charter School ranks four out of ten in California, and their Academic Performance Index (API) Score is 794 out of 1000. API measures academic performance based on yearly tests conducted by California. The score is low, but the school is working towards raising their standards to meet federal and state standards. In addition, in 2013 California State Legislature enacted changes on how the state measures API's this can possibly improve Barona Indian Charter School API.

Laws enacted by Congress opened a new door into indigenous education and provided funding for Indian education, but most importantly it transferred control from the U.S. government to tribal government. Indian education is part of Indian sovereignty, and it is important for the Kumeyaay to control and retain their indigenous education while working inside the formal education institution.

### *Higher Education*

In addition to focusing on early education, the Kumeyaay are also encouraging indigenous students to attend tribal college. The educational programs the Kumeyaay

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284. California Department of Education, *2013 Growth API School Report - Barona Indian Charter*.

have ventured into revolve around indigenous teaching methods practiced in the classroom. The Kumeyaay Community College in Sycuan Indian Reservation are moving towards furthering Kumeyaay traditions, but most importantly keeping alive the Kumeyaay language. Currently, there are thirty-four accredited tribal colleges in the United States. In 2005, Kumeyaay Community College opened its doors to all students in Sycuan Indian Reservation. Community leaders from the thirteen Kumeyaay communities came together to work on this project. Although the campus is a small six classroom college, Kumeyaay College is mainly concerned with preserving the 'Iipay/Tiipay language and culture of the Kumeyaay by mixing traditional knowledge within the formal education realm. This means classes offered move from traditional knowledge and formal education. Kumeyaay College offers classes on traditional knowledge, such as Kumeyaay language classes, ethnobotany, and Kumeyaay traditional foods. Students have the option of receiving college credit from Cuyamaca College.

Even with these strides, the public education system persists in containing traditional knowledge in the “other” spheres--outside of formal education. In an interview conducted on October 24, 2013, a tribal member talked about his resentment with formal schooling, and how his school did not credit him for attending Kumeyaay College.

**Participant 3:** You know I do want to talk a little bit about something I just remembered.

**CV:** Aha.

**Participant 3:** We did take college courses when we were younger, when we were in high school, through DQ [Deganwidah-Quetzalcoatl] University. That is Sycuan's university; they call it Kumeyaay College now, Kumeyaay Community College.

**CV:** Mhm.

**Participant 3:** Umm. . . we did take classes there, and we did have issues with our school's guidance counselor. He didn't want to count the courses [pause] I don't know how I felt about that.

**CV:** What do you mean you don't know how you felt about that?

**Participant 3:** I mean. . .

**CV:** Angry? Upset? Resentful?

**Participant 3:** I guess, I was angry.

**CV:** How angry?

**Participant 3:** Not too angry, it ticked me off a little . . . I mean, everything I am talking about really turned me off to education.

This student's anger and resentment towards schooling is an issue that persists among Kumeyaay youth. Four of the interviews I conducted participants were under the age of twenty-five. Their recent experience with schooling echoed the same sentiments about not being heard, singled out in class and pushed-out of school.

#### *Other Educational Avenues*

Teaching traditional education within the confines of formal education is at times consuming, bureaucratic, and disappointing. Outside of the school walls, the Kumeyaay community use after-school programs to teach traditional ways and to promote an indigenous identity, this is practiced in Mexico as well. In 1971, Native American Student Alliance (NASA) was founded nationally across universities. There is a NASA chapter at San Diego State University (SDSU). NASA chapter at SDSU organizes a conference for all native youth attending high school in San Diego. This conference focuses in promoting higher education as well as nurturing a positive ethnic identity. Every year, NASA conference targets an important issue affecting their community. This is a great example in promoting indigenous cultures, identity, and education.<sup>285</sup> After-school programs are another avenue for the Kumeyaay to utilize and maximize teaching

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285. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*.

indigenous knowledge to their children. Four Kumeyaay reservations have education centers that serve their community on tribal land.

### *Museums*

Outside of formal schooling, museums are set-up to supplement and validate western knowledge learned from school. In San Diego, there are more than fifteen museums with one strictly dedicated to the Kumeyaay. Across Indian country, Native Americans manage and curate museums on and off reservations. Museums are another form of education. Most museums are not controlled by Native Americans, in fact; these museums are managed by government and non-government entities support and validate western knowledge based on science and logic--also known as “scientific colonialism.”<sup>286</sup> Furthermore, most museums portray colonialism in a positive light, often displaying the “views and attitudes of dominant cultures and the material evidence of colonial achievements of the European cultures in which museums are rooted.”<sup>287</sup>

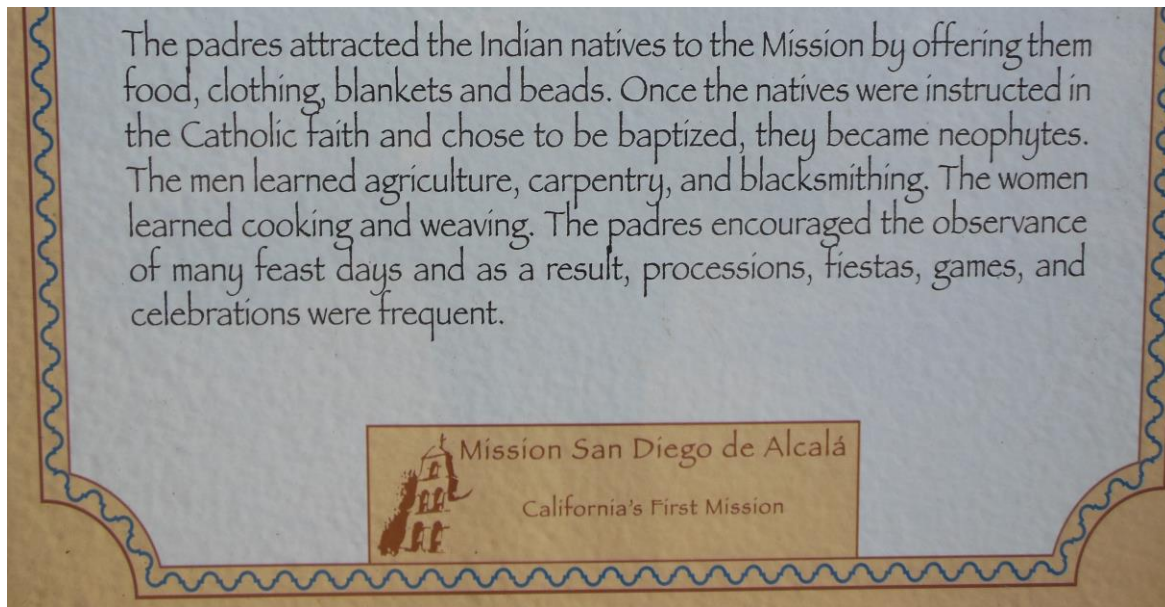
One of the most visited museums from non-natives and natives in San Diego is the San Diego Museum of Man located in Balboa Park. The museum houses an abundance of Kumeyaay artifacts, yet they display a small portion of the collection. Currently, the Kumeyaay exhibition is small and located in a corner of the museum. In another museum that is managed by non-natives and exhibits the Kumeyaay way of life is the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá. This exhibition is bigger than the Kumeyaay exhibition in the Museum of Man, and it is located in the back of the mission, next to a

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286. Fourmile, "Aborigines and Museums: A Case Study in Scientific Colonialism."

287. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-colonial Era*, 1.

chapel in an obscure corner. When walking into the museum, immediately one is greeted by a picture of an elderly Kumeyaay woman making traditional *shawee*, or otherwise known as acorn mush. This picture sets the tone for the exhibition because the following displays set the Kumeyaay in the past. Kumeyaay traditional ways of life are present by showing common artifacts such as baskets, traditional houses, and weaponry. The Kumeyaay are portrayed as being “happy” to being saved and civilized by priests. The figure below is a plaque in the Kumeyaay exhibition shows the mission life as a festive and educational institution. However, the plaque does not touch on the frequent malnourishment, extensive work, and their constant exposure to a violent environment in the mission.<sup>288</sup>



**Figure 4-1 Plaque in Mision of San Diego de Alcalá Museum**

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288. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California 1769-1850*; Gutiérrez and Orsi, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*; Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*.

For years, indigenous peoples have been concerned over the representation of their traditional knowledge in museums.<sup>289</sup> In the United States, Native American activists fought for the protection of their cultural property and successfully lobbied Congress to pass laws addressing this issue. Today there are three federal laws that protect and repatriate cultural property “discovered” in the United States. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, and most recently, the Native American Graves Protection Act (NAGPRA) Act of 1990 protect traditional knowledge.<sup>290</sup> One of the most instrumental laws for indigenous peoples is NAGPRA. NAGPRA gives ownership and control to indigenous tribes over skeletal and sacred objects discovered after 1990. In addition, NAGPRA also states that if the tribe requests any skeletal and sacred objects discovered before 1990 they are to be handed over to the tribe.<sup>291</sup>

The Kumeyaay, like many indigenous tribes, are worried about their culture and history being placed in a glass box, without any mention to present Kumeyaay culture. For this reason, the Kumeyaay are re-claiming their indigenous knowledge. In 2000, Barona Cultural Center & Museum opened. The museum is dedicated to the Kumeyaay-Diegueño, focusing on the Barona people and their families. The small museum is located on Barona Indian Reservation. Although, the museum is small, the exhibitions are mixed with traditional and interactive displays for maximum learning. The first

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289. Conversations with tribal members over the course of my two-year research.

290. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World*.

291. Muckle, *Indigenous Peoples of North America: A Concise Anthropological Overview*.

exhibition opens with Kumeyaay traditional knowledge and ways of life before contact, similar to other museums. However, Barona Cultural Center & Museum operates differently than the other museums because they do not place Kumeyaay traditional knowledge in the past. Instead, they offer exhibitions on modern Kumeyaay and more recent Tribal history. Staff members work hard to remove Indian stereotypes by making the exhibitions a continuity of Kumeyaay history and indigenous culture.

#### Education and Cultural Renaissance in Alta and Baja California

The Kumeyaay in the United States have worked hard to reclaim their traditional knowledge by using all types of educational spaces to accomplish their goals. Similarly, the Kumiai south of the border are also on this path to reclaiming their traditional knowledge in Mexico. The Kumeyaay/Kumiai from the north and south have similar and distinguishing issues when dealing with their governments. Both north and south Kumeyaay/Kumiai are on a cultural renaissance journey. This journey has one goal: awaking and motivating youth to practice speaking the language and carrying on Kumeyaay/Kumiai traditions. Kumeyaay/Kumiai from the U.S. and Mexico are taking different routes in accomplishing their cultural renaissance goal.

The Kumiai resides in five *ejidos* (a type of communal land similar to a reservation) located in Baja California reaching as far south as Ensenada and as north as Tecate. During the 1930s, Mexico went through a series of agricultural and land reforms. *Hacendado* land, “*hacendado*[were] owners of large agricultural estates, miners, and merchants”-- were broken up into *ejidos*, and distributed to the peasants and indigenous peoples. These *ejidos* are in isolated locations away from Tijuana and Tecate. Paloma, a Kumiai from Baja California, shared her struggles in living on an *ejido*. The Kumiai from

Baja California do not receive extensive governmental assistance.<sup>292</sup> Paula Lindell Meyer documents the lack of healthcare for the Kumiai in Baja in her doctoral dissertation stating, “I, and anyone else close to this community, have seen lots of people suffer greatly for long (and short) periods of time and die because of the non-existence of care.”<sup>293</sup> Abject poverty is rampant among Baja California Kumiai. Ironically, due to the economic hardships the Kumiai in Baja California have endured they also conserved a greater component of their traditions and language. There are more native speakers of Tiipay in Baja California.<sup>294</sup> Kumiai, who resides in *ejidos* or principal communities, have limited access to transportation making it difficult to travel to Tijuana for necessities like groceries and access to medical assistance.

The use of traditional medicine is critical for Kumiai survival in their communities. Traditional remedies are used to cure headaches, stomach aches, and other ailments that do not require a visit to the doctor’s office. It is also less expensive to practice traditional medicine as opposed to buying medication at the pharmacy. Simultaneously, while their medicine cures ailments, Kumiai women are transmitting traditional knowledge to their children with the intent that their children will then transfer the knowledge to their children and so forth. Currently, there is not a concise number on how many people currently speak the Kumeyaay language, either ’iipay or Tiipay. In a

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292. Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.

293. Meyer, "Indigenous Language Loss and Revitalization in Tecate, Baja California," 137.

294. There is not a direct number confirming this statement. However, tribal members from the north and the south have confirmed this.

2005, report by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEG) state that there are about 264 Kumiai native speakers.<sup>295</sup> In another state report, there were 159 Kumiai native speakers in 2000.<sup>296</sup> Community members estimate a lower number.

The Kumiai from Baja California know that their language is in the process of disappearing if they do not work together to revive it. Educating native and non-native people will increase the numbers of Kumiai speakers. The Kumiai are working mainly with anthropologists and linguists to document their language and dialect, as well as stories and traditions. For years, the community envisioned a space where they could exhibit their traditions and history in Baja California. Their hard work paid off, and funding was granted for the construction of their museum Museo Comunitario Kumiai in Tecate, Mexico.

Another form of language revitalization in Baja California is through informal educational workshops. Educational informal workshops are instructed by Kumiai community members. The workshops are open to the public with a small fee. The money collected from the workshop is used to buy materials, and the surplus goes directly to the Kumiai community. During these two to four hour workshops instructed at the Museo Comunitario Kumiai. Participants are introduced to Kumiai and other traditional ways of life such as making *shawee* and traditional baskets. Aside from workshops conducted at the museum, at home parents are pushing their children to learn Kumiai.

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295. Mexico. Instituto Nacional De Estadística Y Geografía (INEG). *Períl Sociodemográfico De La Población Que Habla Lengua Indígena*.

296. Mexico. Instituto Nacional De Estadística y Geografía (INEG). *La Población Hablante De Lengua Indígena De Baja California*.

Informal education remains their primary source of educating their children through traditional knowledge. A couple of years ago, a group of concerned sisters came together with their family members to instruct Kumiai language courses on indigenous knowledge to their extended family. In March of 2014, the sisters immersed their children, nieces, nephews, and grandchildren in a two-week language workshop. Regalia use to teach their children range from learning how to prepare traditional food to using bilingual materials produced by the Mexican Government. The Kumiai adopted this popular Mexican *lotería* game to fit their needs. The *lotería* is a great way to learn a new language--it is frequently used in language courses. Below are two *lotería* pictures frequently used at-home language workshops.

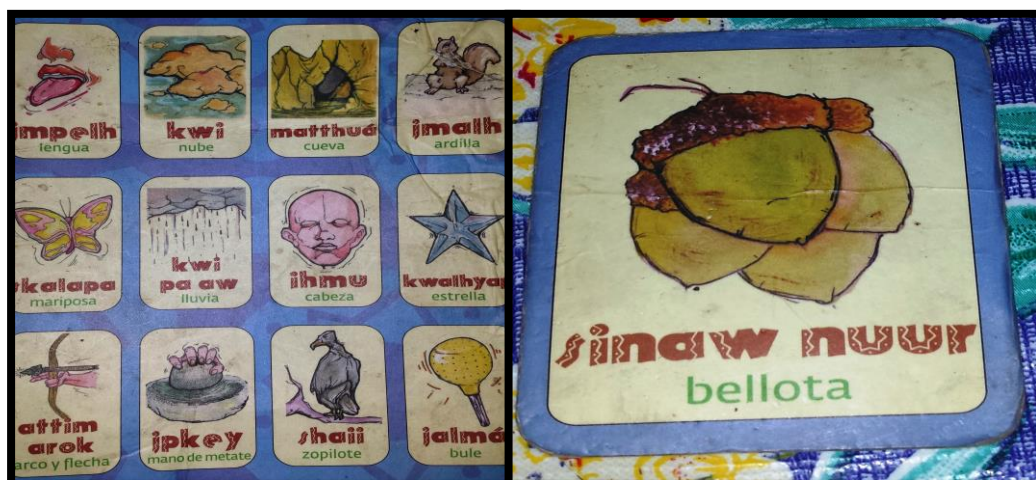


Figure 4-2 Kumia/Spanish Lotería Game

#### Gender and Kumeyaay Education

After attending revitalization classes, conferences, and powwows I saw Kumeyaay/ Kumiai women taking leadership positions in assuring traditional knowledge is passed down from generation from generation. In Baja California, the sisters teaching their children Kumiai at home are on the vanguard in assuring their traditions are

accurately represented in a formal education setting. These sisters come together any way they can to teach Tiipay.

Traditionally, women took charge of the household, and this is no different today. In another interview conducted on September 18, 2013, a young Kumeyaay woman talked about the gender roles assigned to women and men in her community.<sup>297</sup> She touched on how young girls are responsible for helping their mothers and grandmothers in the household with cleaning, cooking, and babysitting while the boys played outside. During the interview, she recalled how much she wanted to be outside with the boys. Another example, in an informal conversation, an elder from Baja California, echoed the importance of Kumeyaay women and their roles as teachers of traditional knowledge. Her concern was the loss of traditions and language in a couple of generations.

Today women and men are responsible for teaching the youth about their songs, their history, and their language. Women have taken a leadership position in transmitting traditional practices to the youth on culture, history, and religion. Some of these women have found themselves practicing in men's spaces traditionally held by men. For example, Bird Singers are traditionally men and Bird Dancers are women, although Bird Singers can also dance with women or by themselves. After speaking to various people and attending events, it is unlikely that women Bird Singers negotiate these spaces and become an elder singer. However, in the documentary *Songs of the Colorado* (2011), in fact, a woman from Baja California, Mexico became a Bird Singer and joined the men and discussed the importance behind Bird Singing. Her grandfather taught her how to

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297. Interview with a tribal member on September 18, 2013.

sing and passed down his knowledge to her. He saw the fire inside of his granddaughter. It is not common to see women Bird Singers, but due to the diminishing numbers of 'lipay and Tiipay speakers, her grandfather knew it was imperative for someone in his family to pass down the traditions. Not to mention she was interested in learning. Today, she teaches boys and girls to sing.

In most of the interviews I conducted and informal conversations, mothers and grandmothers were the main teachers for their children. They were the source of knowledge and they instilled in their children the importance of culture and language. They taught their children to be prideful in their Native identity, and research indicates that people who are prideful of their ethnicity are more likely to succeed in school.<sup>298</sup>

Men are also involved the education of their children. Men are in charge of leading Bird Songs and teaching the youth traditional gender roles within the tribes. Unfortunately, many of the young men pass away due to alcohol, drugs, and gang warfare leaving the transmission of knowledge to the elders like Juan Meza, Anthony Pico, and many others.<sup>299</sup>

#### Concerns over the Fifth Cycle of Education

In spite of all of the positive changes and motivations to pass on traditional knowledge through an educational space, there are concerns that arise from revitalization programs. One specific concern is adopting traditions that were not originally practiced

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298. González, Moll, and Amanti, *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing Practice in Households, Communities, and Classrooms*.

299. Meyer, "Indigenous Language Loss and Revitalization in Tecate, Baja California."

before, but are now essential to Kumeyaay identity. Many elders worry of the “invention” of these traditions. For example, Bird Singers are boys and men who go through rigorous training to memorize and pass down their traditions through music.

To combat the immense loss of language and culture, common among the Native youth in the United States, the Kumeyaay introduced Bird Singers in the Mourning Ceremony as part of their culture sometime in the 2000’s.<sup>300</sup> Eric Hobsbawm refers to this as “invented tradition” and defines it as

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.<sup>301</sup>

It is highly contested exactly when Bird Singing was introduced into the Mourning Ceremony. In A. M. Halpern's book *Karzúk: Native Accounts of the Quechan Mourning Ceremony*, describes the Karzúk, a Mourning ritual similar to the Kumeyaay’s Mourning Ceremony, is associated with the Quechan of the lower Colorado River.<sup>302</sup> Quechan language is part of the Yuman family like the Kumeyaay. In the Karzúk Ceremony for the deceased, Halpern describes similar traditions found in the Mourning Ceremony. Fire songs are traditionally sung during the Mourning Ceremony.<sup>303</sup> It is believed that the Kumeyaay introduced Bird Songs into the Mourning Ceremony because more people are

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300. A Tribal Bird Singer believes it was around this time Bird Singing was re-introduced into the Mourning Ceremony.

301. Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.

302. Halpern, Miller, and Langdon, *Karzúk: Native Accounts of the Quechan Mourning Ceremony*.

303. Waterman, Spier and Gifford, *The Early Ethnography of the Kumeyaay*.

familiar with Bird Songs. Regardless of when and how it was introduced the Kumeyaay want to have a continuity with their past.

Although, most people I interviewed described directly identifying with Bird Singing in the Mourning Ceremony as “part of their tradition” there are some elders with some concern over this. In an interview conducted at the Barona Cultural Center & Museum on November 7, 2005, Mr. Brown, a Kumeyaay/ Diegueño elder from Viejas Indian Reservation talked to Museum Director Cheryl Hinton about his feelings about Bird Singers and the Mourning Ceremony:

**Brown:** I don’t know. It would never be the same anymore. It’s different thing altogether the way I see it. I mean, I that . . . there’s a thing that I don’t believe in, not necessarily me, but when I was growing up. All through the youth when I was growing up the funerals, I never seen Bird Singers. The only time they’d have stuff like that was if he was a bird singer in his lifetime. (33)

**Hinton:** You’re the second person, or the third person who’s said that to me in the last few weeks that’s interesting.

**Brown:** So then all the, you’ve probably seen it, all the Bird Singers, and I don’t believe it. They keep telling me “we’re bringing it back” and I can’t see how you can bring something back that was never there. That is my thoughts because I never seen it when I was growing up. Like I said they would do something like that but only because the man was a Bird Singer. And Bird Singers in the fiestas would dance all night long, they’d go around and around.<sup>304</sup>

Mr. Brown saw the shift of his traditions extending to the culture and education in his lifetime. Although he might not agree with the majority of his people, it is now a widely

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304. Interview conducted by Barona Cultural Center & Museum Director Cheryl Hinton and Kumeyaay Viejas Tribal member Ed Brown on November 7, 2005, transcript number 2010.281. Please note that the opinions expressed in this oral history belong solely to the narrator and do not reflect the views held by Barona Cultural Center & Museum or the Barona Band of Mission Indians.

accepted ritual to include Bird Singers in the Mourning Ceremony, and to adopt it as a symbol of ethnic pride and culture.

It is undeniable that this has become a pillar of Kumeyaay identity after speaking to another middle-aged Kumeyaay individual, for whom formal education failed. On October 13, 2013, we spoke about his formal education and informal education as well as his experience within both spaces. After talking about his parents, the participant moved on to the Mourning Ceremony. The Mourning Ceremony left a strong impression on him since he was not brought up in the reservation and was not exposed to Kumeyaay traditions from a young age. This is what he took from the ceremony:

**Participant 4:** I know now that its, um, three days. They burn your stuff, I guess the culture, or theme, that it goes with you to the next life, so. And then there is, either, you can have a viewing or you can have an all night wake, um, with the tribe now. It is still the same burial, um, process with the Bird Singing, and the viewing right at the cross right before they close your casket before forever, um.

**CV:** Mmmhmm.<sup>305</sup>

He described how different it was from his experience and that it was special to see Bird Singers during the Mourning Ceremony. In another interview conducted on the same day, a young man described his upholding of traditions and especially during the Mourning Ceremony:

**CV:** So, when someone passes away what is the traditional way of, well. .

**Participant 5:** We have a clothes burning. We burn all their things. And then we have a wake. We would be up all night singing.

**CV:** Mmmhmm.

**Participant 5:** It's like when you go view a body, like that, but we sing all night and eat. And do all that kind of stuff. You know? Bury them, and. . .

**CV:** How long does it take? How many days?

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305. Participant 3, interview on October 13, 2013.

**Participant 5:** About three.

**CV:** Three days?

**Participant 5:** Yeah.<sup>306</sup>

Tradition to the young man is important to him. He discussed the importance of tradition and what it meant to him and how tradition is being lost. These concerns of maintaining the culture closely aligned to tradition is sometimes diluted by the fact that culture changes and so do traditions. Traditions are not static; they can be lost, and others can be born. This does not mean the tradition is no longer tradition; on the contrary, it has evolved with the people, as their culture continues to change and at the same time continues to remain the same.

### Conclusion

The fifth cycle of education is defined by a mix of formal and traditional knowledge. Each space mixes together to make a third space, often known as the borderlands. In this space, it is the hybridity of both cultures intersect and exchange information.

Knowledge of the land continues to be transmitted from generation to generation in songs, ceremonies, and stories. Delfina Cuero remembers when her family “clear[ed] a lot of land. The men cut trees and they did other things while we carried, piled and burned the brush.”<sup>307</sup> She recalls how “in those days” the elders had extensive knowledge of the lands and greenery. They knew what type of herbs to use to cure certain ailments. She also remembers how her mother and grandmother taught her what to look for and

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306. Participant 5 interview on October 13, 2013.

307. Shipek, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography*, 25.

what herbs had curative elements. Today, this continues on throughout the generations. Knowledge and traditions are passed down in the home and now in the classroom.

The Kumeyaay/Kumiai always had a system of education passed down from generation to generation, regardless of the three educational conquests they endured of forced assimilation. They are reclaiming their past and connecting it to the present and future. They understand the importance of keeping their language, traditions, and identity alive. Although they are using classrooms and museums, a space historically reserved for colonialist ideologies, it has become a space where the Kumeyaay have reclaimed their education. The Kumeyaay have demonstrated through leadership and determination that they are here and that their language, traditions, culture, and ethnic identity continue to play a critical role in their history and present.

Language programs, schools, and museums bridge a space between nations, borders, and ethnicity which is negotiated every day. These spaces allow for the Kumeyaay to continue transmit their knowledge through different avenues. Thus, the Kumeyaay are working towards diminishing push-out numbers of Kumeyaay students and are increasing positive ethnic identity in their children. As Kalim Smith observes “[t]he following is a representation of ways that Kumeyaay people are theorizing ideas of language and identity today, as individual members of an indigenous Nation.”<sup>308</sup>

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308. Smith, "The Language and Hegemony in the Kumeyaay Nation," 41.

## CONCLUSION/REFLECTIONS

This section will summarize key components of chapters 1-4 and then dovetail into the key the goals and key findings. Recommendations for future research on this subject will then follow key findings. Finally, a section on reflections will close this section.

Over the course of 250 years the Kumeyaay/Kumiai people have negotiated formal education, first introduced by Catholic missionaries in 1769. During the Spanish (1767-1833), Mexican (1833-1848), and American period (1848-current) the Kumeyaay were attended missionary education. Missionary education is an extension of imperialism. Each colonialist country, Spanish, Mexican, American imported ideas and beliefs from their homeland and transmitted their knowledge to the Kumeyaay. The knowledge forcibly transmitted by the nation-state and religious institutions to the Kumeyaay used different educational methodologies for each educational phase. Missionization Program was part of the education period for the Spanish. Missionization Program was the processes used to force assimilate the Kumeyaay into European civilization. The Spanish Crown collaborated with the Catholic Church to catechize the Kumeyaay over a period of time. The Spanish Crown funded the Missionization Program while the Church provided teachers and delivered an education fitting for the Church and for the Spanish Empire.

Missionization education utilized specific types of methodologies when schooling the Kumeyaay. Teaching Spanish vernacular language was essential to the success of the program. Priests adopted creative methods when they taught catechism. Missionary

pedagogy used an array of regalia. Visual arts and music was used to re-educate the Kumeyaay. In addition to using regalia, chosen individuals were placed in leadership positions. These individuals were extension of the priest. *Temastians* (translators and priest assistants) and *ama de llaves* (key keeper) oversaw the missionized Kumeyaay and reported to the priests. The *temastians* and *ama de llaves* were critical components to the missionization period because they had the ability to move in and out of the European/indigenous spaces. But, overall, the *temastian* and *ama de llaves* were part of the colonization project.

The following periods, Mexican (1833-1848) and American (1848-current) introduced a nation-state type of education to the Kumeyaay. This education, although liberal, continued to use missionization methods to colonize the Kumeyaay. The Mexican period, did not establish formal education in Alta California. Mexicans were unable to re-educate the Kumeyaay before the American period. For the duration of the Mexican period, secular priests controlled the missions in Alta California. These priests were stripped of their power that was once granted by the Spanish Crown. Instead, missionaries were the overseers of the mission. At this point, many mission Indians left the mission and worked at the *rancherías*. Land acquired by the missionaries during their reign was confiscated by the Mexican government and distributed to some indigenous peoples of Alta California, but the majority of the land was handed to the wealthy Californios.<sup>309</sup> This action by the Mexican state fostered animosity among the Kumeyaay.

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309. Sánchez, *Telling Identities*.

As a result, the Kumeyaay re-grouped and rebelled during the Mexican period and almost overtook San Diego from Spanish-Mexican settlers and the Mexican government. The Mexican government was in a dilemma because the Kumeyaay were in the process of occupying San Diego in 1842. While the Mexican government attempted to push-back on the Kumeyaay raids while fighting American settlers. The Mexican government was unable to do both, and by 1846 war declared by the United States. As soon as war started it ended two years later with the Guadalupe de Hidalgo treaty. Mexico ceded Alta California to the United States. In addition to the Mexican government ceding Alta California, the treaty drew the border line between the Kumeyaay nation in 1848. The treaty ruptured Kumeyaay formal education once again. Kumeyaay residing in the United States and now were under American tutelage and their national education took on a different type of schooling.

The United States also adopted methods from the missionaries. Initially, Americans focused in physically and mentally exterminating the Indian. Eliminating the Indian ranged from genocide to formal education. California legislature and the United States Congress changed their position over time and this was reflective in the laws passed over time. Slowly the United States government adopted formal education to colonize Native Americans. Boarding schools, also known as the federal education period (1870-1968) became prominent during the late 1800s and operated until the 1980s.

Today formal schooling left an imprint on indigenous education. This thesis opens with the introduction of formal education, but indigenous education did not begin with formal schooling. The Kumeyaay educational system has always been an integral part of Kumeyaay tradition. Kumeyaay education originated in the home and extended with the

community. The Environment was the center to their education. Kumeyaay education had a unique system in place when it came to educating their children. This system depended on the environment to act as its main classroom. Greg Cajete articulates the essence of indigenous education “Tribal/Indigenous education is really endogenous education, in that it educates the inner self through enlivenment and illumination from one's own being and the learning of key relationships.”<sup>310</sup>

Throughout colonization the Kumeyaay negotiated and resisted borderland spaces. Borderlands provided a space where indigenous knowledge and formal education amalgamated and created something new. The use of formal education by the colonizer was used as a tool to forcibly assimilate the Kumeyaay into a Christian Spanish subject and Mexican and American citizen. The Kumeyaay resisted force assimilation through various means. One technique was to minimize their contact with the Spanish/Mexican/American settlers. Another technique the Kumeyaay used to resist assimilation was to practice their tradition orally in 'Iipay/Tiipay. They also continued to celebrate important events and games tied to precontact.

After more than 200 years of colonization, the Kumeyaay are re-taking their education by appropriating educational spaces in formal institutions that were formally used to assimilate them into western traditions. Schools, universities, and museums are becoming more frequently used in the reservations as a tool to implement traditional knowledge. The Kumeyaay are no longer waiting on the institution to school them. Instead, they are taking the initiative to provide for their community needs. They are

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310. Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*, 34.

promoting and revitalizing their language, traditions, and culture within and outside their community.

### Goals

This thesis aims to achieve two goals. The first goal is to map and historicize the effect of formal education on indigenous education and its systems. The second goal of this study is to examine how the Kumeyaay throughout each colonial phase negotiated, assimilated, and resisted formal education. Today, the Kumeyaay use specific forms of formal education to decolonize their minds, bodies, and souls. In my findings, the Kumeyaay are looking for innovative ways to revitalize their language, culture, and traditions. One way they are accomplishing their goal is by appropriating formal school spaces. They are opening tribally run schools, education community centers, leading education conferences, directing documentaries on their culture, and continuing the use traditional methods to transmit their education to their youth. Furthermore, they are looking for ground-breaking ways to engage tribal youth members to use education (formal and informal) as a tool to navigate the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This requires tribal youth members to be well versed in this highly connected world. Simultaneously, the tribal youth members must also retain their core as Kumeyaay.

Tribally controlled indigenous education is a step towards asserting Kumeyaay sovereignty. They are not looking to a government that historically and institutionally failed their children. By controlling their education, they are also taking bridging academic knowledge with traditional knowledge. The Kumeyaay are working closely with academics from local universities to attain their sovereign goal. For example, in

Tecate, Mexico the Kumiai worked with anthropologists and linguists to open a museum and cultural center dedicated to the Kumiai.

Overall, their goal is to change how their history is told in public schools and how they are represented in formal educational spaces, but most poignantly, they are interested in passing their traditions and history to their children. Their children are the sole reason the Kumeyaay are controlling their education. They envision the next generation of Kumeyaay/Kumiai children as multi-lingual, multi-cultural individuals who have a strong sense of their heritage with the “fire inside,” while navigating the borderlands.

The significance of this study is two-fold. First, writing history is complicated and powerful. Writing history is complicated because the archives are fragments left behind by formal institutions and are incomplete puzzles. These “lost” puzzles are often not found and researchers forcefully fill in the gaps. The gaps filled might not incorporate all the missing puzzles. Thus, it is important to comprehend all of aspects of what is considered an archive and weave the missing puzzles in. In this case, the Kumeyaay have a strong tradition of oratory transmission of knowledge and as a result their stories, cultural traditions, and songs connect them to their past. These direct connections to their past are now used to craft another puzzle, one in which they control. In other words, it is important to understand the historical materialism that occurred during the introduction period of formal education and how these ideas permeate formal schooling today, and how they continue to affect Native American children. The dire numbers in statistics are proof of how schools are failing Native American students.

The second step is illustrating how the Kumeyaay--and indigenous peoples across the world--are re-taking their education and what methods they are applying when doing so. They are re-imagining a new type of schooling. This type of schooling will incorporate and mix materials between traditional knowledge and formal knowledge. These two traditions and spaces will speak to each other and work in a complementary fashion.

#### Recommendations for Research

This study was limited geographically and temporally, and thus requires more inquiry into indigenous education and the effects of formal school on native students. These are the recommendations to further this study.

1. Changes in indigenous education will continue to occur within the Kumeyaay Nation in the United States and in Mexico. It is recommended for researchers to have a clear understanding of the history before entering indigenous communities. Furthermore, it is of interest to work with the community for more than their research. That is to say, two years is not enough time to build a rapport with the community and simultaneously work under critical pedagogy.
2. Drop-out prevention programs are being developed by the community and a further look into how the Kumeyaay are developing and implementing these programs in their community.

These recommendations will benefit the Kumeyaay. The Kumeyaay tribe will benefit from these recommendations because they will have researchers with low turnover rate

and the researchers working with the Kumeyaay will fully comprehend the commit they are making to the community when working with them.

### *Lessons Learned/Reflection*

This study came out of my interest with formal education and the effects it has on students of color. Statistical data illustrates how students of color are not succeeding in formal schooling.<sup>311</sup> Students of color are pushed out from the institution. My drive to close the pushout gap led me to learn more about how institutions have been used in education. The first phase of my research encompassed the history of missions in Alta California and its effects on the Native American population. Furthermore, I thought about the connection with mission history taught in California public schools and how this period affects Native American students.

The second phase of my research was to work with the community. This then led me to work with certain Kumeyaay reservations in the United States and in Mexico. During the second phase of my research, I changed my methodology from Community Base Research (CBR) to Indigenous Base Research (IBR). Interviews were discarded from the methodology because I soon realized people were hesitant to be part of interview process. Soon, I took on a different approach, one where I did not interview tribal members. Instead, my data came from informal conversations with tribal members. The conversations and community meetings were instrumental in formulating my research question. Every time I meet with community members, I reflected on their

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311. Pollock, "No Brain Is Racial," in *Everyday Antiracism: Getting Real about Race in School*; Yosso, *Critical Race Counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano Educational Pipeline*.

experiences and took to heart what they were saying and not saying. Overall, these past two years there were moments of motivation, paralyzation, and determination. My work would have not flourished if the Kumeyaay community did not welcome me to their home, and for that I am grateful, that they allowed me to work with them on important issues concerning their education and their future, and for that I will always be thankful.

## APPENDIX A

### Research Questions on Schooling and Education

1. What does education mean to you?
2. What are the ways you have been educated?
3. Are there other forms of education besides school?
4. What is your opinion on today's education?
5. Do you think native students are receiving a better or less than better quality education?
6. What is your opinion on what is taught today in schools on Kumeyaay history and traditions?
7. What is your experience with the education system?
8. Where are your parents from?
9. Where are your grandparents from?
10. Do you speak any other language besides English?
11. How did you learn to speak Iipay/Tiipay?
12. How do your parents feel about education?
13. How do your grandparents feel about education?
14. Did your grandparents/parents tell you any stories on how they were brought up?
15. Do you think your education is different than your education?

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