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California's Mission Projects:
The Spanish Imaginary in Riverside and Beyond

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Ethnic Studies

by

Charles Anthony Sepulveda

August 2016

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Robert Perez, Chairperson

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The Dissertation of Charles Anthony Sepulveda is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

California's Mission Projects:
The Spanish Imaginary in Riverside and Beyond

by

Charles Anthony Sepulveda

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Ethnic Studies
University of California, Riverside, August 2016
Dr. Robert Perez, Chairperson

California historical discourse routinely centers Europeans and represents Indians as primitive remnants that could only fully exist in the past. This study provides a historical overview of the formation of California's Spanish imaginary and its intersections with race, class, gender, sexuality and indigeneity through both theory and archival materials. It disrupts this imaginary through a re-centering of Native peoples and land.

This dissertation understands mission style architecture to be a physical manifestation of an anti-Indian ideology that permeates a landscape that has been critically altered by and for the settler. Focusing on place/territory the history of California Indians is re-evaluated through a critical evaluation of the canonization of Junípero Serra in 2015 and the dedication of his memorial on Mount Rubidoux in Riverside, California by President Taft in 1909. Also evaluated is the Sherman

Institute, an Indian boarding school in Riverside originally constructed in mission revival style architecture. The school was founded through a white-supremacist logic similar to that of California's mission project: to educate, convert and assimilate the Indian into productive laborers. Nearby, the Mission Inn would also be constructed in mission revival style architecture. These buildings and those similar convey a history crafted to narrate the Spanish Missions as benevolent with Junípero Serra as the "founder" of California. Largely erased in the imaginary is gendered and sexual violence perpetrated through the institutionalization of the monjerio, the gendered dormitories that functioned as prisons for unmarried baptized Indians at the mission.

Argued throughout this dissertation is that despite the past violence, denial of the genocidal conditions, historical trauma and the continued erasure faced by California Indians including, but not limited to, destruction of sacred sites and environments, language loss and massive settler populations living on their lands, they have continuously resisted and struggled to maintain culture and tribal governance. This study acts as a bridge between theory and archival sources to dispute the myth of the Spanish imaginary.

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PREFACE

Before I began the graduate program in Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Riverside (UCR) in 2011, I attended a conference they hosted titled: “Critical Ethnic Studies and the Future of Genocide: Settler Colonialism / Heteropatriarchy / White Supremacy.” The conference hosted an all-star lineup of academics; however it featured few community members and organizers outside the ranks of the university tenure-track academic elite of Ethnic Studies and associated fields. The few panels and keynotes I witnessed left me uncomfortable. Although I hadn’t yet entered the PhD program, I was already well educated and yet I was unable to follow along with several of the presentations. I wondered aloud, “how do these academics believe they can make change if they are unable to communicate better than this?” To say the least, I was unimpressed with their grand academic vocabularies. Although I was unable to follow along with their presentations then, hopefully now at the brink of finishing the dissertation and graduating I would be able to understand more of what the presenters had to offer. Yet, I still struggle to read Denise da Silva, so I’m not sure! Furthermore, I was unsettled by the use, and perhaps appropriation, of settler colonialism without an invitation for local Indigenous communities to participate beyond the now obligatory opening welcome song and dance that demonstrates that the organizers aren’t anti-Native. This is a critique many of the conference organizers may be more aware of now than they were five years ago, but I’m not sure if that changes

anything? From my experience at the conference I questioned: How can the logics of settler colonialism be disrupted if we continually recreate them by not re-centering the Native peoples whose lands we live and organize on?

My dissertation project resulted from ideas sparked from this conference – unfortunately not from the presentations. The seeds were planted when I found out that many of the presenters were being hosted at the Mission Inn, a hotel in downtown Riverside located 2 miles from UCR. Perhaps more accurately named: the Mission Sin. How ironic was it that a conference analyzing, amongst other topics, genocide and settler colonialism would have its presenters stay in a hotel devoted to celebrating California Indian death? After attending UCR for five years I can now say that having guests stay at the Mission Inn is normative, was not exclusive to Critical Ethnic Studies, and few seem to find it as disturbing as I do. Previously I had never put much thought into the Mission Inn’s existence or its celebration of genocide, and what I have since named, the *Spanish Imaginary*. For the next couple of years after the Critical Ethnic Studies Conference I became more interested in the Mission Inn and its history. Through my research I found disturbing links to Sherman Indian School, Federal Indian policy, exploitation of Native labor, and the promotion of a discourse that erased Indians and simultaneously romanticized the end of their worlds.

What follows is an analysis of what I have discovered about the celebration of genocide and settler colonialism that Critical Ethnic Studies spent money on to host its presenters for their inaugural conference. One has to wonder if they would

also have hosted presenters at a hotel designed to resemble a 19th century Southern slave plantation? For example, if the conference was held in one of the southern states and cities, such as New Orleans, would it have been acceptable to host folks at the site of a former slave plantation? Or would that have been read as problematic and anti-black? While I do not have an answer to these questions, I would assume that Critical Ethnic Studies would have more sense than to spend money at a hotel built using slave labor. With that as an expectation of an anti-racist, abolitionist conference it is difficult to understand why they would then host conference attendees at the Mission Inn? Given the example of the Mission Inn, is there a different and contradictory understanding of California Indian death and enslavement versus African death and enslavement for Critical Ethnic Studies and their political commitments? Although California Indians are largely invisible in national racial politics, I remain hopeful that both UCR and the Department of Ethnic Studies will discontinue using the Mission Inn to host guests. I do not place blame on any individuals, as this issue is institutional; however it will take individuals to stand up and refuse to spend money at a hotel that continues to celebrate California Indian genocide.

CHAPTER ONE:

An Introduction to the Spanish Imaginary

When I first began this dissertation project my intentions were not in having Junípero Serra cast in a starring role. This play, in seven acts, was initially set to have Frank A. Miller, of the Mission Inn, as its leading white male character. However, as I continued researching and thinking through the dissertation, I realized that I did not want it to read like a biography of Miller or worse, as a hatchet job on his character. Frank Miller was quickly demoted and would have to play an accompanying role. Despite the casting, and re-casting, of white male characters, I really hoped that location and Native peoples would be the central focus of this dissertation. I believe that re-centering both Native peoples and land is the road to decolonization, and that freeway is the only one I want to help build. I hope the intention to re-center Native peoples comes through in my arguments. My concern is that the specter of Junípero Serra has taken over my project. I always knew he would have an important role, but I was not expecting his ghost to reappear in the way that it did. As my research advanced, and I was in the archive, I could not help but be haunted by his presence. Moreover, his haunting turned into discussion, initially, of his canonization: gossip, speculation, and rumor. Is the Pope going to canonize Serra when he comes to the U.S.? When is he coming here? Where to? Will this liberal seeming Pope make Serra a Saint? But, wasn't Serra a hard-liner, conservative, dark ages, inquisitor of a priest? How can this be? But doesn't the evidence of his results in California contradict what a Saint is supposed to be? What

is a Saint? How does the Pope, or the Catholic Church make these decisions? What about Genocide??

The above questions, and plenty more, infiltrated my thoughts, my dreams, my rational and irrational delusions of fairness and equality and understanding of hope that as a people we can mourn our dead without the resurrection of those responsible for their deaths. My project was already designed to explore the ways in which Native death was glorified and celebrated; I was researching the California Missions and their resurrection in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I wanted to narrate the history of the creation of the Spanish Fantasy Past, and the way in which it came to dominate California architecture with an in-depth portrait of Riverside, the Mission Inn and Sherman Indian School. Simultaneously, I wanted to showcase Native resistance to settler colonialism and its ongoing violence. Then, as Serra was to be canonized and I was tasked with moderating a panel at the University of California, Riverside debating that very topic, and later taking part in several anti-canonization events, Serra began creeping like death into my research and soon into my writing.

Serra was a presence I could not ignore and a responsibility I found myself having to confront; whether I was conflicted with increasing my emphasis on him or not. His haunting inspired my writing, and while I wish we had been successful in preventing his canonization, I have also adversely benefitted from it. The canonization provided me with material to write about, and my dissertation is therefore timely – as they say. Somehow, I cannot help but feel as if I am personally

benefitting from the genocide of California Indian people, as it is helping my career in writing about it. This haunting by Junípero Serra is felt throughout my dissertation. Although he haunts my writing, it is not a biography. For a bio I would refer you to Steven Hackel's book, *Junípero Serra: California's Founding Father*.¹ Although I disagree with Hackel on some issues concerning Serra, his biography is worth a read. Hackel provides a non-California Indian perspective and an attempt at distance and at being unbiased – something I do not attempt in my treatment of Serra. I would also suggest a contemporary of Serra's, Father Francisco Palóu who wrote a biography of Serra. For a translated version see, *Francisco Palou's Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junipero Serra: Founder of the Franciscan Missions of California*.² Palóu is definitely biased in favor of Serra, and his text became foundational to later interpretations of Serra's life. For an Indian perspective on Junípero Serra, I would suggest Rupert and Jeanette Henry Costo's

¹ Steven W. Hackel. 2013. *Junípero Serra: California's founding father*. New York: Hill and Wang.

² Francisco Palóu, George Wharton James, and C. Scott Williams. 1913. *Francisco Palou's life and apostolic labors of the Venerable Father Junipero Serra: founder of the Franciscan missions of California*. Pasadena, Calif: G.W. James. An interesting coincidence about this title is that it is dedicated to five people, one of whom is Frank A. Miller of the Riverside Mission Inn, who I had originally meant to spend much more time discussing in this dissertation than I ended up doing. The dedication reads, "FRANK A. MILLER The Master of the Glenwood Mission Inn, Raiser of the Serra Cross on the summit of Mount Rubidoux, Riverside, and, though of alien faith, the devout admirer of Junípero Serra and his work." I spend time in Chapter Four discussing the 1909 dedication of the cross to Junípero Serra on the top of Mount Rubidoux.

important book, *Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*.³ Also of interest is James Sandos' article, "Junípero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record,"⁴ in which he comments on the controversy of the historical record of Serra. This supposed "controversy" I have repeatedly heard and read about is not treated as a controversy here – I understand the legacy of Serra and the California Missions as an institutionalization of anti-Indian genocide, as the Costos did; and I owe a great deal to their work. For example, in their important above-mentioned book they argued, "the relation between monarchy and church was close enough to consider them as one" during the Mission period in California.⁵ This allegiance between the two makes both the Church and the State equally responsible for the death of California Indians. One of the newest books to discuss Serra and the Missions as genocidal institution is *A Cross of Thorns: The Enslavement of California's Indians by the Spanish Missions*, written by Elias Castillo.⁶ His book has received much attention with the recent canonization.

³ Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo. 1987. *The Missions of California: a legacy of genocide*. [San Francisco]: Published by The Indian Historian Press for the American Indian Historical Society.

⁴ James A Sandos. 1988. "Junipero Serra's Canonization and the Historical Record". *American Historical Review*. 93 (5).

⁵ Costo and Costo, 187.

⁶ Elias Castillo. 2015. *A cross of thorns: the enslavement of California's Indians by the Spanish Missions*. Fresno, California: Craven Street Books.

I was/am an Ethnic Studies doctoral candidate writing about Serra, the Catholic Church, the Spanish Army, the *monjerio*, and early 20th century plays, pageants, landscape manipulation, architecture and discourse. Yet, everything I was looking at in a historical context was also a current event. I wanted to have my research, which is very historical and uses an archival method, to also be fresh and current due to Serra's canonization. My technique for writing such a document, then, had to be experimental. I felt that it could not follow a strict historical chronology, as that was too large of a project to take on for a dissertation, and placed too much value on a linear conception of time as central to research. Instead, I fell back on the idea of attempting a Native methodology of decentering time and instead focusing on place, which is a possible area readers will critique: my jumping around in time and space. Nevertheless I felt it necessary to both my methodology and to my narrative.

Vine Deloria Jr. in *God is Red* clarified the difference between Native and Western understandings of world systems (nature/religion) and knowledge of space. While he and other Native theorists have been charged by academics with essentializing,⁷ often a no-no in academia, he non-the-less stated, "The very essence

⁷ For an example see: Sandy Grande. 2005. Book Review: American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays. DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/greatplainsquarterly/200>. Glen Coulthard critically analyzes anti-essentialism in Chapter Three of his 2014 book, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Coulthard explained that outsiders may view Native traditions and notions of culture as essentialist, even while the Indigenous community is struggling to transcend, not reinforce, oppressive power structures. (pg.103).

of Western European identity involves the assumption that time proceeds in a linear fashion..."⁸ Further he argued, with a flicker of hyperbole, "it assumes that at a particular point in the unraveling of this sequence, the peoples of Western Europe became the guardians of the world."⁹ The fundamental difference between the West and American Indians, according to Deloria, is that Indigenous peoples "hold their lands – places – as having the highest possible meaning..." while on the other-hand, "[i]mmigrants review the movement of their ancestors across the continent as a steady progression of basically good events and experiences, thereby placing history – time – in the best possible light."¹⁰ The problem this creates Deloria concludes: "When one group is concerned with the philosophical problem of space and the other with the philosophical problem of time, then the statements of either group do not make much sense when transferred from one context to the other without the proper consideration of what is taking place."¹¹ As Deloria and other Indigenous scholars have pointed out, Native epistemologies do not always presume there to be a distance between temporal space: past, present and future.¹² The centering of

⁸ Vine Deloria. 2003. *God is red: a native view of religion*. Golden, Colo: Fulcrum Pub, 62.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, 61.

¹¹ Ibid, 63.

¹² Andrea Smith. 2010. "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism". *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies*. 16 (1/2), 50.

place versus time is a critical disjuncture in my methodology. While time is important, place is critical in understanding events in both time and space. Place, even locations of sacred events for the West, are appreciated for their histories and do not provide sacredness in and of themselves with permanence and a sense of rootedness in a corresponding way that place provides in an Indigenous context.¹³ According to Glen Coulthard, for Indigenous peoples, “Place is a way of knowing, experiencing, and relating with the world – and these ways of knowing often guide forms of resistance to power relations that threaten to erase or destroy our senses of place.”¹⁴ This is similar to the argument made about Peoplehood by Holm, Pearson and Chavis and also by Michael Lerma who demonstrated through data collection that Indigenous peoples due to Peoplehood are willing, even today, to fight and give up their lives for their traditional homelands.¹⁵ Yet, not all forms of resistance are physical. Taiaiake Alfred called strategies that are taken up between armed rebellion and protest, “creative contention.”¹⁶ These are Indigenous led

¹³ Ibid, 66.

¹⁴ Glen Coulthard, “Place against Empire: Understanding Indigenous Anti-Colonialism,” *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action*, Volume 4, Number 2, Fall 2010, 79.

¹⁵ Tom Holm, J. Diane Pearson, and Ben Chavis, *Wicazo Sa Review*. “Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies.” Spring 2003. And, Michael Lerma, “Indigeneity and Homeland – Land, History, Ceremony, and Language,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 36 (3). 2012.

¹⁶ Gerald R. Alfred. 2005. *Wasáse: indigenous pathways of action and freedom*. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press.

struggles through creative activities including, but not limited to, writing books and articles, testifying in the court of the conqueror, organizing community meetings and academic panels, changing state law, and using social media to create awareness of issues. While these activities may seem less confrontational than protest, they can be even more effective. “We all are activists but we don’t carry banners. If we could get 5,000 Indians into a demonstration it might help us. But five Indians with picket signs does nothing,”¹⁷ explained Jeanette Henry-Costo. Creative contention is often the only form of resistance that is sustainable given the lack of resources many Native communities and individuals have access to.

I am committed to viewing land as providing meaning, generating time, and helping discern human experience as a decolonizing methodology, or creative contention, decentering linear narratives. My challenge to Western historiographies can be read as postmodern. Linda Hutcheon wrote that postmodernism “confront[s] the problematic nature of the past as an object of knowledge for us in the present.”¹⁸ Yet, postmodernism is also known as a form of fragmentation, whereas in an Indigenous decolonizing methodology one of the purposes is to make whole again. As Fanon and others have noted, colonialism brought complete disorder

¹⁷ This quote and discussion of “creative contention” originates from my reading of Rose Delia Soza War Soldier’s excellent 2013 dissertation from Arizona State University, *“to take positive and effective action”: Rupert Costo and the California based American Indian Historical Society*. The quote from Henry-Costo is in: Wallace Turner, “Paper for Indians Issued on Coast,” *The New York Times*, February 15, 1977, 11.

¹⁸ Linda Hutcheon. 1988. *A poetics of postmodernism: history, theory, fiction*. New York: Routledge, 3.

disconnecting Native peoples from their histories, landscapes, cultures, languages, governmentality, and social relations – their entire worlds.¹⁹ Indigenous worlds were fragmented through colonialism, and research such as mine can help aid by providing testimony, asserting sovereignty, and building to restore our fragmented worlds.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith in *Decolonizing Methodologies*, similarly to Vine Deloria Jr., explored difference in conceptions of space. She reminded the reader that Indigenous place/space has been colonized; their lands were viewed as uncivilized and as something to be brought under control.²⁰

For the indigenous world, Western conceptions of space, of arrangements and display, of the relationship between people and the landscape, of culture as object of study, have meant that not only has the indigenous world been represented in particular ways back to the West, but the indigenous world view, the land and the people, have been radically transformed in the spatial image of the West.²¹

Conceptions of time for the West are critical to understanding history. For them, then, history is a narrative of markers displaying human technological progress and Christian salvation. This narrative is codified with dates and periods, such as

¹⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books, 28.

²⁰ Ibid, 51.

²¹ Ibid.

'Prehistoric,' the 'Dark Ages,' the 'Enlightenment,' the 'Industrial Period,' 'Post-industrial,' 'modern,' postmodern,' 'colonial,' postcolonial' and so forth. This measurement of time through technology and salvation is central to both liberal and Marxist displays, conceptions and ideas of history.²²

Both time and space, often measured through distance, were key markers for colonialism and resultant imperialism. The colony was governed from the colonial center and operated at a distance, and is said to have had a "sphere of influence." Language used to describe colonialism is often couched in spatial nuance and geometric terminology. In research, Smith specified, "the concept of distance is most important as it implies neutrality and objectivity..."²³ My research here, while properly attributing quotes and ideas to their source of origin, makes no effort to distance itself/myself from having an argument, a stance, or an opinion about the *Spanish Imaginary* or the people, places and time it examines. I am attempting, as an Indigenous intellectual, to write outside the confines of a traditional field – to research and theorize from a Native perspective. Frantz Fanon had called for a new literature and a construction of a national culture after liberation. I view my research as an addition to that project despite the continued power of American hegemony. Several of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's "Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects"²⁴ are approached through this dissertation. Amongst these twenty-five, as an

²² Ibid, 55.

²³ Ibid, 56.

²⁴ Ibid, 142-161.

incomplete list, are: (1) *Celebrating survival* – displaying and celebrating Native resistance; (2) *Indigenizing* – my intentional use of non-linear storytelling and re-centering Native peoples and lands; (3) *Intervening* – disputing the Papal narrative of Saint Junípero Serra with the desire to change what is known about his and the Mission’s genocidal impacts on California Indians; (4) *Remembering* – remembering the traditional territories of the original peoples, their village sites, and the land prior to contamination. Remembering the dehumanization and destruction to land and people as not inherent; remembering that as Native peoples we have the ability to remember and re-connect; (5) *Reading* – providing a critical rereading of the Western historical accounts of California Indians; (6) *Writing* – my attempt to write back; (7) *Gendering* – uncovering the logics of heteropatriarchy and the gender binary that was forced onto Native peoples. This is my attempt to take seriously the move towards intersectional research with a focus on sexual violence at the Missions made possible through the institutionalization of slavery and the incarceration of women in the *monjerio*. Throughout my dissertation I will use the term slavery to describe a system of forced labor. The system of slavery experienced by California Indians had its own peculiarities and differed from the more commonly understood racial chattel slavery in the United States.

The seven projects noted above, and others, are used as a decolonizing methodology – where research is conducted not as a method to understand the Native other, but as an implement to disrupt and analyze the tools of Western methodologies that have constructed race, gender, sexuality, economics, and

place/space with meaning. This disruption is ultimately enacted in order to eventually decolonize our Indigenous lands, one idea at a time if need be. The power of American hegemony, through its global imperialism, world economy, and discursive regimes, does not make for a simple decolonial project.

Imaginaries

In my articulation of Western methodologies and productions of power/knowledge and discourse, I will be using the term ‘imaginaries,’ specifically the *Spanish Imaginary*, as a play on the “colonial imaginary” - the historiography produced through the traditional discipline of history that silences and ignores people of color, women and sexuality.²⁵ Emma Pérez in *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History*, explained how the imaginary functions utilizing Lacan’s metaphor of the mirror:

In the Lacanian sense, the imaginary is linked to the mirror stage, at which a child identifies the ‘I’ of the self in a mirror, an image is reflected back, and the subject becomes the object. For my purpose, the imaginary is the mirrored identity where coloniality overshadows the image in the mirror. Ever-present, it is that which is between the subject and the object reflected, splintering the object in a shattered mirror, where kaleidoscopic identities

²⁵ Emma Pérez. 1999. *The decolonial imaginary: writing Chicanas into history*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 5-6.

are burst open and where the colonial self and the colonized other both become elements of multiple, mobile categoric identities.²⁶

She further stated that the “decolonial imaginary” is the space between colonizers and colonized. “One is not simply oppressed or victimized; nor is one only oppressor...” she wrote.²⁷ “Rather, one negotiates within the imaginary to a decolonizing otherness...” Pérez stated.²⁸ For her, the decolonial imaginary is like the Chicano/a, neither Spanish nor Indian, existing in-between, as a “hybrid race.”²⁹ But can this in-between be decolonial if the Indian still exists and desires decolonization, and not to be maintained between colonial and decolonial, into a decolonial imaginary as named by Pérez? Countless Native people imagine decolonization, but few view decolonization as an imaginary – existing only in the realm of the imagination. In the Decolonial Imaginary, hybridity is viewed as being outside of and a challenge to a binary. However, hybridity is a result of colonialism and not necessarily decolonial. Viewing hybridity as decolonial discounts the persistent, continuous resistance to colonialism by Indigenous communities whose identity and resolve as Indigenous remains despite hybridity created within their communities through the experience of colonialism. Although Pérez’s use of Lacan

²⁶ Ibid, 6-7.

²⁷ Ibid, 7.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, xiv.

and the metaphor of the mirror to explicate her use of ‘imaginary’ is valuable and has provided me with inspiration, my use is quite different. For me the imaginary is not a mirror, as Lacan theorized, reflecting the self within a coloniality that dominates the image. In my depiction, the mirror is transformed into a portrait painted by the colonizer, dominating the romanticized Indian, much like John Gast’s 1872 painting *American Progress*. In the painting Gast portrays the subject as Columbia, the white female personification of the United States, presenting as angelic: flowing blond hair, lily-white skin and a white gown. She is the bearer of light, bringing progress to the frontier - the inseparability of race, capitalism, colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and Christianity.³⁰ In the margins are Native peoples, being pushed into the darkness with the beasts of the wild, looking back in anticipation and exasperation, preparing to no longer be in the portrait’s frame – to no longer exist. This imagery of Manifest Destiny produced depictions of Native peoples as disappearing, the overwhelming discourse constructing Indigenous peoples for the West well into the 20th century. These portraits formed knowledge of Native peoples, each generation with a slightly different and often overlapping version of the Native other. Seen often and long enough this imaginary constructed Indian self-identities, and if asked to paint themselves many would most likely self-

³⁰ Columbia is the symbolic national counterpart to the United States character Uncle Sam. Her presentation as a classic Greco-Roman figure grounds her in a Eurocentric foundation of Western Civilization. Further, she is literally stringing a spool of telegraph wire across the land, from the East to the “wild West,” thus foreshadowing the closing of the Turnerian frontier.

represent and reproduce the colonial image. The imaginary intended to interpellate the Indian into a knowledge of self representation that was only authenticated through colonial histories. The primary difference between Lacan's theorization and mine is around the importance of the individual self and the self who exists as part of a community. In my theorization of the imaginary, I have sought to examine racialized³¹ subjects as part of a peoples who exist not only as race, but as political bodies - members of Nations outside of the state.

The imaginary, as I understand it, has much more in common to my portrait metaphor than the mirror Pérez utilizes from Lacan. Removing the colonizer can easily decolonize the image of the self in the mirror and although colonization can function through biology, descent does not inherently separate between the colonized, and the decolonial as Pérez argued, through the hybridity of the Chicana. Furthermore, in my reading, she continues a Western notion of time as singularly important rather than place. For Pérez, the decolonial is not a return to some form of Peoplehood. Instead, the decolonial is an imaginary, a "coming of that which is left unsaid, unthought."³² This decolonial space according to Pérez is a process to uncover, retell, remake, (re)vision, and ultimately forget colonial pasts that shape

³¹ I have chosen to use the terminology racialized, or racialization, as explained by Omi and Winant as a way to describe the processes of racial formation: race as a social construction that changes over time and has consequences.

Michael Omi, and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.

³² Ibid, 127.

the present.³³ Despite her important book that has helped shape my terminology of the *Spanish Imaginary*, I am uncertain how to appreciate it, and her notions of decolonization from a Native intellectual perspective when her analysis of decolonization is not to re-center the Indigenous. Also, it seems clear to me that many Native peoples and communities have well-defined ideas of what decolonization could or should look like. Much of that vision is based on pre-colonial traditional cultures where people once again have a sustainable relationship, and therefore a responsibility, to land without capitalist interventions and environmental degradation. For example, Poka Laenui, Hawaiian, identifies a five-stage process of decolonization that includes traditional culture and re-centers Native peoples: recovery and rediscovery; mourning; dreaming; commitment; and action.³⁴ These five stages are useful for thinking through a decolonial process where healing is also of great importance.

Revisiting the portrait metaphor discussed above and its discursive regimes, generations have been affected by the discourse it has established, and every generation a new portrait is painted. The Indian, non-Indian, and the colonial painter all understand the authentic Indian to be represented in the painting. In this metaphor, overcoming colonialism and its power does not have an easy solution; even removing the colonizer does not reduce the impact of this discursive regime,

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Poka Laenui. 2006. "Processes of Decolonization."
<http://www.sjsu.edu/people/marcos.pizarro/maestros/Laenui.pdf>

which operates through common sense and beyond the purely symbolic. The imaginary is a repetition, a redoubling, and a reproduction of the observation and understanding of everyday life.³⁵ After centuries of discourse representing the Indian, it does not matter if the colonizer is the painter/originator or not - the imaginary exists on the level of representation wherein the subject is separated from the self - from its origin. Michel Foucault argued in the *Order of Things*: "As long as representation goes without question as the general element of thought, the theory of discourse serves... as the foundation of all possible grammar and as a theory of knowledge."³⁶ Discourse does not function completely through contemporary thought, but has a genealogy of its own, a sequential chain of representations,³⁷ that haunt our unthought knowledge. Discourse as I refer to it means the untold number of ways in which knowledge, and the objects of that knowledge are defined, constructed and engulfed in the languages we use to engage with the world around us. Although much has been done to disrupt this genealogy of violent representation, contemporary depictions of Native peoples often continue to rely on the notion of the Indian as the other, the disappeared. The Washington

³⁵ Michel Foucault, Matthew Barr, and Nicolas Bourriaud. 2009. *Manet and the object of painting*. London: Tate Publishing, 41.

³⁶ Michel Foucault. 1994. *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences*. New York: Vintage Books, 367.

³⁷ Ibid.

Redskins, of the National Football League, is a case in point with its large Native and non-Native fan base, and its detractors in opposition to its representations.

One of the over-arching questions I address throughout this dissertation is, what are the discursive formations that have shaped the representation and historical imaginations of California Indians? Furthermore, how were California Indians written into history and who are we now? In other words, how has the *Spanish Imaginary* affected our representation and recognition? How also have California Indians been written out of history: as important peoples who make their own histories and retain agency, instead of only being acted on? Michel Foucault wrote, “discursive formations produce the object about which they speak...”³⁸ California Indians have been reduced in historical and anthropological sketches to be merely those acted on, erasable, as objects composed of otherness. Edward Said referred to this as a process in which Western discourse othered Indigenous peoples supported by “institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.”³⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith explained, “According to Said, this process has worked partly because of the constant interchange between the scholarly and the imaginative construction of ideas about the Orient.”⁴⁰ Further she stated, “The scholarly construction... is supported by a

³⁸ Hubert L. Dreyfus, Paul Rabinow, and Michel Foucault. 1983. *Michel Foucault, beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 61.

³⁹ Edward W. Said, 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2.

⁴⁰ Linda Smith, 2.

corporate institution which ‘makes statements about it [the Orient], authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching about it, settling it, ruling over it.’⁴¹ The Other, then, is a construction manufactured through the making of discourse and imagination, “both the formal scholarly pursuits of knowledge and the informal imaginative, anecdotal constructions of the Other are intertwined with each other and with the activity of research,” wrote Smith.⁴² In order to decolonize then, discursive regimes must be addressed head on and Native peoples themselves have to challenge the colonial imaginations that have been produced about them – this is the importance of the above discussed creative contentions. The power to define and control the Other, the Native, must be stripped from the colonizer and the settler if decolonization is to become a reality and not simply a metaphor.

Denise Ferreira da Silva wrote in *Toward a Global Idea of Race* that the Western subject is fundamentally formed through race. This self-determined existence is situated against what she names, “affectable others” – those who are subjected to the power of the Western subject. The “affectable others” da Silva argued are racialized subjects who aspire for humanity, or in her words, “universality.” Andrea Smith additionally explained, “Furthermore, within this colonial logic, Native particularity cannot achieve universal humanity without becoming ‘inauthentic’ because Nativeness is already fundamentally constructed as

⁴¹ Ibid, 2.

⁴² Ibid.

the 'other' of Western subjectivity."⁴³ Writing about Native authenticity, Jodi Byrd stated, "the deeper cultural discourses" are ones that "require Indians to remain primitive vestiges of early modern man [and] dictate that Indians cannot intellectually, culturally, or spiritually cope with the corrupting influences of technology..."⁴⁴ Native authenticity, and therefore Native humanity if it can be recognized by the West, can only fully exist in the past, prior to the corrupting influences of colonialism. To be free from this structural relationship, it would seem, the way to gain humanity would be to inform the settler, the Western subject, of Native humanity. This positions Native peoples and Native studies in a conundrum, an "ethnographic entrapment"⁴⁵ – where telling Native "truth" is already understood as part of a colonial project documenting the Other.⁴⁶ Vine Deloria Jr. had the same concern, "all you are doing is preserving the exoticness of it, and every time you try to reach out you've got to use stereotypes to begin with and you crush the process of

⁴³ Andrea Smith. 2010. "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism". *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies*. 16 (1/2), 42.

⁴⁴ Jodi A. Byrd, "'Living My Native Life Deadly': Red Lake, Ward Churchill, and the Discourses of Competing Genocides." *The American Indian Quarterly*, Volume 31, Number 2, Spring 2007, 313.

⁴⁵ Andrea Smith. 2008. *Native Americans and the Christian right: the gendered politics of unlikely alliances*. Durham: Duke University Press.

⁴⁶ Writing from a position that privileges place rather than time, is an attempt to disrupt the dominant discourse, and thus shift the problematic, over-determined Western paradigms.

communication.”⁴⁷ This has long been the project of Anthropology, critiqued in bitter humor by Deloria in his 1969 book, *Custer Died for your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*.⁴⁸ Robert Warrior has called the converse project to this ethnographic entrapment, “intellectual sovereignty.”⁴⁹ According to Warrior, intellectual sovereignty is praxis, a decision in the mind, the heart and body to be sovereign. It is a process to understand what can be done rather than telling anyone what to do.⁵⁰

We, as critics, can find within such a praxis a way of making ourselves vulnerable to the wide variety of pain, joy, oppression, celebrations, and spiritual power of contemporary American Indian community existence, whether we find that variety in writing poetry, fiction, theology, or cultural criticism. Within that vulnerability we do not reduce intellectual production to mere aestheticism or functionalism, but find the sources of pain in explicit analysis of economic realities, gender differences, and a host of other areas.⁵¹

The praxis of intellectual sovereignty is not without non-Indian influence, however.

It exists in a colonial space, moving always toward decolonization, with agency in

⁴⁷ James R. McGraw, “God is Red: An Interview with Vine Deloria Jr.,” *Christianity and Crisis* 35 (September 15, 1975): 204.

⁴⁸ Vine Deloria. 1969. *Custer died for your sins: an Indian manifesto*. [New York, N.Y.]: Macmillan Company.

⁴⁹ Robert Allen Warrior. 1994. *Tribal secrets: recovering American Indian intellectual traditions*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 123.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 114.

making choices of which sources will provide influence and which should not.⁵² The intellectual sovereign praxis understands that it is ongoing, not towards an end, but towards a beyond. This beyond, like a hazy event horizon, is difficult to fully imagine from a place of colonization. Yet, it includes past, present and future, with location, space/place, generating what it will be – a decolonial land and people. This is not an imaginary, however, though imagination helps fuel its movement, rather it is praxis.

In order to imagine and ultimately create a future, a beyond, and to be able to understand what decolonization can be, we have to also understand our present and how we came to be here, in this space/place. I have theorized, along with other Native scholars, that the current temporality is post-apocalyptic. *Suspended Apocalypse*, the title of Dylan Rodriguez's 2009 book, is in itself a brilliant and generative beginning to an analysis of the genocidal condition and its aftermath.⁵³ Rodriguez, with attention to the Filipino condition, provides a complex theorization of genocide as related to colonial conquest, white supremacy and race. Advancing this idea, I have proposed a radical use of *apocalypse* in order to historicize and consider the lived condition of California Indians. I have suggested that the present survivance of many Indigenous people around the world can be understood as a post-apocalyptic experience, rather than postcolonial. Apocalypse is an appropriate descriptor of the consequence of colonialism on California native nations. I extract

⁵² Ibid, 115.

⁵³ Dylan Rodriguez. 2010. *Suspended apocalypse: white supremacy, genocide, and the Filipino condition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

this terminology from Dylan Rodriguez, as well as the work of Lawrence Gross who explained, “To put it in a word, American Indians have seen the end of their respective worlds. Using vocabulary from the study of religion, this should be correctly termed an apocalypse.”⁵⁴ Rodriguez clarified that the Filipino exists in a “suspended apocalypse” brought by the American colonizer. He stated, “the apocalypse of Filipino engulfment within the historical logics of U.S. white supremacy, genocide, and colonialist nation building is never quite fully, definitively, and finally denied, deferred, and expelled...”⁵⁵ The apocalypse writes Rodriguez, “remains ‘suspended over’ the Filipino condition...”⁵⁶ As is for California Indians, the apocalypse is similarly structural.⁵⁷ It continues to structure and dominate the world around them. This genocidal continuum, is the source of statements such as that by Tongva scholar Cindi Alvitre who has described California Indians as being in “a continual state of mourning.”⁵⁸ Alvitre makes this declaration due to the

⁵⁴ Lawrence William Gross. 2014. *Anishinaabe ways of knowing and being*. Burlington: Ashgate, 33.

⁵⁵ Dylan Rodriguez. 2010. *Suspended apocalypse: white supremacy, genocide, and the Filipino condition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 160.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Benjamin Madley’s recent book, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe*, details the genocidal impacts to California Indians and displays the involvement of State and Federal officials who supported the violence.

⁵⁸ Cindi Alvitre, I have heard her make this statement at various presentations. n.d.

unrelenting threat of destruction to sacred spaces and the unearthing of ancestral burials.

Notwithstanding the apocalyptic horror tribes have experienced, currently there is a resurgence, a renaissance, otherwise known as the Indigenous Spring.⁵⁹ The Indigenous Spring according to Michael Lerma is the continuance of sovereignty with the awareness that, “their spirituality [is] intrinsically linked to their management of their environments!”⁶⁰ Lerma wrote that we should not attempt to reconfigure Indigenous empires, such as the Aztec and Maya, not because their empires were inherently problematic, but because most will see them as “great” due to Western understandings of what constitutes successful nations. Instead he suggests returning to some form of Peoplehood – the interconnectedness of sacred history, ceremonial cycle, language and place.⁶¹ Lerma explained that within the Indigenous Spring, “we must cooperate with one another, perhaps in ways that were once attempted ceremonially, in order to survive the coming environmental catastrophe.”⁶² Fanon similarly wrote that unity is important and pointed out how,

⁵⁹ Michael Lerma, 2014. *Indigenous sovereignty in the 21st century: knowledge for the indigenous spring*. Gainesville, FL: Florida Academic Press, Inc.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 149.

⁶¹ Tom Holm, J. Diane Pearson, and, Ben Chavis. *Wicazo Sa Review*. “Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies.” Spring 2003. Robert K. Thomas, “The Tap-Roots of Peoplehood”, in Daphne J. Anderson (ed.), *Getting to the Heart of the Matter: Collected Letters and Papers*, Vancouver, Native Ministries Consortium, 1990: 25–32.

⁶² Lerma, 152.

“in the colonial context... the native fight among themselves.”⁶³ These struggles among and between Native nations, frequently for resources within a capitalist system, often disallow for confronting imperial powers.⁶⁴ Unity in this way is about creating and re-creating relations, or relatives with other humans, but also with the rest of the natural world.

Two scholars who have explicitly theorized the Indigenous Spring were identified by Glen Coulthard in *Red Skin White Masks*: Taiaiake Alfred, Mohawk political scientist, and Leanne Simpson, Anishinaabe feminist intellectual.⁶⁵ Both scholars have suggested that Indigenous peoples and communities return to traditional politics and practices. In *Wasáse* Alfred wrote, “We [must] choose to turn away from the legacies of colonialism and take on the challenge of creating a new reality for ourselves and for our people.”⁶⁶ Leanne Simpson similarly argued that Indigenous communities need to decolonize “on our own terms, without the

⁶³ Frantz Fanon, Richard Philcox, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Homi K. Bhabha. 2004. *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press, 306.

⁶⁴ Taiaiake Alfred, and Jeff Corntassel. 2005. "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism". *Government and Opposition*. 40 (4): 597-614.

⁶⁵ See the Conclusion of Glen Coulthard's *Red Skin White Masks*; Alfred, Gerald R. 1999. *Peace, power, righteousness: an indigenous manifesto*. Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press.; Alfred, Gerald R. 2005. *Wasáse: indigenous pathways of action and freedom*. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press. Leanne Simpson. 2011. *Dancing on our turtle's back: stories of Nishnaabeg re-creation, resurgence and a new emergence*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Pub.

⁶⁶ Gerald R Alfred. 2005. *Wasáse: indigenous pathways of action and freedom*. Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press, 19.

sanction, permission or engagement of the state, western theory or the opinions” of settler populations.⁶⁷ With a similar view as Michael Lerma stated above, Alfred noted, “We have a responsibility to recover, understand, and preserve these values, not only because they represent a unique contribution to the history of ideas, but because renewal of respect for traditional values is the only lasting solution to the political, economic, and social problems that beseech our people.”⁶⁸ Lerma in his quote focused on the environment and was thinking of not only Indigenous communities, but also all people being able to benefit from a return to Indigenous traditional culture and a return of aboriginal title.

The movement “Idle No More” is an example of the activist spirit and unity within Indian Country. Idle No More argues that the colonial nations have the responsibility to honor the treaties and to comply with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the principle of free, prior, and informed consent. They also argue that Indigenous peoples have the right to say no to development within their territories and they are committed to protecting the environment from further destruction and simultaneously contesting the power of capitalism over their lands and waters. Furthermore, Idle No More is actively resistant to violence against women and calls for inquiry into the missing and murdered Indigenous women, with Native women in the design and decision-

⁶⁷ Leanne Simpson. 2011. *Dancing on our turtle's back: stories of Nishnaabeg recreation, resurgence and a new emergence*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Pub, 17.

⁶⁸ Gerald R. Alfred. 1999. *Peace, power, righteousness: an indigenous manifesto*. Don Mills, Ont: Oxford University Press, 5.

making of this inquiry.⁶⁹ Beginning in Canada as an opposition to Bill C-45 in 2012, the movement quickly spread through social media and the Twitter hash tag #IdleNoMore. One of the main forms of protest the movement used was a mixture of flash mobs and drumming with associated round dance in public spaces, such as shopping malls.⁷⁰

The movement to protect sacred sites and the environment is growing in size and scope. For example, in Hawaii there has been an overwhelming effort to stop the construction of a thirty-meter telescope (TMT) on Mauna Kea, the highest peak in Hawaii – and some say, on the earth. The *Kanaka Maoli*, Native Hawaiians, have contested the efforts to build the worlds largest telescope on their sacred mountain. In April 2015 construction began and was ended almost immediately after demonstrations began. Using various methods, such as social media, the *Kanaka Maoli* have gained significant attention to their fight to protect their sacred mountain and its environment. Due to the resurgence of Native pride and culture, the construction has been delayed through a Hawaii Supreme Court decision stating that the permit for the TMT is invalid. The mobilization of activists in the struggle to protect Mauna Kea also strengthens the sovereignty movement in Hawaii and is an example of what can be done, rather than a narrative merely of victimization.

⁶⁹ Idle No More website. Accessed April 12, 2016, http://www.idlenomore.ca/calls_for_change

⁷⁰ See Glen Coulthard's Conclusion in *Red Skin White Masks*, beginning on page 159, for a more in depth historical sketch.

In California, the Indigenous Spring has also included sacred site protection and the environmental movement. The Juaneño, led by the United Coalition to Protect Panhe stopped the construction of a toll road that threatened to destroy their sacred site Panhe – a 10,000-year-old village site in southern Orange County and northern San Diego County. As the organizational name suggests, it was formed through tribal unity – a much needed praxis in Indian Country. The development of the toll road would have impacted several known archaeological sites including ancestral burials.⁷¹ Panhe is on the list of the National Register of Historic Places, recorded with the State Historic Preservation Office and listed on the Sacred Lands inventory by the California Native American Heritage Commission, yet it was considered for destruction in order to increase transportation and capitalist growth in Orange County. According to a July 2011 private economic analysis provided by Beacon Economics and as stated on the 241-toll-road website, “completing the 241 would generate \$3.1 billion in economic output for the state and create 17,000 jobs - 13,800 of which would be in Orange County.”⁷² Fortunately, the toll-road has been stalled and the activism it prompted has helped to increase Juaneño cultural knowledge and involvement, while also stimulating further need for sovereignty over their traditional territory.

⁷¹ Archaeological Sites: CA-ORA-22, CA-SDI-4282, CA-SDI-4535, and CA-SDI-8435.

⁷² Beacon Economics, LLC, “Economic Benefit Analysis: 241 Completion Project,” July 2011. (see bibliography for webpage).

Activism within the Indigenous Spring can also be demonstrated in the anti-canonization of Junípero Serra movement that was active over the course of 2015, and continuing after his Sainthood was conferred by Pope Francis on September 23 of that year. The anti-canonization efforts are examined in Chapter Two: *The Case of Indigenous Nations v. Junípero Serra*.

The Spanish Fantasy Past

The missions, Junípero Serra, and the narrative of the Spanish in California was a discourse, separated from historical realities, formed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Carey McWilliams named the Anglo use of the mission era, and the way in which it was appropriated for nationalist and capitalist regionalism in California as a “fantasy heritage” – otherwise termed the “Spanish Fantasy Past.” In his 1946 book, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land*, McWilliams argued that the newness of California for Americans developed “in fact, to have compelled, to have demanded, the evocation of a mythology which could give people a sense of continuity in a region long characterized by rapid social dislocations.”⁷³ The Anglo ascendancy in California was mythologized as being a continuance of Spanish California, wherein the benevolent white race brought order and civilization to the wilderness. McWilliams, a Los Angeles attorney, social justice activist, and writer was a part of a movement, during the Depression and WWII, to

⁷³ Carey McWilliams, and Erskine Caldwell. 1946. *Southern California country: an island on the land*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

create an anti-fascist society including racial and cultural egalitarianism. Amongst his writings include books with titles such as, *Brothers Under the Skin: African-Americans and Other Minorities (1943)*, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California (1939)*, *Ill Fares the Land: Migrants and Migratory Labor in the United States (1942)*, *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America (1948)*, *Prejudice: Japanese-Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance (1944)*, *Race Discrimination – and the Law (1945)*, and *What About Our Japanese-Americans? (1944)*. McWilliams' books and his titles would seem radical even by today's so called "color-blind" society standards, invested in overturning white hegemony. He also worked with the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Lawyers Guild and was head of California's Division of Immigration and Housing for four years where he attempted to increase wages for agriculture labor and reform working conditions.

McWilliams' *Spanish Fantasy Past* was much more useful at the time of his writing to recognize the promotion of the Spanish heritage in California than it is in understanding its legacies today. I have built upon his framework and named its legacy, the *Spanish Imaginary*, in order to convey the inheritances of that era into the present where the Spanish heritage is no longer used as an advertising campaign defining California. Instead, the Spanish heritage and its mythology has become discourse that is intertwined with the history of California. It is a mythology, no longer being constructed, but has been shaped into the defining characteristic of California – it is now integral to California's history. The Spanish heritage is a

colonial imaginary, written and rewritten to the point where even the historian producing a much more accurate narrative of California's history has to contend with the mythology. The imaginary has constructed California's history to be one in which the symbol of the state in the U.S. Capitol Building and its National Statuary Hall consists of Junípero Serra and Ronald Wilson Reagan, heroes of Californian folklore. Of Serra, the description states, "Serra was ascetic and uncompromising in his zeal to convert the Indians to Christianity and to make his missions self sufficient. Inhabitants built their own homes, spun wool for garments, and pursued careers as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, and millers; thousands of barrels of grain were kept in reserve supply, and herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and swine were maintained."⁷⁴ The imaginary allows the U.S. government to describe the missions as providing careers to the Indians, and says nothing about the brutality of colonialism brought by the Spanish missionaries. While the statue was placed in the Capital during the use of the Spanish heritage as a selling point for California, in 1931, it endures there as a symbol of the imaginary – California's history, existing only in the imagination and in the realm of the unconscious cultural regime. The statue of Serra is also there as a symbolic ordering, both produced through the imaginary and reifying the imaginary. It simultaneously represents the colonial and Christianizing project of the West through the experience of the California Missions

⁷⁴ "Art: Father Junípero Serra" National Statuary Hall Collection. Accessed April 19, 2016, <http://www.aoc.gov/capitol-hill/national-statuary-hall-collection/father-junipero-serra>

and the individualistic discourse of the United States, the Turner Frontier thesis,⁷⁵ wherein Serra is seen as doing all of the work in producing the missions. He is promoted as a hardworking individual overcoming the hardships of the frontier. “This was a herculean task considering that Father Serra was already in his fifties and suffered from a chronic ulcerated condition in one leg,” noted the National Statuary Hall description.⁷⁶

The Spanish Fantasy Past was a re-visioning of Californio society. Douglas Monroy argued, “Californio society provides an excellent window into both how historical figures forge their own identities and how later generations re-conceive such historical characters based on their own concerns.”⁷⁷ The re-creations tell us more about the Americans, who generations later came to California, than they do about the Californios, who conveyed an awareness of themselves as “Californians.”⁷⁸ Prior to the re-telling of the Spanish heritage, American and European traders and travelers had written about California. The majority of the writings about Californios are disparaging accounts, much different than the romanticized versions

⁷⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner. 1962. *The frontier in American history*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

⁷⁶ “Art: Father Junípero Serra” National Statutory Hall Collection. Accessed April 19, 2016, <http://www.aoc.gov/capitol-hill/national-statuary-hall-collection/father-junipero-serra>

⁷⁷ Douglas Monroy. 1990. *Thrown among strangers: the making of Mexican culture in Frontier California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 173.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

produced through the Spanish fantasy past. One of the most well known accounts of Californios was Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, published in 1840 and one of America's first literary classics.⁷⁹ Dana viewed the Californios as lazy for not taking advantage of their stations. Californios while different culturally from the Americans who came to California, similarly upheld white supremacy and racial hierarchy, which I detail in Chapter Three: *The Colony of Riverside and other Racial Projects in Southern California*.

Historiography

The historiography of California, and California Indians, is often problematic and repeatedly follows a narrative of progress and civilization. The previously noted Spanish Fantasy Past has affected this historiography and critical historians habitually also fall into the trap of centering narratives of White people as the creators of California history, in which Native peoples were acted on. In the pages that follow I have attempted to re-center Native peoples as contributing to history rather than as passive observers of the affects of white supremacy in the Nation building processes for the Spanish, Mexican, and the Americans. But first I will make a detour and take a brief look at some of the major works in the field that my dissertation is both filling gaps left void and writing back to.

⁷⁹ Dana, Richard Henry. 1909. *Two years before the mast and Twenty-four years after*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son.

California history, as told by historians, often begins with the Spanish frontier and the early voyages of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and others. And it was Cabrillo's voyage that produced the first written record of Los Angeles in 1542 in which he named San Pedro Bay as Baya de los Fumos or Bay of the Smoke.⁸⁰ In his writings he also documented interactions with tribal peoples and for example, north of San Pedro, Cabrillo described Chumash clothing and the way they wore their hair.⁸¹ An example of historians beginning with Cabrillo is *The Other Californians* written by Heizer and Almquist, which had the intentions of showcasing historic "prejudice" in California. Although the preface of the book states that they "hope to provide in this book a social history of non-Anglo ethnic groups in California's past" they begin the history of California in 1542 with Cabrillo as modeled by previous historians.⁸² James J. Rawls also begins his version of California Indian history with Cabrillo in his book, *Indians of California: The Changing Image*. While both of these books are useful and refocus history of California to include an Indian experience, they also both display the colonizer's version of history, which does not begin where Indigenous people may start their own historical narrative. As counter example, although also problematic, is William McCawley's *The First Angelinos: The Gabrieliño*

⁸⁰ The Gabrieliño name for San Pedro is Chaawvenga.

⁸¹ James J. Rawls, 1984. *Indians of California: the changing image*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 25.

⁸² Robert F. Heizer, and Alan F. Almquist. 1971. *The other Californians: prejudice and discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1.

Indians of Los Angeles.⁸³ McCawley documents the pre-contact era and early history of the Gabrieliño-Tongva⁸⁴ primarily because Tongva tribal members, who also participated in a subsequent book project with McCawley, assisted him. *O, My Ancestor: Recognition and Renewal for the Gabrielino-Tongva of the Los Angeles Area*⁸⁵ is an ethnography of several important Tongva people who share their stories. The majority of Tongva would begin their history in California at Puvungna – village and sacred site of creation – in what is now Long Beach, as did those who participated in *O, My Ancestor*. Early writings about the Gabrieliño can be read in Hugo Reid’s letters from 1852.⁸⁶ Another history of California that similarly begins with a discussion of California Indians pre-contact is *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, edited by Ramon A. Gutierrez and Richard J. Orsi. The second chapter discusses the land, plants, animals and humans in pre-contact California.⁸⁷ In a later chapter *Contested Eden* also presents a discussion about the destruction to

⁸³ William McCawley. 1996. *The first Angelinos: the Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles*. Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press.

⁸⁴ Various spelling exists in the literature. I will use Gabrieliño to be consistent. This is also the spelling currently used by the Tribes. Tongva will be used interchangeably, with an acknowledgment that there is a dispute over the use of this name.

⁸⁵ McCawley.

⁸⁶ Hugo Reid, and Robert F. Heizer. 1968. *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's letters of 1852*. Los Angeles: Southwest Museum.

⁸⁷ Ramón A. Gutiérrez, and Richard J. Orsi. 1998. *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

California's environment due to pathogens, imported animals and what I have termed, settler weeds.⁸⁸

James Sandos, in *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in California*, begins the history of the golden state with the founding of the missions. In this project Sandos attempts to highlight a version of these histories by neither romanticizing a Spanish mission past nor as presenting the missions and Franciscans as limited to a tale of genocide.⁸⁹ His attempt was to include an ethnohistoric perspective and a theohistory within his discourse to reveal "a more complex past."⁹⁰ Sandos argued that this way of telling history "offers a balanced history of both sides of the frontier of Indian-Spanish contact..."⁹¹ While Sandos does an excellent job in detailing this history as complex, including "the diversity of Indian resistance,"⁹² from my perspective not presenting the Spanish as a genocidal regime in California does disservice to both the history of the missions and Indians who have continued to survive despite the colonial logic of genocide. The death that

⁸⁸ Gutiérrez and Orsi, Chapter 10. I use the word settler weeds to denote the difference between native plants and those brought by settlers through colonization. The tumbleweed is the example I point to where it takes over spaces and then reproduces itself and literally tumbles with the wind to new locations spreading its seeds. It pushes out native species and replaces them.

⁸⁹ James A. Sandos. 2004. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the missions*. New Haven: Yale University Press, xiii.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, xvii.

⁹¹ *Ibid*.

⁹² Sandos, 156.

California Indians experienced as documented by Sandos is presented as non-intentional death through disease, particularly syphilis. While it is fact that disease decimated the Native populations in California, this must have been an expected outcome of interaction between the Spanish and Indians by the time they colonized California. This scenario had been repeated numerous times during the centuries of colonizing the Americas and was not a new result, yet they came to California despite this history of death and disease. Furthermore, the institutionalization of the mission system and the *monjerio* also contributed to the spread of disease. I provide an examination of the *monjerio* and the spread of both disease and heteropatriarchy in Chapter Two: *The Case of Indigenous Nations v. Junípero Serra*

Many of the books published in the last fifteen years that examine current California Indians have a focus on gaming, which has become an important economic resource for many California tribes. The history of Indian gaming in the form of casinos is relatively short, beginning in 1979 with the Seminole Tribe in Florida who opened high-stakes bingo.⁹³ In 1987 an important court case, *California v. Cabazon*, determined the relationship between tribes and states over civil regulatory laws. Although California is a Public Law 280 state and has jurisdiction over criminal law on the reservation, California did not regulate gaming through criminal law thereby allowing tribes to have the ability to run gaming

⁹³ Eve Darian-Smith. 2004. *New capitalists: law, politics, and identity surrounding casino gaming on Native American land*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 61.

establishments. These casinos would fall under federal jurisdiction and the following year in 1988, the U.S. government introduced the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA).⁹⁴ However, the controversy over Indian gaming would not end there. California voters would have two ballot initiatives to vote on to determine if tribes had the “right” to operate “Las Vegas style gambling.” Both propositions were successful and Federally Recognized California Indian tribes now have the ability to run casinos regulated by both California and the Federal government. Duane Champagne and Carol Goldberg discuss the rise of gaming in their article *Ramona Redeemed? The Rise of Tribal Political Power in California*. Additional readings focused on the rise of Indian gaming, sovereignty and political authority are W. Dale Mason’s *Indian Gaming: Tribal Sovereignty and American Politics* as well as Eve Darian-Smith, *New Capitalists: Law, Politics, and Identity Surrounding Casino Gaming on Native American Land*. Another title, *Indian Gaming and Tribal Sovereignty: The Casino Compromise* was written by Steven Andrew Light and Kathryn R.L. Rand. The later title analyzes an anti gaming perspective that amongst other things views Indian gaming as being a racial privilege and calls for the return of an Indian image that is nobler.⁹⁵ Although the tribal groups I am most interested in are un-recognized and do not have gaming, these larger discussions

⁹⁴ Ibid, 60.

⁹⁵ Steven Andrew Light, and Kathryn R. L. Rand. 2005. Indian gaming & tribal sovereignty: the casino compromise. Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 132-133.

are part of a California Indian experience and several of the local Cahuilla, Serrano and Luiseño tribes have gaming.

Also discussing the history of gaming in California is Joanne Barker who investigates Native authenticity and the way in which the authentic Native functions in identity formation in *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*. She discussed several aspects of Native identity and how it is shaped through the conditions of colonialism. Her discussion begins with an evaluation of tribal recognition and follows the Delaware in their pursuit of federal recognition. She then discussed enrollment and tribal membership, centering her discussion on the *Martinez v. Santa Clara Pueblo* case that enabled tribes to determine their own membership. Following the discussion of enrollment Barker next interrogates disenrollment and selects the Pechanga Band of Luiseño Indians as her example. Finally, she tackles the tricky subject of tradition, which had been weaved into the conversation already, but furthers this conversation by focusing on the decision of the Navajo and Cherokee to not allow gay marriage as an assertion of tradition. All of these exchanges are related and play an important role in identity formation for Indians in the United States as produced through colonialism.

Barker's discussion of Pechanga's disenrollment of tribal members on the other hand is limited and it would appear that she did not conduct any real research for this investigation by conducting interviews of Pechanga tribal members nor those disenrolled, which puts her methodology into question. Although I agree with Barker that these and other disenrollments are troubling, also disturbing is Barker's

view that the reasons behind the disenrollment are simply tied to what she calls the “greed and corruption”⁹⁶ of gaming tribes. In Barker’s analysis of how California Indian identity functions, she focuses on disenrollment and explained that this is “a purging of those Natives with mixed Spanish-Mexican descent in the name of making ‘real’ California Indians.”⁹⁷ The idea of the “authentic Indian” has definitely produced troubling impacts for membership as well as for those who are unenrolled or who are from un-recognized tribes.

Barker’s argument can aid those such as the anthropologists Haley and Wilcoxon who address claims of Chumash identity and label them as “neo-Chumash” or cultural and genealogical frauds. Barker’s misreading of the disenrollments at Pechanga has her questioning the racial formation of California Indians in relation to Mexicans, instead of questioning the role of genealogy and long standing family disputes over political control that may have also assisted in the disenrollment determinations.⁹⁸ Haley and Wilcoxon also follow a similar line of reasoning:

Neo-Chumash ethnogenesis is a rejection of two viable alternative identities, whose origin stories also incorporate objective errors: (1) Spanish-Californio,

⁹⁶ Joanne Barker. 2011. *Native acts: law, recognition, and cultural authenticity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 178.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 180.

⁹⁸ Barker does little to further investigate and provide an historical analysis of Luiseño and Pechanga histories linked to the traditional villages in the Temecula area. Nor does she take an in-depth look at Pablo Apis, who is an important Luiseño during the Rancho period and post American invasion.

which stresses the frontier as formative yet tends to romanticize and whiten history, and (2) Chicano or Mexican American, which racializes Mexican heritage and appropriates – “the decline of the Californios” for later immigrants. The simultaneous existence of all three identities challenges assumptions that an association with Mexico dictates a unified identity.

Haley and Wilcoxon consider indigenous identities to be a construct in relation to others instead of as being formed through culture, tradition, language and ancestry. They along with Barker, view the people in question, whether they are from Pechanga or if they are Chumash, as basing their identities on a model that determines authenticity through distance from Californio or Mexican heritage. If this were the case, most California Indians would not pass their own test of authenticity. Although these authors are utilizing this framework for different purposes, they are in essence coming to a similar conclusion. Identity is often complex for southern California’s indigenous peoples. Furthermore, processes of recognition by the US government dictate that tribes’ distance themselves from non-Natives. This continues a logic of reduction where tribes resume, on their own, the need to decrease their numbers, as Barker highlights. This is not a tribally created problem; this is one they have inherited through recognition and the logic of colonialism.

California Indians and their cultures are the subject of several early anthropological works including those by Stephen Powers, Alfred Kroeber, and William Duncan Strong. *Aboriginal Society in Southern California* written by Strong

documented oral histories and provided language translations.⁹⁹ Additionally, Strong included partially translated interviews that discussed worldviews and mythology to be recorded before they were lost. In 1874 as part of a Federal government printed series “*Contributions to North American Ethnography*” reprinted in *Tribes of California*, Stephen Powers viewed the culture of southern California tribes as “faded out.”¹⁰⁰ Kroeber takes a similar stance in his *Ethnography of The Cahuilla Indians* and in *Handbook of the Indians of California*. A.L. Kroeber, one of the most influential American anthropologists in the first half of the 20th century, spent the majority of his career studying California Indians.¹⁰¹ According to David Hurst Thomas, author of *Skull Wars*, Kroeber “[l]ike all American Anthropologists of the day...saw the American Indian as doomed, and he scrambled to record the ancient customs and life ways before they disappeared. He scoured California for Indians who remembered the old tribal ways and spoke the ancient tongues.”¹⁰² Works such as Kroeber’s have come to be known as “salvage ethnography.”

Although Kroeber’s methodology is suspect, his work has proven to be useful for contemporary researchers and some tribes have been able to utilize his

⁹⁹ William Duncan Strong. 1929. *Aboriginal society in southern California*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.

¹⁰⁰ Stephen Powers. 1976. *Tribes of California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 16.

¹⁰¹ A. L. Kroeber. 1925. *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Washington: G.P.O.

¹⁰² David Hurst Thomas. 2000. *Skull wars: Kennewick Man, archaeology, and the battle for Native American identity*. New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 84.

ethnographic work. However, much of what could have been learned about social change through ethnohistory was ignored and the contemporary Indian culture of the time was not seen as important enough to research. What was significant to anthropologists such as Boas and Kroeber was the past prior to “contamination” through Western contact. Kroeber viewed the Native populations of California as non-existent culturally beyond 1850. Thomas Buckley who wrote about the Yurok in *Standing Ground* stated, “Kroeber insisted that ‘the Yurok’ were doomed by 1850, that ‘native primitive’ Yurok culture existed only as a memory artifact... and that no authentically Yurok culture could be said to have existed since 1850, when it began to be supplanted by a ‘bastard’ culture, neither Indian nor white (Kroeber 1948).”¹⁰³ According to Paul Apodaca, “Kroeber makes broad statements about Southern California cultures including his conclusion that they moribund of existing only as fragments, or survivals, of dead cultures.”¹⁰⁴ Since Kroeber, other researchers such as John Peabody Harrington worked to record California Indian language and culture. Similar to Kroeber, most researchers studying California Indians prior to the late 1960s were not studying them for the benefit of living Native peoples but merely with the intentions of having their research stored in the dominant culture’s knowledge warehouses. As Vine Deloria Jr. concluded in *Custer*

¹⁰³ Thomas C. T. Buckley. 2002. *Standing ground: Yurok Indian spirituality, 1850-1990*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 13.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Apodaca. 1999. *Tradition, myth, and performance of Cahuilla bird songs*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles, 23.

Died For Your Sins, “The fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are objects for observation, people are considered objects for experimentation, for manipulation, and for eventual extinction.”¹⁰⁵ These early anthropological works are a clear case where Deloria’s critique of anthropology is irrefutable.

To build on the ideas put forth through a reading of Vine Deloria Jr.’s work, I have been greatly influenced by Jack Forbes who focused part of his discussions on California in *Columbus and Other Cannibals: The Wetiko Disease of Exploitation, Imperialism, and Terrorism*. For example, Forbes revealed how Junípero Serra, the President of the California Missions, could be hailed as a hero by Westerners for his historic role in the genocide and enslavement of California Indian peoples while simultaneously genocide to non-Indians in Europe was being condemned. Forbes attempted to do what I am often critical of others for not doing; he reframed history within an Indigenous epistemology. Through this telling of history Forbes documented what he called, the Wetiko psychosis. He defined this as cannibalism that centers “the consuming of another’s life for one’s own private purpose or profit.”¹⁰⁶ The *Spanish Imaginary* is an example of Forbes’ Wetiko psychosis.

Although much of California historiography and the work of anthropologists is problematic, there are possibilities and there are also many great examples where

¹⁰⁵ Deloria. *Custer died for your sins*, 81.

¹⁰⁶ Jack D. Forbes. 2008. *Columbus and other cannibals: the wétiko disease of exploitation, imperialism, and terrorism*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 24. Italicized in original.

California Indians are centered. However, there have been far too few thus far. Yet I am hopeful for several up and coming scholars in the field who are attempting to write about California Indians from a California Indian perspective – these scholars are examples of the previously noted creative contention.

Los Angeles

Indian Country is imagined space, most often confined to reservations and rural areas. The following section focuses on Los Angeles, a much larger area than Riverside, both demographically and physically. It focuses on L.A. to show how the *Spanish Imaginary*, and Indian erasure, has functioned within academia in a location that has been written about much more extensively than Riverside. I argue that similar techniques have been utilized in Riverside to erase the Indian and this project's attempt in the following chapters is to highlight the specificities in Riverside. Indian Country can be reimagined to include cities, towns, rural locations and reservations, as it was in Nicolas Rosenthal's *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*. According to Rosenthal's re-conceptualization of Indian Country as well as American Indian Studies, "cities have played a central and defining role in twentieth-century Native American life"¹⁰⁷ beyond the rural and reservation community experience "where

¹⁰⁷ Nicolas G. Rosenthal. 2012. *Reimagining Indian country: native American migration & identity in twentieth-century Los Angeles*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 3.

scholars, policymakers, and popular culture tend to conceptualize it.”¹⁰⁸ For Rosenthal, metropolitan locations such as Los Angeles were important to twentieth-century American Indian life for a number of reasons, including: work, leisure and recreation, universities, and social and activist networks.

American Indian Studies has made tremendous growth over the forty plus years since Vine Deloria Jr.’s now classic *Custer Died For Your Sins* was published. Studies about Indigenous people have moved beyond Natives being savage or noble-savage and as peoples who are on the verge of no longer existing and as succumbing to progress. Yet, the majority of studies have limited themselves to rural and reservation locations. American Indian Studies has also limited itself primarily to tribes with federal recognition and reservation life. Rosenthal, although taking a serious look at Indians in Los Angeles and attempting to break away from the imagined Indian Country that he critiques misses an opportunity to discuss unrecognized tribes as being part of Indian Country, especially in particular locations such as L.A. He also declines the opportunity to discuss the people indigenous to Los Angeles in his centering of Indian Country as also existing within the city. The indigenous people of Los Angeles, the Gabrieliño (Tongva), are only mentioned once in his study, as labor during the Spanish period, lumped in with other tribes of southern California.¹⁰⁹ Although Rosenthal’s project is focused on migrations of Indian people to Los Angeles, the critique that can be made of his work is that he

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 12-13.

does little to remind the reader that Los Angeles was Indian Country long before the migrations he focuses on occurred. The land has a spirit that is much older than Los Angeles' founding in 1781. An unknowing reader may get the impression that the Gabrieliño, the indigenous people of Los Angeles, are no longer living – perhaps because they do not come from the imagined Indian Country, rural and reservation lands, that Rosenthal critiques. In order to reimagine Indian Country Rosenthal also relies on the same imagined version that he views as being limited in scope. In his re-imagination, Indians in Los Angeles are only those who have migrated there from rural and reservation communities. While American Indian Studies has made revolutionary advances since the writings by anthropologists discussed above, authors such as Rosenthal continue to rely on an imagined Indian Country that is limited to Native Americans from federally recognized tribes. Such studies also make real the continued experience of the “soul wound” created through land dispossession and the “continual state of mourning.”

The lack of inclusion of un-recognized tribes as well as Indigenous peoples from localities that are now comprised of cities is not necessarily only absent in American Indian Studies, but is also missing in much of academia. In Ethnic Studies, which largely focuses on black and brown populations, Indians are more often than not absent in the discussions of modern race formation. This nonexistence is evident in João Costa Vargas' *Never Meant to Survive*. In Vargas' well-written historical assessment of anti-black genocide, which focuses on both Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro, Indians again are left un-discussed. What is lacking in Vargas' presentation

of racial genocide is the way in which Native genocide has informed anti-black genocide in particular through understandings of spatiality. Los Angeles is not often read by scholars as remaining to belong to Indigenous people who continue to experience the effects of genocidal conditions and are therefore not included in studies of the city and its racial formations. An example of where this is explicitly clear is in Laura Pulido's work. Perhaps her title: *Black, Brown, Yellow & Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* should be retitled to *Black, Brown, Yellow & the Red Left Out?* Her main course of study in this piece is the way racism has functioned in Los Angeles and compares activist communities and the historical experiences of peoples of color who were part of the Third World Left from 1968 to 1978, but her work lacks an engaged discussion of Native activism. Possibly this is because of the *Spanish Imaginary* that has taught people that Indians only existed in the past and no longer resist colonialism?

Similarly, Chicano Studies rarely mentions California Indians in any productive way. In reading Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* with particular attention to chapter 5, *California Lost: America for Americans*, it is clear that Indians are not an important aspect to this history. In Acuña's critique of Anglo American's theft of California from Mexicans, he does little to make clear that Mexicans had previously taken and colonized the land from Indians. He however does note that through secularization, mission land was legally Indian land, but had fallen into the hands of Californios: the emerging ranch owning population who often take the blame for the atrocities that occurred in California, as representatives

of a modern understanding of whiteness – and definitely deserve blame. However, applying modern conceptions on a historical subject is problematic, especially when used to frame Mexicans as innocent – settler innocence?

Californios currently inhabit an identity that is seen as no longer existing, as they at some indiscreet time became Mexican as related by Lisbeth Hass. Although some are white in a modern understanding of that racial category and enjoy the privilege that is associated with it, most are viewed today as non-white by dominant society. The ethnic category of Californio is complex and it is often difficult to differentiate between Californios, Mexicans and Indians unless you are a member of the ethnicity yourself. To complicate this identity even further, most Californios are a mixture of the three previously noted, along with African and Jewish, and their representation of their identity may fluctuate between the three depending on who is around and for what purpose they are representing themselves. Many will not call themselves Californio outside of their group, as it is difficult to explain to someone non-versed in California history exactly who and what a Californio is and how that identity is different from being Mexican. This project attempts to address these complexities and differentiate between these groups with an understanding that identity is made through history, language, culture, tradition, ancestry and how one relates oneself to others as well as the way in which someone is seen as identifiable. Californio and California Indian cultures share many common elements due to living in close proximity during the post-contact history of California and through intermarriage. For example, at the Yorba Cemetery in Yorba Linda a tradition has

been started to have a memorial for the ancestors buried there on the Saturday before Mother's Day. This cemetery in the past would have been identified by non-Californios and non-Indians as a Mexican cemetery, but the majority who attend the memorial and have ancestors buried there identify as either Californio or Indian or a combination of the two. The memorial consists of a Catholic Mass, a Juaneño ceremony and updates about family and local historic sites. The cemetery is cleaned, weeds are removed, repairs are made and flowers are placed by family – much like Indian flower days on reservations in southern California and at Sherman Indian School. The only communities in California that I am aware of that have cemetery days honoring the ancestors in this specific way are California Indian communities. I would speculate that the reason that the Yorba Cemetery, and those who descend from those buried there also engage in this practice is due to intermarriages, and contact with Indian communities for a sustained period of time – centuries. Although Californios are settlers, they have also been subject to U.S. colonialism, have created relationship with Indigenous peoples, and have relationship to land through their burials and their work on the land. Although not becoming Indigenous, these relationships are important to understanding the interaction and exchange of knowledges that other settler groups could also engage in. The community gathers as one: Californio and Indian. Although historically these communities did not function as one, they do now for events such as Flower Day. Discussion around identity and the differing ways in which it functions will be an integral part of the conversation this project attempts to address.

After the United States occupation of California, Acuña noted population statistics for the State: “By 1849 almost 100,000 people lived in California, 13,000 of whom were Mexicans.”¹¹⁰ It is unclear where these statistics come from and whether Indians are included in these numbers; although this text is focused on Chicanos, Indians should be further included in a historical discussion of a particular location. Similar to other texts I have discussed, much of Acuña’s text focuses on Los Angeles and not once does Acuña mention the indigenous people of L.A: the Gabrieliño (Tongva).

Relatedly, Armando Navarro states in *Mexicano Political Experience in Occupied Aztlan* that by 1823, “California’s total population was about 3,500.”¹¹¹ Again it is unclear *if* the population estimate is supposed to include Indians or not. What is clear is that this relatively low number does *not* represent Indian populations. He writes, “Most of it [California’s population] was concentrated in Los Angeles, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Monterey, all of which were mission or presidio towns.”¹¹² Yet, the majority of the Indian populations would not have been in presidio or mission towns, but would have been concentrated outside of Spanish and Mexican control. According to the research of Lisbeth Haas, San Juan Capistrano

¹¹⁰ Rodolfo Acuña. 1972. *Occupied America: the Chicano's struggle toward liberation*. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 111.

¹¹¹ Armando Navarro. 2005. *Mexicano political experience in occupied Aztlan: struggles and change*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 58.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

alone had 956 neophytes.¹¹³ This would represent over a quarter of Navarro's entire population for California. How is this possible?

Sherburne F. Cook who wrote about the population of California Indians further demonstrates the anti-Indian racism that Navarro, Acuña and their sources display in their views of California demographics. Cook wrote that by 1865 California's Indian population had decreased from perhaps 150,000 in 1846 to "somewhere near 25,000 or 30,000" by 1865.¹¹⁴ Even at the lower estimate of 25,000 in 1865 after decades of genocide, this number representing California's Indian population alone is more than seven times the 3,500 Navarro offers for the "total" population of California in 1823, which is prior to much of the intensive genocide California Indians experienced, particularly in Northern California. Tomás Almaguer's *Racial Fault Lines*, which is often utilized in Ethnic Studies courses, similarly presents an anti-Indian population estimate. Contradicting Cook's previously noted demographics, Almaguer wrote, "California's population increased more than sixfold between 1848 and 1850, from approximately 15,000 to nearly 93,000 people."¹¹⁵ Clearly these numbers do not represent Indian populations but primarily focus on American and Mexican populations in California during this time

¹¹³ Lisbeth Haas. 1995. *Conquests and historical identities in California, 1769-1936*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹¹⁴ Sherburne Friend Cook. 1976. *The population of the California Indians, 1769-1970*. Berkeley: University of California Press, xv, 44, 53.

¹¹⁵ Tomás Almaguer. 2009. *Racial fault lines: the historical origins of white supremacy in California*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press. 70.

period, without even a footnote to explain that “people” did not include Indians.¹¹⁶ Yet, population numbers can be difficult to trust and are often highly exaggerated one way or another to prove a point. Almaguer however, relies on the same population estimates I have presented from Cook in a subsequent chapter of *Racial Fault Lines*. He also cites other authors, Rawls and Thornton, in his discussion of Indian populations. These cited demographic numbers contradict his previously stated population estimates. How can there be, according to Almaguer, approximately “100,000 [Indians] in 1850”¹¹⁷ but only “93,000 people”¹¹⁸ in California during that same year? This is only possible if Indians are not considered people or can be differentiated from what constitutes people. Almaguer presents these contradictory numbers without explanation. These anti-Indian moments in *Racial Fault Lines* make it difficult to believe Almaguer does in fact “make a valuable contribution to our understanding of race and ethnic relations in the United States”¹¹⁹ as he asserts in his preface to the 2009 edition, unless we read between the lines and understand that Indians are not central to this understanding and must continue to exist outside of it. These problematic tendencies in the works that I

¹¹⁶ Almaguer does not give a source for these numbers. He cites the 1850 U.S. Census a few sentences later and this is perhaps where these numbers originate. The 1850 Census has a population of 92,597 for California. He makes no attempt to complicate these numbers either in the text or in a footnote.

¹¹⁷ Almaguer, 142.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 70.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* ix.

have thus far highlighted call for a re-writing of California Indian histories that are intersectional – include analysis of race, class, and gender that denote power structures and relations.

California Indians, especially those from Los Angeles and Orange Counties – as un-recognized peoples, inhabit a complex racial space. Studies of California history that analyze race and how it functions often have overlooked California's indigenous populations. Many of the previous examples are well-written and important works that should be read, reread and critiqued to create deeper understanding. The dissertation that follows is my contribution to these studies, further complicating the narrative of the disappearing California Indians by showcasing their continued resistance. I chose to center my research on Riverside, not only because I am a student at the University of California, Riverside, but also because Riverside is important to the foundations of the *Spanish Imaginary*.

I have approached my writing as both a storyteller and a DJ. It's a complex style weaving and interweaving stories together that are connected by a web of place, discourse, people, theory and history. I have learned that there aren't any original ideas, but are dependent on what has come before. Most of what I have written about, someone else has already also written about. But like a DJ, I sample from many sources and hear texts as songs. A good song has a catchy chorus, which needs to remind the listener of other songs, but be original enough that the listener feels like it is something new. A DJ samples from various artists and puts together a unique composition. However, even this concept is not new. The Rolling Stones and

Led Zeppelin, for example, as successful rock bands also “sampled” from other musicians – and unfortunately did not always give the original authors credit. I give credit where credit is due, both for the primary and secondary sources I have sampled, but nothing is original. I sampled heavily, hopefully my chorus (my analysis) sounds unique. I believe I have put together stories in a distinctive way, making connections that were previously viewed as un-related, producing something that will “sound” new.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter Two provides a critique of Junípero Serra’s canonization and argues that his Sainthood is a celebration of California Indian genocide, as well as a continuation of the *Spanish Imaginary*. Within this chapter is also the story of a mock trial that found him guilty of committing crimes against humanity as a way to demonstrate continued resistance to Serra and the Missions. Chapter Three centers its focus on the foundations of Riverside as a racial project and provides an overview of the race relations in the Riverside / Inland Empire region during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Chapter Four details the landscape of Riverside prior to Americanization, focusing on Mount Rubidoux, the Spring Rancheria, and Cahuilla culture in order to see, hear and feel the land. Simultaneously it details the development of the *Spanish Imaginary* in Riverside by telling the story of two trips up Mount Rubidoux. The first in 1909 when President Taft came to town and unveiled a plaque to Junípero Serra and the other in 2015 for a conversation about

settler colonialism. Chapter Five provides an analysis of Mission Revival Style architecture, and argues that architecture assists in structuring systems of power. This chapter focuses on two construction projects in Riverside: the Mission Inn and Sherman Indian School; both had the same architect and are deeply connected. Within this chapter is also an analysis of Indian education as a liberal reform, where schooling is an extension of prison and war. Chapter Six uses theorizations of settler colonialism to analyze the use of plays and pageants as tools of the *Spanish Imaginary*. Two plays are investigated: The Mission Play, and the Ramona Pageant. This chapter also details Native resistance to the narrative of the Missions and Junípero Serra's canonization with a discussion of A Walk for the Ancestors – a 750-mile walk begun by a mother and son from the Tataviam Nation in opposition to Sainthood.

CHAPTER TWO:

The Case of Indigenous Nations v. Junípero Serra

In the ravaging of the Indigenous world with the mission system, including the whippings, the slavery and rape, the destruction, the anguish, in that twisted colonizing paradigm – Junipero Serra is a hero. He’s the superhero of a sick and diseased culture that nurtures a devouring, monstrous world. His impending sainthood is a reminder of this as it feeds the bodies, minds and memories of Indigenous Peoples into an ever voracious and open mouth...

Tia Oros Peters¹

The early wholesale, violent sexual assaults on women and children eventually resulted in a rigidly controlled barracks lockdown policy developed by the missionaries, possibly to protect the native females from such degrading experiences and to enforce strict Franciscan sexual moral codes. Tragically, such drastic measures hastened the spread of infectious diseases that all but destroyed the people the missionaries proclaimed they had come to “save.”

Edward D. Castillo²

No Sainthood For Serra Tribunal

Under the hot sun, Father Junípero Serra stood sweating with anticipation next to the judge’s table pending the jury’s decision. The jury merely needed but a few seconds to deliberate whether Serra was guilty of crimes against humanity and genocide. With a resounding “guilty” and calls to “hang him!” the trial was

¹ Tia Oros Peters. “The War Against Memory,” A RED PAPER, Excerpted from a Presentation at Disrobing Junipero Serra – Saint or Monster?, Coordinated by the Barbareño Chumash Tribal Council “Iyalmuwič” and The American Indian Movement of Southern California, May 30, 2015 in the homelands of the Chumash People, Sunqcuu, Seventh Generation Fund for Indigenous Peoples, Inc., Arcata: California, September 23, 2015, 5.

² Edward D. Castillo. 1994. "Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation among Female Neophytes in the Missions of California: A San Gabriel Case Study". American Indian Culture and Research Journal. 18 (1): 86.

concluded. The prosecutor and her expert witnesses provided the arguments and evidence to convince the jury who had convened at the Junípero Serra Branch of the Los Angeles Public Library (in South Central Los Angeles) to find him guilty as charged. Nanette Deetz reporting from the trial for *Indian Country Today* stated, in the case of Indigenous Nations v. Junipero Sera.... [he] was brought to court by the American Indian Movement Southern California Chapter on Tongva territory in Los Angeles for the crimes of torture, slavery, rape, theft of California indigenous lands and promoting the intentional death of thousands of California's indigenous people.³

The street theater and mock trial of Junípero Serra was a great success. Deetz explained, "The 'No Sainthood for Serra Tribunal' was presented as satire on September 12 [2015] in the form of Guerilla theater, and was serious yet funny, allowing for laughter amidst the pain of the Canonization proposed by Pope Francis." Corine Fairbanks, the director of AIM Southern California was reported as stating, "We wanted people to have a voice, and we wanted this protest to be creative and interactive in a positive way." Fairbanks also explained, "There is so much anger surrounding the proposed sainthood among California's Native tribes, that we wanted to be creative and have fun too."⁴

³ Nanette Deetz. "Indigenous Nations v. Junipero Serra: AIM Takes Serra to Court," *Indian Country Today Media Network*, September 21, 2015, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2015/09/21/indigenous-nations-v-junipero-serra-aim-takes-serra-court-161802>

⁴ Ibid.

The actors who participated had fun with it, some in costume, despite the seriousness of the gathering. Women played roles representing the Native women at the missions that had been susceptible to sexual violence and I, as an “expert witness,” provided details about the *monjerio* and other aspects of the mission system created in California by its founder, Junípero Serra. The *monjerio* was the dormitory for female neophytes, the baptized Indians. These dorms were small-mostly unventilated spaces where Indian women and girls were locked up at night in order to keep them virginal and separate from the men. In the corner of the room was either a hole or a bucket where the women could relieve themselves and the barred windows were placed high on the walls in order to both keep them from escaping and to discourage communication between inside and outside. The personal space in the *monjerio* has been compared to a similar size as that provided slaves on the ships during the trans-Atlantic slave trade.⁵ These cramped, dirty spaces allowed for the transmission of disease at high rates. Edward D. Castillo⁶ wrote about sexual violence against Indian women in his 1994 article, *Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation among Female Neophytes in the Missions of California: A San Gabriel Case Study*. He clarified the point above, “At the age of six or

⁵ David E. Stannard. 1992. *American holocaust: Columbus and the conquest of the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁶ Castillo, Luiseño from Soboba, also wrote another important study of the Missions and the *monjerio*. In this study he and Robert Jackson referenced building plans for the Missions including the *monjerio*: Edward Castillo and Robert Jackson, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 144.

seven, the female children were separated from their families and made to live in a carefully locked, all-female barracks called *monjerios*.⁷ The Missionaries attempted, through the *monjerio*, to keep girls from running away, and as an effort to end their ability to continue Indigenous ways of life and ceremony.⁸ Castillo wrote, “Great cultural damage and emotional suffering were caused by the dismemberment of native families. Both contemporary observers and later scholars have identified these female barracks as major culprits in the spread of infectious disease.”⁹ The *monjerios* have been identified as a major cause of death and disease for California Indian women under the Franciscans.

J.P. Harrington interviewed Fernando Librado (Chumash) and his unsettling quote about the *monjerio* was included in Deborah Miranda’s important book *Bad Indians*. In his explanation of the *monjerio*, the way in which the Mission system imposed structural sexual violence against Indian women is apparent. Miranda writing about Harrington noted, “The old Indios used to say, “That man would write

⁷ Castillo, “Gender Status Decline,” 75.

⁸ A very interesting article was written in which the author not only details the use of the *monjerio*, but also details the way in which the Missions as tourist destinations display, or lack a display of the *monjerio*. In the reconstruction of the Missions, the *monjerio* was largely dismissed. Yet, in a historical analysis, the *monjerio* was one of the most important buildings. The total construction of the missions took decades, but the *monjerio* were often some of the first buildings constructed. Vaughn, Chelsea K. “Locating Absence: The Forgotten Presence of *Monjeríos* in the Alta California Missions.” *Southern California Quarterly* 93 (2011): 141-174.

⁹ Castillo. “Gender Status Decline,” 75.

down the Indian directions for scratching your ass,' and it was true!"¹⁰ Miranda states that Librado is famous for providing Harrington "with all that old-time information..."¹¹ He even gave directions on "how to build a *tomol* from nothing."¹² Librado's information has been of great importance to generations of both Chumash and anthropologists. Yet, historians have largely ignored the *monjerio* and the use of sexual violence against Indians by the Catholic Church and its enforcement of heteropatriarchal norms. Lisbeth Hass, author of *Conquests and Historical Identity in California 1769-1936* described the *monjerio* and provided a detailed explanation as it functioned at Mission San Gabriel. She wrote, "at Mission San Gabriel a blind Gabrieleño would stand at the door and call the names of each girl who was supposed to enter for the night."¹³ A girl who missed roll call would be "locked up for having failed to arrive punctually."¹⁴ Haas also explained that the girl's mother would also be "brought to the mission from her village the next day and punished..."¹⁵ However in her explanation, Hass does not describe the *monjerio* as a place that permitted Indian girls to be susceptible to sexual violence or as enforcing

¹⁰ Deborah A. Miranda. 2012. *Bad Indians: a Tribal Memoir*. Berkeley: Heyday, 23.

¹¹ Ibid, 23-24.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Haas. 1995. *Conquests and historical identities in California*, 28.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

heteropatriarchal norms. Similarly, the rape of Indian women is often told in a passive voice that deflects the issue and does not lay blame on anyone. For example, despite her well-researched book that focused much of its attention on San Juan Capistrano and the Acjachemen, Haas also used passive voice when rape of Indian women was concerned. She wrote, "Besides European diseases, moreover, syphilis had become a problem owing to rape and sexual liaisons between soldiers and Indian women"¹⁶ It almost reads as if she is uncomfortable using the word "rape" and quickly sidesteps and uses the word "liaison" to describe the relationship between soldiers and Indian women without acknowledging the inequity of power relations. Furthermore she describes these relationships as consensual, which some undoubtedly were, through the use of "liaisons." Yet, she does not ascribe a clear guilty party to the rape of Indian women and her sentence does not have a clear subject. Fernando Librado on the other hand is direct in his telling of the violence against women,

The priest had an appointed hour to go there. When he got to the nunnery [monjerio] all were in bed in the big dormitory. The priest would pass by the bed of the superior [maestra] and tap her on the shoulder, and she would commence singing. All of the girls would join in... when the singing was going on, the priest would have time to select the girl he wanted, carry out his desires... in this way the priest had sex with all of them, from the superior all

¹⁶ Ibid, 22.

the way down the line... the priest's will was law. Indians would lie right down if the priest said so.¹⁷

Despite centuries of experience with evangelization and attempting to convert Indians in the Americas, "the Franciscans apparently never developed an effective policy to prevent the wholesale sexual exploitation of the native peoples whom they were supposedly helping," explained Castillo.¹⁸ He further clarified, "the problem was inherent in an 'evangelization' program that, in the final analysis, relied on military force to secure native acquiescence to Franciscan authority."¹⁹ This authority leading to sexual exploitation and what may now be referred to as *sexual trafficking* is most observable with the use of the *monjerio*.

As quoted by Castillo, Russian voyager Otto von Kotzebue provided a contemporary view of the *monjerio* in 1824 when he visited Mission Santa Clara.

[T]hese dungeons are opened two or three times a day, but only to allow the prisoners to pass to and from church. I have occasionally seen the poor girls rushing out eagerly to breathe the fresh air, and driven immediately into the church like a flock of sheep by an old ragged Spaniard armed with a stick.

¹⁷ Ibid, 23-24.

¹⁸ Castillo, "Gender Status Decline," 72.

¹⁹ Ibid.

After mass, they are in the same manner hurried back to their prison.²⁰

What is significant about this quote is his description of the *monjerio* as prison.²¹

Although California Indians had lived in California for thousands of years prior to the coming of the Spanish, the *monjerio* is the first structure used as a prison. Most studies of prisons such as Dylan Rodriguez's excellent book *Forced Passages* trace the logic of the modern prison to anti-blackness, racial chattel slavery and the Middle Passage. While not incorrect, as a logic of social control the prison in California began with the Mission imprisoning Indian bodies, specifically the bodies of female Indians. Rodriguez wrote, "the formation of the U.S. prison must be seen as inseparable from the relation of white freedom/ black unfreedom, white ownership/black fungibility, that produced the nation's foundational property relation as well an essential component (with Native American displacement and genocide) of its racial ordering."²² Rodriguez places Indians as an afterthought, when on the contrary in California during most of its time under colonial control, the primary binary of free and unfree has been arranged amongst and between

²⁰ Robert H. Jackson, and Edward D. Castillo. 1995. *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish colonization: the impact of the mission system on California Indians*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 81.

²¹ It has been argued that Kotzebue wrote about the *monjerio* in this way with a political agenda or through his own cultural lens. Even so, it is not drastically different from other contemporary witnesses, or the memories of people such as Librado.

²² Rodriguez, Dylan. 2006. *Forced passages: imprisoned radical intellectuals and the U.S. prison regime*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 227.

racial distinctions of white and Indian, with Mexicans sometimes racialized as Indian and sometimes as White. Property relations similarly followed this racial logic well into the late 19th century and continue to define the lands known as California through the logics of settler colonialism. Furthermore, the Doctrine of Discovery, as primary legal justification and property law in the Americas was a racial ordering of land and property; white Christians having rights to property and Indians being limited to occupying space. The construction of both the prison and racial slavery in California originate in the confluence of the Catholic Church and Spanish colonialism of Native bodies and lands. No other population as a whole has been subjected to the logic of racial slavery in California other than Indians.²³ The technologies developed for imprisonment in the state originate with the Spanish, then Mexican and finally American control of Native bodies (including Indians of Mexican origin) and can be traced through these distinct eras of the post apocalypse.

Although the *monjerio* and violence against women was a central aspect of the Indigenous Nation's argument in the trial against Serra, the prosecuting attorney played by Angela Mooney D'Arcy also cross-examined the priest himself with a barrage of tough questions. She forced him to admit that the goal of the mission system was to eradicate Native culture at whatever expense necessary, a fact he and

²³ The private prison system in California and the continuation of a slave logic through the prison while devastating Black communities at a disproportionate level also impacts all races. Indians were all susceptible to the slave logic of the Mission, based on their Indigeneity while other peoples who came to California, including peoples of African descent, were not.

the defense were proud of. This admittance, which is also the actual historical goal of the mission system, which I will explore through primary and secondary sources throughout this chapter, is one of the elements within the United Nations Genocide Convention. This chapter will also delve into the canonization of Junípero Serra and provide Native responses and the charges many Native people, both California Indian and others, are leveling against both Serra and the Catholic Church.

Deetz explained the structure of the trial. “At the tribunal, Serra was assigned a public defender, portrayed by Fairbanks, and a defense attorney portrayed by Dennis Sandoval Landau...”²⁴ She further explained,

The role of Junipero Serra was performed by Kevin Head, a professional actor who also organizes community gardens. “It’s tough to play the role of someone so hated. Now I understand why so many California tribal people are angry. The decision to grant sainthood to Serra is wrong,” Head said.

The prosecuting attorney, [was] played by Angela Mooney D’Arcy, Acjachemen Nation/Juaneno Band of Mission Indians, and executive director and founder of Sacred Places Institute for Indigenous Peoples...”²⁵

The laughter and humor of the theatrical production subsided when discussion was presented by the Prosecution’s expert witnesses who made clear connections between the Mission system, the doctrine of discovery, the spread of venereal

²⁴ Deetz, “Indigenous Nations v. Junipero Serra.”

²⁵ Ibid.

disease, death, sexual violence, institutional racism and genocide. All of which are being celebrated through the Canonization of Junípero Serra.

An Empty Apology

"I wish to be quite clear," said Pope Francis. "I humbly ask forgiveness, not only for the offenses of the church herself, but also for crimes committed against the native peoples during the so-called conquest of America."²⁶ Additionally he stated, "Some may rightly say, 'When the pope speaks of colonialism, he overlooks certain actions of the church.'²⁷ Francis continued, "I say this to you with regret: Many grave sins were committed against the native people of America in the name of God."²⁸ These are quotes from Pope Francis' speech and apology given during his trip to Bolivia in early July 2015.

Pope Francis in the same speech also attempted to distance the Church from the colonial economic structure. He leveled a heavy charge against capitalist economies. He criticized "certain free-trade treaties" and "austerity, which always tightens the belt of workers and the poor."²⁹ Adding, "Human beings and nature

²⁶ Jim Yardley and William Neuman, "In Bolivia, Pope Francis Apologizes for Church's 'Grave Sins,'" *New York Times*, Accessed July 9, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/10/world/americas/pope-francis-bolivia-catholic-church-apology.html?_r=1

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

must not be at the service of money.”³⁰ And, “Let us say no to an economy of exclusion and inequality, where money rules, rather than service. That economy kills. That economy excludes. That economy destroys Mother Earth.”³¹ The Mission system in California was rooted in not only colonialism and Catholicism, but the two were bound to an economy of global trade. This triad, Church, military and capitalism, was inseparable as it functioned symbiotically in an interdependent relationship. While there were disagreements between the Church and Spanish military for example, those arguments did not disconnect one from the other. Colonialism functioned through all three. Even today the Vatican functions through an economic system that requires resources, land and converts to continue its dominance. Catholicism, simply stated, is more than a belief. The effort to make Junípero Serra a Saint continues the tradition of evangelism. In order to remain a powerful entity, the Catholic Church needs to retain and convert people into the Church. Catholicism functions now, as it has in the past, in a much more powerful way than merely a spiritual faith in Christianity. I am using the term evangelism as a way to describe the incorporation of people into the Catholic Church. Through this process the Church gains membership and power through populations that support the Church economically and politically. Evangelism was a tool of colonialism utilized by the Spanish to incorporate Native populations into its imperial project

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

while the Church collected souls and political power. Today the logic of evangelism functions similarly where the Church extends its reach into the political discourse of Nations through its members.

Despite the Pope's calculated criticism of capitalism and his gesture towards forgiveness of the Church for its "sins" against the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, he offered no solution or suggestions on how Tribal Nations would heal after over 500 years of European and Christian colonialism. "Don't expect a recipe from this pope,"³² he declared and stated, "Neither the pope nor the church have a monopoly on the interpretation of social reality or the proposal of solution to contemporary issues. I dare say no recipe exists."³³ The Pope's speech was a deliberate move towards innocence for the Church and made without intent to help Indigenous peoples, other than to convert more through coercion. According to the New York Times,

In Latin America, Francis' apology will likely draw the most attention, though he told the audience that Pope John Paul II had already apologized. In 2000, John Paul made a blanket apology from the Vatican, asking forgiveness from Jews, ethnic populations on different continents and other groups. Francis' apology was specific and made on Bolivian soil. Yet Francis's agenda for the trip includes bolstering the church, and he noted that many priests and laity

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

had acted with courage on behalf of Latin America and said Catholicism was integral to the continent's identity.³⁴

Francis concluded in an attempt to make the oppressor, the Church, to now be a victim, "An identity [Catholicism] which here, as in other countries, some powers are committed to erasing, at times because our faith is revolutionary, because our faith challenges the tyranny of Mammon," – wealth that is personified as the devil and worshiped above God.³⁵ This is good rhetoric, but I ask then why does the Vatican have so much gold if it does not also value wealth? Mirroring my critique of the Pope and by extension the Vatican's story about wealth, Deborah Miranda wrote, "Solid gold candlesticks, expensive vestments, elaborate monuments and cathedrals – none of these are necessary to truly worship the Creator, whether that Creator is Indian or Spanish or something else altogether."³⁶ Estimations of the wealth of the Catholic Church are difficult to come by or rely on, due to much of their monies being unreported, as well as assets held in property and art. Yet, what is known is that the Vatican has its own bank, officially called the Institute for the Works of Religion. According to a 2014 article in the International Business Times,

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Deborah Miranda, September, 20 2015, "Canonization Fodder: California Indians and the Sainthood of Junípero Serra," *Bad Indians Blog*, <http://badndns.blogspot.com/2015/09/canonization-fodder-california-indians.html>

the Vatican bank holds \$7.3 Billion in “assets on behalf of its 17,400 customers.”³⁷ It also reported, “Another titbit to emerge is that it keeps gold reserves worth over \$20m with the US Federal Reserve.”³⁸ From a 1965 article in Time Magazine, “Bankers’ best guesses about the Vatican’s wealth put it at \$10 billion to \$15 billion.”³⁹ The article further stated, “Of this wealth, Italian stockholdings alone run to 1.6 billion, 15% of the value of listed shares on the Italian market. The Vatican has big investments in banking, insurance, chemicals, steel, construction, real estate.”⁴⁰ One can only guess what the Catholic Church is worth today. Miranda wrote, “Someone decided that even if priests couldn’t possess gold, God would like gold communion cups, marble in His church, the finest cloth money could buy on His altar.”⁴¹ Why, I ask, is the Vatican not melting down all of its extremely expensive golden altars all over the world, flooding the market with gold, affecting the price and the stock market and investing in the poor who need not churches filled with gold, but homes, land, food, clean water and air? In the bible the apostles are not

³⁷ Shane Croucher, “How rich is the Vatican? So wealthy it can stumble across millions of euros just ‘tucked away,” *International Business Times*, December, 05, 2015, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/how-rich-vatican-so-wealthy-it-can-stumble-across-millions-euros-just-tucked-away-1478219>

³⁸ Croucher, “How rich is the Vatican?”

³⁹ “Roman Catholics: The Vatican's Wealth,” *Time Magazine*, February 26, 1965, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,833509,00.html>

⁴⁰ “Roman Catholics: The Vatican's Wealth.”

⁴¹ Miranda, “Canonization Fodder.”

preaching from golden pulpits, why does the current Church continue to need them if it functions outside of, as Francis noted, an “economy of exclusion and inequality, where money rules, rather than service”?⁴² The Vatican has the ability to be revolutionary as the Pope insisted, but instead it chooses to focus on empty apologies and continued evangelism.

The First Hispanic Saint

Evangelism is at the heart of canonizing Serra. He is viewed as the first Hispanic Saint. *Catholic Online*, a web page, describes itself as “a multi-platform news, information and e-commerce destination offering the highest in quality.”⁴³ Additionally, it “serves the global Catholic community, other Christians, other people of faith and all people of good will by providing ‘fact driven/faith informed’™ news, views, and content over its integrated media network.”⁴⁴ *Catholic Online* with nearly 1.25 billion likes on Facebook reported, “Pope Francis and the Vatican have announced plans to canonize the Blessed Junípero Serra during the Pope's visit to the United States on September 23. Serra will become the United States' first

⁴² Jim Yardley and William Neuman, “In Bolivia, Pope Francis Apologizes.”

⁴³ “Catholic Online,” *Facebook*, September 23, 2015, <https://m.facebook.com/catholiconline/about>

⁴⁴ “Catholic Online,” *Facebook*.

Hispanic saint."⁴⁵ It also related the positive impacts on Catholic Hispanics through the canonizing of Junípero Serra.

Often times, the Spaniards' and the Catholic contribution to the United States' growth and formation is overlooked and belittled. Serra's canonization will help Americans realize Hispanics did contribute to the settling of the country, according to the secretary of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America.⁴⁶

As quoted in the same article, Guzman Carriquiry, the Vatican official from Uruguay said, "A more accurate vision also will help break down walls of separation between what is Anglo and what is Hispanic, between the Protestant and Catholic traditions, between the United States and Latin America."⁴⁷ The article added,

Carriquiry believes the canonization of Blessed Serra will allow the United States' Hispanics to free themselves of the harmful mentality that no one likes them. He wishes they will now be able to see themselves as part of something much larger and greater; they are in continuation with a long line of Hispanics who have inhabited large areas of the United States during its birth.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Abigail James, "First U.S. Hispanic Saint: Pope Francis to canonize Junipero Serra during U.S. visit," *Catholic Online*, September 23, 2015, <http://www.catholic.org/news/international/americas/story.php?id=59917>

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Steven Hackel, a professor at the University of California Riverside and author of a biography of Serra agrees, “The Vatican sees Serra almost as a patron saint of immigration.”⁴⁹ He also noted a relationship between immigration and Catholicism, “there’s a history behind immigration policy that is rooted in a Spanish Catholic past and not just a Protestant, 18th Century political rebellion.”⁵⁰ Hackel views the canonization as an opportunity on the part of the Church to remind America of its Hispanic past and as an historical context to policies of immigration. However, the canonization erases Native peoples, and instead focuses on “Hispanic” people (singular) as being the inhabitants of “large areas of the United States”⁵¹ without mention of Indians as being the original peoples of the Americas and as continued, living populations. Instead Indians are replaced by Hispanics as the occupants and founders. This erasure is evident in a statement by Mechelle Lawrence Adams, Executive Director of Mission San Juan Capistrano, “Blessed Serra is the original founder of California, like an urban planner. As California Catholics, he is a source of inspiration for us.”⁵² Following this logic, California Indians are reduced to not

⁴⁹ Meridith McGraw, “Why Pope Francis’ Canonization of Junipero Serra is so Controversial,” *ABC News*, September 23, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/pope-francis-canonization-junipero-serra-controversial/story?id=33961080>

⁵⁰ McGraw, “Why Pope Francis’ Canonization of Junipero Serra is so Controversial.”

⁵¹ Abigail, “First U.S. Hispanic Saint.”

⁵² Deepa Bharath, “Inspirational leader or indigenous oppressor? The pros and cons of Pope Francis making Junipero Serra a saint,” *Orange County Register*, September, 23, 2015, <http://www.ocregister.com/articles/serra-683756-native-church.html>

having a part in California history or in the building of the missions. They are also similarly not seen as being living, breathing peoples. California Indians are erased in this normative version of California history— a history engulfed in the logics of white supremacy.

The canonization is in an effort to retain people of Latin American origins as Catholics and also providing them, as Hispanic people, with a patron saint. It is also however, an attempt to continue displacing Native peoples and subsume them into a “Hispanic” identity while simultaneously increasing the role of Catholicism in the United States and its politic. Michael Omi and Howard Winant explain that racial formation in the Americas is tied to processes of colonialism. “When European explorers in the New World ‘discovered’ people,” they wrote, “who looked different than themselves, these ‘natives’ challenged then existing conceptions of the origins of the human species, and raised disturbing questions as to whether *all* could be considered in the same ‘family of man.’”⁵³ They conclude, “Race is indeed a preeminently *socio-historical* concept.”⁵⁴ Adding that, “Racial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded.”⁵⁵ They further argue that “[r]acial

⁵³ Michael Omi, and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge, 3-13.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

meanings have varied tremendously over time and between different societies.”⁵⁶

Jack Forbes in *The Hispanic Spin: Party Politics and Governmental Manipulation of Ethnic Identity* explored the political construct of Hispanic as a racial category tied to the Americas. He asked, “How is it that Original American peoples, including indigenous and mestizo Mexicans and Central Americans can be assigned a ‘Spanish culture or origin’?”⁵⁷ Forbes answering his own question wrote,

The politics of this move relates to the long struggle of some persons of Mexican extraction to escape from the prejudice directed at persons of Indian appearance by having themselves classified as Spanish-Americans or Latin Americans.⁵⁸

The designation as Hispanic is a continued attempt to erase Native identity and create for Native people a new nationalistic identity that functions to both indigenize non-Natives and subsume Indigenous peoples into a politic of white-supremacy. Forbes explained,

The concept of Hispanic (which means ‘Spanish’ or ‘Spanish-derived’) is especially absurd as applied to Maya, Mixtec, Zapotec, or other American peoples who often do not even speak Spanish (except perhaps as a second, foreign language), whose surnames are often not of Spanish origin, and

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Jack D. Forbes. 1992. "The Hispanic Spin: Party Politics and Governmental Manipulation of Ethnic Identity". *Latin American Perspectives*. 19: 59-78.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

whose racial and cultural backgrounds are First American or African or mixed. For example, many Maya people from Guatemala do not possess Spanish surnames and speak a Maya language as their first or only language.⁵⁹

Forbes assisted for further understanding of the function of the Hispanic identity in his clarity, “The use of Hispanic or Spanish-origin categories” he wrote, “achieves the end of continuing to empower white Spanish-speaking elites...”⁶⁰ He argued that this is “at the expense of people of mestizo, Indian, and African origin...”⁶¹ He added that this effort works toward “masking their hierarchical color ranked class structure and racial/ethnic diversity within the Spanish-speaking and Latin American origin populations.”⁶² He concluded, “Another function of Hispanic is to confuse people of color so that they will ‘think white’ and allow themselves to be dominated by white assimilative forces...”⁶³ Dylan Rodriguez theorized multicultural white supremacy, a term that denotes the practices of inclusion whereby

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

'people of color' are increasingly, selectively, and hierarchically incorporated/empowered by the structures of institutional dominance – government, police, universities, corporations, etc. – that have historically formed the circuits of U.S. apartheid and racist state violence.⁶⁴

Hispanic, as used by Pope Francis, is applied as an intentional tool of a white-supremacist logic to subsume African and Native origins into an identity that does not expunge race, but masks it into a multicultural identity with assimilative commonalities such as language and religion.

The beginnings of inculcating diverse peoples into the structure of white supremacy originated with the Spanish during the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula and later through centuries of colonial authority in the Americas.⁶⁵ The Spanish, while simultaneously sponsoring cultural genocide, incorporated Native and African peoples into the colonial project to expand the Spanish Empire. Indians were organized through Spanish colonialism into missions, pueblos and ranchos (or *encomiendas*) and integrated into the economy as labor, often forced. The Spanish utilized a policy of *congregación*, where Indians were resettled into concentrated villages. *Congregación* was followed by *reducción*, where Native villages would be reduced to convert Indians and promote Spanish institutions: economic, spiritual

⁶⁴ Dylan Rodriguez. 2010. *Suspended apocalypse: white supremacy, genocide, and the Filipino condition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 196.

⁶⁵ Steven W. Hackel. 1997. "The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California". *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 54 (2): 347-376.

and administrative. *Congregación* facilitated evangelism, contributed to the spread of epidemic disease, expedited population loss and allowed Native women to be further susceptible to sexual violence. *Congregación* was a useful strategy for missionaries, as they would have a concentrated population of Indians and need fewer priests. The missionaries envisioned California Indians as being converted both spiritually and economically into the Spanish empire where mission lands would eventually become *reducción* villages of converted Indians under administrative control. This system of white supremacy is often not viewed as genocidal because it did not always include the wholesale extermination of Indian peoples. Furthermore, it relied on Indians to facilitate this project through including them as *alcaldes*, a position that functioned as a warden, police officer and as municipal officers with administrative and judicial power over other gentile Indians. I argue that these colonial structures while not expressing a need to exterminate Indians created a genocidal condition, expressed through attacks on traditional, pre-colonial Native cultures and ways of life.⁶⁶ Steven Newcomb explained, “The impact of the Spanish Catholic missions of domination shattered the traditional economies

⁶⁶ Ward Churchill. 1997. *A little matter of genocide: holocaust and denial in the Americas, 1492 to the present*. San Francisco: City Lights Books. Cultural Genocide: by which is meant the destruction of the specific character of the targeted group(s) through destruction of the specific character of the targeted group(s) through economic perpetuation; prohibition or curtailment of its language; suppression of its religious, social, or political practices; forced dislocation, expulsion or dispersal of its members, forced transfer or removal of its children, or any other means.

and ways of life of the original nations..."⁶⁷ He further wrote that this system "was devastating on all levels for original nations that had experienced thousands of years of free and independent life-ways before the colonizers invaded."⁶⁸ Native ontologies were to be replaced through the colonial management of Indigenous bodies, simultaneously seen as a threat and as a tool to implement against other Native bodies.

Through the effort to canonize Junípero Serra, as the "first Hispanic Saint from the United States," the church is attempting to continue the long history of dominance over Indigenous peoples by further incorporating the Catholic Church and Spanish colonialism into the fabric of the United States. It is an effort as reported by *Catholic Online* to, "promote greater acceptance of Hispanic Americans, recognition of the Catholic contribution to US history and a more accurate understanding of how the United States became a country."⁶⁹ While the efforts to accept Hispanics is honorable, it simultaneously promotes multiculturalism without challenging the longstanding hegemony of white supremacy in which peoples of color, including those identified as Hispanic, are susceptible to racist state violence.

⁶⁷ Steven Newcomb, "The Vatican's Rhetorical Strategy: Serra Was a Man of his Time," *Indian Country Today Media Network*, April 28, 2015, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2015/04/28/vaticans-rhetorical-strategy-serra-was-man-his-time>

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Abigail, "First U.S. Hispanic Saint."

This effort to fully incorporate Hispanics as part of the white supremacist United States project is seen clearly in Pope Francis' statement about Junípero Serra as, "one of the founding fathers of the United States."⁷⁰ This quote simultaneously erases Indigenous peoples, masks the racism inherent in the Hispanic identification forced through colonialism on people of color, and links the goals of the United States, the Spanish, and the Church into one: destroying Native populations and cultures to be replaced by that of the European, whether Spanish or British (and that of other European origins). This erasure and the attempted assimilative efforts to subsume Indigenous, mestizo and African peoples into an identity of Hispanic (Spanish, European origin) is in itself, without the need of violent overtures, a genocidal condition.

Post-Canonization

The statement below was read by Pope Francis during the mass that Canonized Junípero Serra in Washington D.C. during his visit on September 23, 2015. What follows his statement is my attempt to dispute the Pope's historically inaccurate narrative of Serra as protector of California's Native people.

Today we remember one of those witnesses who testified to the joy of the Gospel in these lands, Father Junípero Serra. He was the embodiment of "a

⁷⁰ Harriet Ryan, "Pope Francis praises Junipero Serra as U.S. 'founding father,'" *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-pope-francis-praises-junipero-serra-as-us-founding-father-20150502-story.html>

Church which goes forth," a Church which sets out to bring everywhere the reconciling tenderness of God. Junípero Serra left his native land and its way of life. He was excited about blazing trails, going forth to meet many people, learning and valuing their particular customs and ways of life. He learned how to bring to birth and nurture God's life in the faces of everyone he met; he made them his brothers and sisters. Junípero sought to defend the dignity of the native community, to protect it from those who had mistreated and abused it. Mistreatment and wrongs which today still trouble us, especially because of the hurt which they cause in the lives of many people.

Father Serra had a motto which inspired his life and work, a saying he lived his life by: siempre adelante! Keep moving forward! For him, this was the way to continue experiencing the joy of the Gospel, to keep his heart from growing numb, from being anesthetized. He kept moving forward, because the Lord was waiting. He kept going, because his brothers and sisters were waiting. He kept going forward to the end of his life. Today, like him, may we be able to say: Forward! Let's keep moving forward!⁷¹

Rather than providing protection for California Indian people, the Spanish Missionaries with Saint Serra as their leader were directly responsible for initiating

⁷¹ *Holy Mass and Canonization of Blessed Fr. Junípero Serra, Homily of His Holiness Pope Francis, National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D.C., Wednesday, September 23, 2015.*

a genocidal condition. Many historians as well as the Church argue that Serra was in opposition to the violence levied by the Spanish military and that he was a man of his time and therefore not responsible for the violent punishment he exacted on the Native peoples.⁷² Steven Newcomb explicitly explained that Serra was indeed a man of his time:

The context of the “time” that Serra was ‘a man of’ was a context expressed in numerous papal edicts of the fifteenth century issued by popes who were men of their time. That context is found in the Holy See’s directive to Portuguese Catholic monarchs to ‘invade, capture, vanquish, and subdue, all Saracens, pagans, and other enemies of Christ,’ ‘reduce their persons to perpetual slavery,’ and ‘take away all their possessions and property.’ (Dum diversas, 1452; Romanus Pontifex 1455)

Another argument often used says that Serra was not intent on eradicating Native peoples; for example, Steven Hackel as quoted by *Al Jazeera America* stated that Serra’s “policies and his plans led to tremendous pain and suffering, most of it unintended on his part...”⁷³ Those who make this argument transfer responsibility and guilt to the military, the *soldado de cuero*- the enlisted soldiers known as leather

⁷² I have personally heard Steven Hackel, a professor at the University of California Riverside and author of *Junipero Serra, California’s Founding Father*, say similarly that the Mission system was not genocidal and that Serra was a man of his time.

⁷³ Tim Gaynor, “Sainthood for founder of California Missions Angers Native American Groups,” *Aljazeera America*, May 28, 2015, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/5/28/sainthood-for-california-missions-founder-angers-native-american-groups.html>

jackets. In Pope Francis' remarks, he references "those who had mistreated and abused" the Indians in California during the Spanish occupation while Saint Serra was still alive.⁷⁴ This argument is remarkably similar to those who currently blame police violence directed at peoples of color on individual bad police officers rather than investigate a system that has facilitated structural racial violence. Pope Francis in his statement above also stated that Serra valued Indian customs and ways of life. The following pages argue that there is a lack of historical evidence that demonstrates Serra was a defender of native peoples or that he was tolerant of Native ways of life. I will provide evidence that supports the exact opposite argument. In fact, the primary objective of the Mission system in California was to convert the Indians and eradicate their pagan ways of life, not to value their culture or even to be tolerant of it. Geronimo Boscana, one of Saint Serra's Catholic priests at Mission San Juan Capistrano expresses the hegemonic view of Indians during the time of Serra. It is clear in his writings how he viewed California Indians. He wrote, "The Indians of California may be compared to a species of monkey; for in naught do they express interest, except in imitating the actions of others, and, particularly in copying the ways of the 'razon,' or white men..." Boscana, who left us with ethnographic writings about the Acjachemen, which was later published by Alfred Robinson in 1846 in *"Chinigchinich; a Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California Called The Acagchemem Nation,"* and was again published with extensive

⁷⁴ Holy Mass and Canonization. Pope Francis. September 23, 2015.

annotations by J.P. Harrington in 1933 believed that the Indians, “Although ripe in years, they had no more experience than when in childhood—no reasoning powers, and therefore followed blindly in the footsteps of their predecessors.” The Mission system with Serra as President, did not value the continuation of Indian ways of life undifferentiated from their sacred histories, ceremonies, relationship with place, and languages. They most of all sought to end Indian spiritual connections to their ancestors and non-Christian ceremonial practices through conversion to Catholicism and inclusion into their foreign economic structures.

The Military or the Church?

Who were the soldiers responsible for the mistreatment of California’s Indigenous peoples that the Pope places blame on? Although he does not name the perpetrators of violence, with so few non-Indians in California the only logical explanation is that the soldiers must be responsible. Included in a 1998 report created as a campaign to include the descendants of California soldiers and sailors as members of the Sons of the American Revolution, the authors provide us with a description of the Military in California during the years 1779-1783. Their study also provides a generalized understanding of the Spanish military in California beginning in 1769. During the years 1779-1783, while Junípero Serra was the president of the Missions, the Spanish had four presidios, or military bases/forts. These were located at San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco. The authors state that the presidios were responsible for “fighting Indians, training,

building, guarding, escort duty, dispatch duty, hunting, etc.”⁷⁵ Both Los Angeles and San Jose were pueblos with their own military responsible for defense and policing. Soldiers were also attached to the 9 Missions: San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, Ventura, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio de Padua, Carmel, Santa Clara, and San Francisco. Here soldiers served as guards, police, and instructors. Spanish soldiers in California were light cavalry, “said to be among the best in the world.” They were enlisted for ten-year periods with re-enlistment opportunity. The core of soldiers that came to California were from the First Free Company of Catalonia, the Catalan Bluecoats – wearing blue uniforms. These soldiers had been recruited from Catalonia in 1767.

The remaining soldiers from Mexico, were known as “Leather Jackets” (soldados de cuero) named for their five layers of leather and deerskin used for protection against arrows. These were professional soldiers unlike their portrayal in various media, such as in *Zorro* and the bumbling Sargent Garcia. They were armed with lance and shield, good for crowd control, a sword and a Trabuco, or cavalry musket. Presidios were also armed with cannons to defend against sea attack. In the Spanish Army in California, the ranks were Soldado (Private), Cabo (Corporal), Alferes (Ensign), Teniente (Lieutenant), Capitan (Captain), and Teniente Coronel (Lieutenant Colonel). In 1784 priests Junípero Serra and Francisco Palou prepared a description of all the installations in Alta and Baja California. They recorded 54

⁷⁵ W. Granville and N.C. Hough. 1998. *Spain’s California Patriots in its 1779-1783 War With England*. Laguna Hills, CA, 2.

soldiers assigned to the San Diego Presidio. Six soldiers were assigned to each Mission within the jurisdiction of San Diego. These included Missions San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel. Four soldiers were assigned to Los Angeles, and the remaining 32 were within the Presidio itself moving amongst the various properties including the herds of horses and cattle.

In early 1780 Captain Fernando Xavier de Rivera y Moncado, governor of Baja California, began to recruit soldiers for the establishment of El Pueblo de Los Angeles and in 1781, Alta California Governor Felipe de Neve y Perea offered, as Mary Wittenburg writes, "a generous subsidy to any man willing to enlist in the Spanish army for services on the northwestern frontier..."⁷⁶ In the Reglamento of 1779 Neve requested a fourth presidio and three new missions in the Santa Barbara, Channel Islands and Chumash region. He also authorized for the establishment of a pueblo near the Rio de Porciuncula, later named the Los Angeles River. It was located at a site Father Juan Crespi has previously desired for another Mission near the Tongva village of Yaanga. The reglamento was titled by Neve as, "Reglamento é Instruccion para los Presidios de la Peninsula de California, Ereccion de Nuevas Misiones, y Fomento del Pueblo y Estension de los Establecimientos de Monterey."⁷⁷ Translated this reads, regulation and instruction for Presidios of the Peninsula of

⁷⁶ Mary Joanne Wittenburg. 1991. "Three Generations of the Sepulveda Family in Southern California". *Southern California Quarterly*. 73 (3): 197-250.

⁷⁷ Zephyrin Engelhardt. 1915. *The Missions and Missionaries of California*. San Francisco: James H. Barry.

California, Ereccion of new missions, and development of the pueblo and the extension of the establishments at Monterey. Having the military governor writing policy that would establish more Missions clearly shows the inter-relatedness of Church and State. Increasing both Missions and presidios would also mean a larger military force in California and more priests affecting a larger number of Indians to the structural violence of Spanish colonialism as it functioned in 18th century California. Furthermore, the establishment of Pueblos would require families and the beginning of settler-colonialism in California.

Canonizing Saint Junípero Serra not only celebrates him as an individual, but also praises the colonial structure that allowed for him to preach and convert the Native population. He required military escort, and military technologies to subdue the Indigenous inhabitants. He was not solely a man of the cloth who brought the word of God to the gentiles and the “joy of the Gospel” as Pope Francis termed Serra’s colonial exploits. Instead, Saint Serra brought a militarized colonial force to reduce Native villages, assimilate them into white-life where possible, and eradicate their pagan ways of life – their worldviews, language, culture, ceremonies, and structures of governance.

One of the recruits for the military escort of families from the towns of Los Alamos, Fuerte, Sinaloa, Culican and Roasario to establish Los Angeles was Francisco Xavier Sepulveda (my ancestor). In the reglamento, Neve ordered that the

recruits be “healthy, robust, and without vice or defect.”⁷⁸ Soldiers were also to be married, in order to set a good example for the converted Indians and thus extend the Catholic religion and heteropatriarchy. Antonia I. Castañeda wrote, “To quell the sexual violence, strengthen the population base, and provide models of Christian family life, colonial authorities recruited married soldiers and settlers with families. They also provided incentives of land, animals, and supplies to soldiers who married Christianized Indian women, ‘daughters of the country,’ and remained in California permanently.”⁷⁹ Central to the politics of conquest for the Spanish in California as elsewhere was gender, sexuality and the reproduction of family norms.

The uniforms and items issued to the Catalonian Spanish soldiers in California can be illustrated through its description as translated by Thomas Workman Temple II:

One jacket of blue wool (shag) or Queretaro cloth, with cotton facing reverse side, lapels and solar of second grade cloth, dyed red; blue wool buttons, cotton lining, epaulets of wool; yellow buttons with loops. One of breeches of blue cotton knee- pair wool, lining, of same woolen and a black strap (shag),

⁷⁸ Parks, Marion. 1931. “Instructions for the Recruitment of Soldiers and Settlers for California – Expedition of 1781: Teodoro de Croix to Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada”. Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California. 15 (1): 189-203. As quoted in Wittenburg, Mary Joanne. 1991. "Three Generations of the Sepulveda Family in Southern California". Southern California Quarterly. 73 (3): 197-250.

⁷⁹ Antonia I. Castaneda. 2000. "Hispanas and Hispanos in a Mestizo Society". OAH Magazine of History. 14 (4): 30.

yellow buttons; one of blue Queretaro with reverse campaign hat; cape cloth, lined with red baize; one black Barcelona silk handkerchief; one linen shirt of Puebla cotton, two pairs of underdrawers of Puebla cotton, two pairs of woolen hose, a double (knitted) of fine thread of the country (local manufacture); one pair of buckskin boots; two pairs of shoes with half-gaiters; two blankets; ribbon for hat and hair.⁸⁰

The soldiers were also issued riding equipment consisting of the following:

One cowhide saddle with requisite accouterments, all of good quality, but with wooden stirrups and without cover of fringe; one horse and one mule bridle, one pair of cowboy spurs, but small, as in usage according to regulations on these frontiers; one sweatcloth or saddle blanket of coarse frieze; a large sheath case for musket, some *cojinillos de medfia monchila* (saddlebags); a cartridge for 21 to 24 charges, for cannon and other guns as requested by the Governor of the Province.⁸¹

As illustrated in this description, the soldiers were outfitted well and specifically for the conditions they would face in California. The weapons they carried were not for fighting other European nations, but for fighting Indians.

⁸⁰ Thomas Workman Temple. 1931. "OUTFITS OF SOLDIERS, SETTLERS AND FAMILIES". Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California. 15 (1): 146-149. As quoted in Wittenburg, Mary Joanne. 1991. "Three Generations of the Sepulveda Family in Southern California". Southern California Quarterly. 73 (3): 197-250.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Sepulveda's wife, Maria Conception was also provided for by the military to accompany her soldier husband to California. She received, "Three chemises; three pairs of skirts, some serge, the others of baize and *faldellin*; two *varas* of linen for jackets; two pairs of Brussels stockings, two pairs of understockings, two pairs of shoes, two rebozos, one hat, six *varas* of ribbon." Sepulveda's five sons were also supplied with "one jacket... ; one pair of breeches...; two cotton shirts; two pairs of cotton underdrawers; one pair of woolen stockings; two pairs of shoes, one hat; one blanket." Similarly his daughter was also supplied with "two linen chemises...; two pairs of cotton skirts; one kerchief to be used as a rebozo; one pair of baize skirts; one underskirt; two pairs of... understockings; two pairs of shoes; one blanket." This listing of items received by the Sepulveda family shows the institutionalization of the settlement of California, and the investment the Spanish crown had in bringing families to California. It also displays the gender binary of the Spanish through the different provisions supplied to Sepulveda's sons and daughters, breeches or skirts.

In a letter to Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua, the viceroy of New Spain, Junípero Serra provided 32 suggestions for improvement to the government of the missions in Alta California. Included in these suggestions is the placement of heteropatriarchal norms onto the Native population through migration of families, such as the Sepulvedas, into California. The letter dated March 13, 1773 from Mexico City shows not only that he was a subject of the Church, but also that of Spain. Serra states that he "can explain to Your Excellency everything that, in my judgment seems necessary and fitting to procure the fulfillment of the pious projects

of our Great Monarch.” He further stated that Spain is “desirous of introducing, and spreading, in these extensive territories our Holy Catholic Faith.” He stated, “I, with all submission due to Your Excellency, wish to present the following suggestions.”⁸² Serra numbered each suggestion, provided an explanation and a proposal of how it could be accomplished. Under number 5 he wrote that there should be an exploration of a trail from Santa Fe to Monterey or to San Diego. He stated, “a line of communication should be opened up...” And further wrote that the “conquest would thus be hastened to a most notable degree, assuming a harvest of many souls for heaven.”⁸³ It is unclear if these souls would go to heaven through the act of conquest or through baptism. What is clear is that Indian souls would be “saved,” and taking further land was part of his vision for both the crown and the church.

In his thirteenth suggestion, Junípero Serra noted the lack of Christian women and families at the missions. He stated, “It is no less important that, when the livestock arrives... some Indian families from the said [Baja] California should come, of their own free will, with the expedition...”⁸⁴ He wanted them to “be distributed, at least two or three being placed in each mission.” He specified that bringing families would accomplish two purposes. “The first will be that there will be an additional two or three Indians for work,” wrote Serra indicating a need for

⁸² Junípero Serra, and Antonine Tibesar. 1955. Writings of Junípero Serra. Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. Volume I, 295.

⁸³ Ibid, 299.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 311.

more labor in the missions. In 1773 the conversion of the local Native populations hadn't been as successful as Serra had desired. In his letters there are many instances of his frustration in the slow development of the missions, lack of converts, lack of supplies, starvation and soldiers who were deserting. In his writings it is clear that he could not fully understand why the missions in Baja California, from his own experiences there, were successful from his perspective while the Indians in Alta California had proven difficult to lure into his mission project. "The second" purpose Serra wrote, "and the one I have most in mind, is that the Indians may realize that... there are marriages, also, among Christians." He was concerned that the Indians had "been much mistaken when they saw all men, and no women, among us..." In his request for families, he provided an example where one of the "San Diego Fathers" went to Baja for provisions "which had run short in that mission" and "he brought back... two of the said families." Serra wrote that the Indians at San Diego, both neophytes and gentiles, "did not know what to make of these families, so great was their delight." He believed that bringing women and families was "a lesson... useful to..." the Indians at the missions. "[S]o if families other than Indians come from there, it will serve the same purpose very well..." he wrote. The purpose was to impose a doctrine of patriarchy onto the Natives through the Christian institution of marriage and use the married couples as examples of the proper relationship between men and women, instituting male-dominance. These married couples were simultaneously seen as tools of evangelism and conversion. Edward Castillo noted about the previously discussed *monjerio*, that "the only

escape from these barracks (besides death) was marriage..." The choice of marriage or prison would have had an even greater effect on queer women, and those who were gender queer or who outside of these circumstances may not have desired a monogamous relationship with a man. However, even marriage did not permanently protect a woman from the *monjerio*. If her husband were to die, she would again be locked up.⁸⁵

The colonial processes in California enforced gendered and sexualized power relations. Writing about the colonization of California, Antonia I. Castañeda stated, "Spanish law defined women as sexual beings and delineated their sexual lives through the institution of indissoluble, monogamous marriage." She further stated, "Sexual intercourse, in theory, was confined to marriage, a sacrament intended for the procreation of children, for companionship, and for the containment of lust."⁸⁶ These were the structures Junípero Serra intended to impose on California Indian people, converting them through the sacrament of marriage and simultaneously imposing on them Spanish and Catholic law. The priests and soldiers, who were male and without families did not supply the Spanish with the necessary tools to use to enforce these laws or the ability to provide examples of the normative family structure; this, according to Serra, was one of the primary purposes in bringing Christian families as settlers to California. "The family, the sociopolitical

⁸⁵ Castillo. "Gender Status Decline," 76.

⁸⁶ Antonia I. Castañeda. 1997. "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family". California History. 76 (2/3): 232.

organization... reproduced the hierarchical, male-dominated social order,” wrote Castañeda. Systems of gender and sexuality amongst California Indians pre-contact conflicted with Spanish norms. Castañeda wrote, “indigenous peoples, in contrast, generally conceptualized females and males as complimentary, not opposed, principals.”⁸⁷ Edward Castillo wrote that women in Gabrieliño pre-contact society “enjoyed a large measure of freedom, respect, and independence.”⁸⁸ Also, contrasting with the gender-binary of the Spanish, many Indigenous peoples have a third gender and sexuality is much more fluid than the strict heterosexual constructions the colonizers enforced.

Junípero Serra’s sixth suggestion is one that many have pointed to in declaring the priest had issues with the military regime in California. Specifically they recount that Serra travelled to Mexico City in order to protect the Indians from the soldiers and created a bill of rights for the Indians. Pope John Paul II who venerated Serra said that he “deserves special mention,” and the Serra had frequent clashes with the civil authorities over the treatment of Indians and in 1773 presented a “Bill of Rights” to the viceroy in Mexico City.⁸⁹ Monsignor Francis J. Weber, a Catholic Scholar and Honorary Chaplain to Pope Francis wrote that Serra

⁸⁷ Castañeda, “Engendering the History of Alta California,” 234.

⁸⁸ Castillo, “Gender Status Decline,” 68.

⁸⁹ *Church Wronged Indians, Pope Says: Pontiff Admits 'Mistakes' But ...* Chandler, Russell; SAHAGUN, LOUIS *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*; Sep 15, 1987; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times, OC1.

“showed himself to be a defender of the Indians’ human rights in 1773...” Weber claimed that Serra “journeyed from California to Mexico City to personally present to the viceroy a *Representación*.” This manuscript is the above-mentioned letter to Viceroy Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua. “This document, which is sometimes termed a ‘Bill of Rights’ for Indians, was accepted and implemented,” wrote Weber.⁹⁰ Those who attempt to counter the “sins,” as Pope Francis termed the violence against the Native population of California, blame the military and rely on this “bill of rights” to declare Serra as the defender of Indians. Another Serra apologist Ruben G. Mendoza, professor of archaeology at Cal State Monterey Bay was quoted in an article for the Orange County Register, “A lot of allegations of abuse with regard to Serra have been misinterpreted.” Mendoza argued, “Serra was not just a man of his time, but a man who was ahead of his time when it came to advocating for the rights of Native American people.” According to the article, “Mendoza said there is a record of Serra travelling to Mexico City to meet with the then-viceroy and speak on behalf of two Native American women who were raped by a Spanish soldier.”⁹¹

⁹⁰ Msgr. Francis J. Weber, “Junípero Serra: Hero of Evangelization,” Knights of Columbus, April 1, 2015, <http://www.kofc.org/un/en/columbia/detail/junipero-serra-hero-evangelization.html>

⁹¹ Deepa Bharath, “Inspirational leader or indigenous oppressor? The pros and cons of Pope Francis making Junipero Serra a saint,” The Orange County Register, September, 19, 2015. <http://www.ocregister.com/articles/serra-683756-native-church.html>

Of “special importance” wrote Junípero Serra “is the removal, or recall, of the Officer Don Pedro Fages from the command of the Presidio at Monterey.”⁹² In this request, instead of discussing the mistreatment of Indians by the Spanish soldiers under the command of Pedro Fages as Weber, Mendoza and others argue, he presented evidence of the mistreatment of *soldiers* by Fages instead. In his suggestion to remove Fages from his command, Serra presented the protests of the soldiers, “Their grievance is not only because of long hours of work and a lack of food – as I have on numerous occasions heard them declare...” But, he says “because of the harsh treatment, and unbearable manners, of the said officer.”⁹³ Further discussing the soldiers’ grievance against Fages he stated, the “men ask their respective Officers to free them in any manner they can from such harsh treatment and oppression.” To further push for the removal of Fages he wrote, “there is no other complaint except that they have over them Don Pedro Fages.”⁹⁴ Serra is clear in his writing that he was seeking the protection of soldiers from Captain Fages and sought his removal of command in California.

Countering Weber’s observance of a “bill of rights,” reporting for *Indian Country Today*, Christine Grabowski stated, “He neither suggested nor was granted

⁹² Serra and Tibesar, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Volume I, 299.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 299-301.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 301.

'rights' for Indians."⁹⁵ She decisively countered there being any evidence of Serra writing on behalf of rights for California Indians:

Indeed, what Serra requested—and what he was granted—was exclusive control over the baptized Indians except with respect to capital offenses. He himself did not in turn grant Indians any rights or privileges. His exclusive authority over them did not result in improvements in their lives. The abuses of Indian men and women by the soldiers did not stop after he obtained exclusive authority over the baptized Indians. Nor did the Indians themselves think their lives had improved as evidenced by ongoing native resistance such as running away from the missions despite harsh punishments for doing so and launching attacks on the missions at San Diego in 1775 and San Luis Obispo in 1776.⁹⁶

Serra in his 32 suggestions asked for complete control over the Indian populations. This was the significant disagreement between the Church and State, Serra and Fages. Serra asked the Viceroy to “notify the said Officer and the soldiers” that the Priests would have authority over “the training, governance, punishment and education of baptized Indians...” Included were also those “being prepared for baptism.” He argued that Indians who had been incorporated into the Mission “belong exclusively to the Missionary Fathers...” This belonging to the priests meant

⁹⁵ Christine Grabowski. “Serra-gate: The Fabrication of a Saint,” *Indian Country Today Media Network*. September 16, 2015. (see bibliography for webpage).

⁹⁶ Ibid.

that the free will of Indians, once they were baptized, was suspended and their body and soul was the property of the Church. As Father, Serra and the missions instituted a structure of patriarchy in which the Native body and soul would be governed. The “only exception” Serra noted was, “for capital offenses.” He advised the Viceroy to ensure that “no chastisement or ill-treatment should be inflicted on any of them whether by the Officer or by any soldier...” By ending his sentence there it would sound as if those who defend him are correct in their assertion that he protected the Indians. However Serra continued by stating that punishment should not be applied “without the Missionary Father’s passing upon it.” Saint Serra desired exclusive control over his missionized Indians, as he argued, a “time-honored practice of this kingdom ever since the conquest...” As evidenced in his writing, Serra viewed Indians as property of the Missions, which he wrote, conforms to “the law of nature concerning the education of the children, and as an essential condition for the rightful training of the poor neophytes.” Exclusive control over the Native body and soul, and simultaneous implementation of patriarchal norms were the primary arguments in Serra’s writings to the Viceroy of New Spain.

It has been often argued that Indians had the free will to convert to Christianity or to remain intact with their own worldviews. This argument explains that Native peoples came to the Missions on their own accord. However, I want to quickly state that although this may have been policy and the plan for conversion, the historical record details how Indians were often forced into the missions through coercion or through force. A first hand account of Mission Dolores provided

by William Heath Davis who visited in 1833 and spent time at the Mission with Padre Quijas shared a much different understanding of how conversions were affected. He wrote that there were “about 2000 Indians, more or less civilized, well clothed” at the mission when he visited. Davis reported that the Indians had learned various skills and trades as blacksmiths, shoemakers, carpenters and masons, etc. Some had even been taught to read and write Spanish. These Indian laborers, converts to Christianity, were forced by the military according to Davis into the missions. He described the process of conversion as training for labor:

The Indians were captured by the military who went into the interior of the country in pursuit of the, detachments of soldiers being frequently sent out from the Presidio and other military posts in the department on these expeditions, to bring the wild Indians into the Missions to be civilized and converted to Christianity. Sometimes two or three hundred would be brought in at a time – men, women and children . . . They were immediately turned over to the Padres at the different Missions, generally with a guard of a corporal and ten soldiers to assist the priest in keeping them until they had become somewhat tamed. They were kindly treated, and soon became domesticated and ready and eager to adopt the habits of civilized life. They gradually lost their desire to return to their former mode of life.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Davis, William Heath, and Douglas S. Watson. 1929. *Seventy-five years in California a history of events and life in California, personal, political and military, under the Mexican regime, during the quasi-military government of the territory by the United States, and after the admission of the state to the union.*

Davis's description of Indians being forced into Christian conversion is further complicated by his in-depth descriptions of global trade reliant on Indian labor to produce hides and tallow. This arrangement of Indian labor began with the founding of the Missions by Junípero Serra.

On June 11, 1773, nearly a month after writing the above-mentioned letter addressed to the Viceroy, Serra sent another letter again asking for exclusive control of the Indian body and soul.

That Officer and soldier be given to understand that the management, authority, chastisement and upbringing of Indians already baptized or to be baptized in future, pertain exclusively to the Missionary Fathers – except crimes of blood – and thus no punishment nor ill treatment may be inflicted upon any of them without the consent of the said Missionary Fathers...

He ends this second letter by stating his desire for “peace, stability and the increase of those spiritual conquests...” He expresses his reverence of the Viceroy, “Kissing the hand of your Excellency” and that he will “proceed with extreme joy and with promptness to continue the work in that vineyard of the Lord.” Nearly 20 years later, in 1800, with further establishment of the California Missions there were a total of 1,889 baptisms in California according to the Early California Population Project Database hosted by the Huntington Library. During that same year, 1,163 burials were recorded. 320 of those who died in 1800 were baptized that same year. Only 33 births were recorded in 1800. Sherburne F. Cook wrote, "From the available data we find that from 1779 to 1833 there were 29,100 births and 62,600 deaths.

The excess of deaths over births was then 33,500, indicating an extremely rapid population decline."⁹⁸ One can only imagine the "joy," as Serra called it, that must have been felt by those living in California during late 18th and early 19th centuries during the California Indian apocalypse.

The untrue assertion of a "bill of rights" can be understood as either a clear misunderstanding on the part of Monsignor Francis J. Weber and others, or as a direct political attempt to clear the record of Serra from his "sins" and responsibility of mistreatment of California's Indian peoples and as a denial of genocide in order to protect the Church. As Grabowski asked in her article, "Why do Catholic websites, publications and spokespersons fail to identify the 'Representación' accurately and explain its provisions in detail?"⁹⁹ Attempting an answer to her own question she wrote, "Perhaps it is so their audience will not notice that the 32 points are not 'rights' *for* Indians."¹⁰⁰ She further stated, "Serra did not travel to Mexico City to defend Indian rights or submit a document that anyone identified as an 'Indian Bill of Rights' or a document that could legitimately be "termed" one. Catholic sources have shamelessly created a fabrication in an effort to make it seem as if Serra deserves canonization."¹⁰¹ There is little evidence that Saint Serra took any

⁹⁸ Sherburne F. Cook. 1976. *The conflict between the California Indian and white civilization*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 16.

⁹⁹ Christine Grabowski, "Serra-gate."

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

measures to protect the Native population as a whole. If he had written a “bill of rights” perhaps the violence against and punishment of California Indians would not have been so great. Punishment of California Indians was explained by Saint Serra, “That spiritual fathers should punish their sons, the Indians, with blows appears to be as old as the conquest of the Americas; so general in fact that the saints do not seem to be any exception to the rule.”¹⁰² Although he believed it was the priest’s responsibility to punish the Indians, there are instances where Serra protected the life of individual Indians from execution, including Indians who used violence to assert their sovereignty against Mission San Diego in 1775. Steven Hackel has said, “One can point to certain moments in the historical record when Serra does protect Indians, but the larger story I think is one in which his policies and his plans led to tremendous pain and suffering...”¹⁰³ Serra was responsible for what many call a cultural genocide as well as a physical genocide, and was complicit in “conquest” (his term), the institutionalization of violence and the spread of disease. Steven Hackel explained,

If one looks at the legacy of Serra’s missions and what he was trying to do in California, there’s no question that his goal was to radically alter Native culture, to have Indians not speak their Native languages, to practice Spanish

¹⁰² Serra and Tibesar, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Volume 3, 413.

¹⁰³ Ricky Young, “Just days until Father Serra becomes Saint Junípero,” *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, September 19, 2015, <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2015/sep/19/saint-junipero/>

culture, to transform Native belief patterns in ways that would make them much less Native. He really did want to eliminate many aspects of Native culture.¹⁰⁴

Hackel, as I have witnessed him do to others, would warn me of using the word genocide to explain this destruction to California Indian cultures; he does not believe the Spanish had the *intention* of eliminating Native peoples. However, it is difficult to use any other word to adequately describe the systemic enforcement of destruction to Indian culture through the missions in California other than “genocide.” Saint Serra’s complicity to genocide, at the very least, was in knowingly bringing with him as the founder of California’s Mission system, death and disease that would devastate the Indian populations. Serra and his educated colleagues would have all been well aware after nearly 300 years of contact with the Native populations of the Americas what would befall the Indigenous peoples. Edward Castillo agreed when he wrote, “Despite the missionaries’ awareness that massive Indian death inevitably accompanied Spanish colonization, the Franciscans were determined to save Indian souls and create their particular vision of God’s kingdom on earth through the hard labor and abundant natural resources of the California Indians.”¹⁰⁵ Serra himself, as previously quoted, understood colonialism as “conquest” wherein Indians “would thus be hastened to a most notable degree,

¹⁰⁴ Tim Gaynor, “Sainthood for founder of California Missions Angers Native American Groups.” Aljazeera America, May 28, 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Castillo. “Gender Status Decline,” 69.

assuming a harvest of many souls for heaven.”¹⁰⁶ With conquest and evangelism, the Church in combination with Spanish imperialism and capitalism would broaden its world dominance and further enforce heteropatriarchy, white supremacy, and genocidal conditions.

A Resolution: Juaneño Band of Mission Indians, Acjachemen Nation

On September 15, 2015 just eight days before the canonization of Junípero Serra, the Juaneño Band of Mission Indians, Acjachemen Nation sent out a press release announcing the passing of a Tribal Resolution. The press release stated that the Nation “passed an historic Tribal Resolution opposing the canonization of Junipero Serra and calling on Pope Francis to rescind the Doctrine of Discovery and support the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.”¹⁰⁷ The Juaneño are a tribal nation located in Orange County, California, an area the resolution specified was “heavily and forever altered as a result of the articulation and implementation of the Doctrine of Discovery and the subsequent imposition of the Spanish Mission System on our Ancestors and the Ancestors of surrounding Indigenous Nations...” The resolution presented a national view, through its official capacity as a tribal nation representing its citizens, on both the canonization and the

¹⁰⁶ Serra and Tibesar, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Volume I, 299.

¹⁰⁷ Juaneño Band of Mission Indians, Acjachemen Nation, “Resolution Calling for the Repudiation of the Doctrine of Discovery and Opposing the Canonization of Junípero Serra,” September 6, 2015. Signed by Tribal Chairman Matias Belardes.

Doctrine of Discovery. While this resolution was historic, this was not the first time the Acjachemen Nation provided a resolute stance against Junípero Serra. It was a year after the Spanish erected a cross and performed a mass near Mission Viejo at the village of *Quanís-Savit* in October of 1775 that Junípero Serra and the military returned to begin Mission San Juan Capistrano. Serra explained the original founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano in a letter, "the mission was founded with the usual ceremonies on October 30, the octave day of the Saint's feast, in the place that seemed the best suited for it. The site was blessed, the first high Mass was sung, the sacred standard of the cross was raised, etc. Thus a new pueblo of Christians was considered as having been started..." The delay in developing the mission after its initial founding was caused by the Spanish retreat to the presidio of San Diego after the Kumeyaay victory in their defensive efforts at Mission San Diego.

On August 21, 1775 Junípero Serra wrote a memorandum that discussed the pending founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano:

New Mission of San Juan de Capistrano . . . will be halfway between the Missions of San Diego and San Gabriel . . . This is the arrangement . . . by the Captain Officer- in-Command . . . Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, and the Father President of these missions, Fray Junipero Serra, in compliance with the orders of the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy of August 13, 1775.¹⁰⁸

Serra wrote the above letter in joy. He desired to fill the gap in the missions between

¹⁰⁸ Serra and Tibesar, Writings of Junípero Serra, Volume 2, 401.

San Diego and San Gabriel and was looking forward to founding another mission. In previous letters he had even dreamed of two missions and made reference to the Channel Islands, but he dared not ask the Viceroy for more, but would await his orders. A few months after writing this self-congratulatory letter he wrote the Viceroy “in the vale of tears...”¹⁰⁹ He had to share the news of the sacking of Mission San Diego. He wrote, “I make no excuses for announcing to Your Excellency the tragic news I have just received of the total destruction of the San Diego Mission, and of the death of the senior of its two religious ministers, called Father Fray Luis Jayme....”¹¹⁰ He stated that this was a coordinated attack by both gentiles and neophytes on November 5th 1775 at one or two in the morning. He explained, “The gentiles came together from forty rancherias, according to information given me, and set fire to the church, after sacking it. Then they went on to the storehouse, the house where the Fathers lived, the soldiers' barracks, and all the rest of the buildings.”¹¹¹ This event delayed the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano as Serra explained, “On this account, I gave up, as out of the question, my plans to go down there, and help in the re-establishment of the two missions that have been lost at a single blow — namely, San Diego Mission and San Juan Capistrano.”¹¹² In his

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 401.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 402

¹¹² Ibid, 403.

letter, Serra attempted as he had in previous letters to strengthen the military at the Missions. He wrote, “that in conquests of this kind the place where soldiers are most important is in the missions.”¹¹³ Again, it is clear in Saint Serra’s writing the interconnectedness between the Mission system in California and the Spanish military. He desired a strong military force at the Missions despite their routine application of sexual violence against the Native populations. In a letter written in 1777 Saint Serra bemoaned, “In San Capistrano it seems that all the sad experiences that we went through at the beginning have come to life again. The soldiers, without any restraint or shame, have behaved like brutes towards the Indian women.”¹¹⁴ It is clear through his writing that Serra understood the conquest of California as a dual project of both the Church and the military, and that sexual violence was symptomatic of conquest.

Again writing with happiness, Serra sent a new letter on November 1, 1776 announcing the beginning of construction of a new San Juan Capistrano Mission. He wrote,

I wish to inform Your Excellency that today, November 1, after the prayers and the blessing of the water, the site, the cross and the bells, according to custom, I have just finished singing the solemn Mass, and preaching the usual sermon, which ushered into being, so to speak, the Mission of San Juan

¹¹³ Ibid, 405.

¹¹⁴ Serra and Tibesar, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, Volume 3, 159.

Capistrano. It is the handiwork of Your Excellency, and is located in a place called by those born there “Quanis-savit”; it is midway between San Diego Mission and San Gabriel de los Temblores Mission...¹¹⁵

His glee was apparent in his writing and he ended his letter, “From this most recent Mission of San Juan Capistrano de Quanis-savit, November 1, 1776.”¹¹⁶ A year and a half after the founding, on April 6, 1778 Junípero Serra sent a letter to Father Fermín Lasuén and indicated that there had been “unrest” amongst the Indians in the southern Missions, including San Juan Capistrano.

According to what he confided today, Sunday, to Father Dumetz, the Governor does not consider important the unrest in your mission down there and in Mission San Juan Capistrano. He says that if they killed the Indian named Clement – about which I have heard nothing from the Fathers of San Juan Capistrano – it was because he had escaped and had a mind to do them some injury, and if the prisoners at the said mission confess that they intended to kill, etc., that proves nothing. If you were to ask them if they wanted to kill the Pope, they would answer yes. They did not do any real damage to the mission, and so the whole affair amounts to nothing.

These events in 1778 that Serra discussed in his letter are included in the Provincial State Papers stored in the Bancroft Library. These papers detail what transpired;

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 79.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 81.

one of the documents stated, "The 16th of March, Indian Captain Benito of the village of San Dieguito warned the Padre of San Diego, Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén that the Indians of Pamó, particularly their Chief Aaxaran, were preparing arms to kill Christians..." It also reported "that 3 Captains nearby and eight more from the other side of the Sierra [mountain] were in the conspiracy; that in this Rancheria they killed an Indian fugitive from San Juan Capistrano."¹¹⁷ According to the documents the Indians who were continuing to live outside of the mission and maintain their traditional ways of life were finding it difficult to do so and blamed the priests and soldiers for the lack of rain and effects to the environment. The report details that the Indians thought of the "priests and soldiers" as "demons that came to steal their lands; that since they came it has not rained and there were no seeds."¹¹⁸ Similarly the statement indicates that the Indians, the "offenders," said "that the Padres and soldiers are devils that came to ruin them, their seeds in their lands..."¹¹⁹ The Indians were planning to kill the "Reverend Fathers and all the soldiers.... for this they were gathered all of the gentiles of the Sierra, from Laguna to Las Flores, San Mateo and all those regions."¹²⁰ Although unsuccessful in their planning, these documents demonstrate that the Acjachemen Nation rejected the

¹¹⁷ Thomas Savage. 1767. Provincial state papers: Benicia, Military, i. 41.

¹¹⁸ Provincial State Papers, ii. 2.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Provincial State Papers, ii. 1.

Mission and its president Junípero Serra in 1778, conspired with surrounding Nations, and would do so again in 2015.

In their resolution, the Acjachemen Nation asserted its opposition to the canonization of Junípero Serra and commented on the policies of both Church and State. They wrote,

Be it further resolved, That our Nation formally opposes the Canonization of Junipero Serra due to his association with, uplifting of, and support for Church and State doctrinal policies aimed at the eradication of Indigenous cultural, linguistic, and spiritual beliefs and practices and the far reaching and long lasting negative impacts on the Indigenous Peoples of this hemisphere and around the world as a result of such policies and practices...¹²¹

The resolution also firmly resolved, “That Pope Francis be asked to Immediately Cease and Desist in the process to canonize Junipero Serra, and, to accept the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People in denouncing the Doctrine of Discovery...”¹²² The Tribe made a clear demand for the Church to dismantle the Doctrine of Christian Discovery, which they say has violated the territorial rights of Indigenous nations since October 12, 1492. They made this demand, “in the spirit of Self Determination as Original Nations of Indigenous Peoples of the continent, equal

¹²¹ Juaneño Band of Mission Indians, Acjachemen Nation, “Resolution.” Bolding from original.

¹²² Ibid.

to all other peoples.”¹²³ Further they stated in the press release that,

The Tribe is hopeful that the passage of this resolution will help encourage a dialogue with the Church, inspire collaborative research designed to tell a more complete, less biased story of the Mission System and specifically Serra’s role in colonization, and lead to the development of increased Indigenous presence at missions to further educate the public, the Church, and the world about the Mission Era in California.¹²⁴

What I am writing in this dissertation is my attempt to help the Acjachemen tell a more accurate and less biased history of the colonization and continued impacts to Indigenous nations in California. I have taken their hope and vision of the future with the utmost seriousness and I anticipate that I can assist in the needed research both through the writing of this project and those I will take on in the future, as well as my active participation in cultural revitalization and story telling.

In Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion of the trial of Junípero Serra that was held in Los Angeles on September 12, 2015 as guerilla theater. This chapter’s conclusion as well as that by the jury, that participated in the trial, found Junípero Serra, as a man of his time, guilty of conspiracy to commit genocide. Also detailed was the institutionalized and systemic sexual violence perpetrated against Native

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

women during the mission era in California. It utilized primary and secondary sources to describe the *monjerio*, the institution within the mission created to separate unmarried female bodies from that of males. Through the *monjerio* and the institution of marriage, the mission also enforced a system of heteropatriacy – the systemic submission of women to men, the hegemonic ordering of a gender binary, and the simultaneous primacy of heterosexuality over other sexual orientations. Within the previous pages I attempted to refute claims made by those who either support Serra and his canonization or who deny that Spanish colonialism as enacted through the mission intended to commit genocide against the Indigenous populations of California. I further detailed Native resistance to the mission with the little known example of plans by the Acjachemen to kill all of the priests and soldiers in 1778. This attempt to refute the mission and Junípero Serra was also detailed in discussion of the Juaneño Band of Mission Indians, Acjachemen Nation who in 2015 demanded that Pope Francis cease and desist from canonizing Serra, and to also dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery. This chapter also scrutinized the use of Hispanic by the Pope in describing Serra as the first Hispanic saint of the United States and the political motivation to inscribe him as such. Through the canonization, the destruction to California's Indian people is further erased while simultaneously the history of the missions is additionally romanticized.

CHAPTER THREE:

The Colony of Riverside and other Racial Projects in Southern California

We wish to secure all the advantages of a good colony; with as few preliminary conditions, and restrictions as is consistent with the best success. We invite the earnest co-operation of all good people, who wish for houses in that land that the early Missionaries thought "fit for the abode of Angels," (Los Angeles.)

John W. North 1870

Of Mexicans and Indians, Racial Formations

California became part of the United States in 1848 after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Mexican-American War as far as California was concerned ended with the Californio capitulation known as the Treaty of Cahuenga signed on January 13, 1847. The war of aggression by the United States was prompted by Mexico's defense of its territory in Texas, which had been annexed in 1845 after the Texas Revolution (1836) had carved out a republic not recognized by Mexico. Land claimed by Mexico was only its own due to Spanish colonialism and Spain's title supplied through the Doctrine of Discovery. After winning the war, the United States did not question whether Mexico had ownership over the land, or if they had the ability to sign a treaty that would transfer land and establish a new boundary between the United States and Mexico. This understanding of property displays the view both Mexico and the United States had concerning Indians - as being incapable of possessing rights to land in comparison to the right that Spain

held in its assertion of title. In fact, the idea of “rights,” specifically of land in the Americas is based on Native exclusion.¹

Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo explicitly addressed Indians, and through scrutiny it can be agreed that Indians were regarded as merely having the right of occupancy, and thus excluded from owning title to their own lands. In Article XI, the treaty stated that much of the land acquired by the United States was “now occupied by savage tribes...”² These tribes, the treaty indicated, would “be under the exclusive control of the Government of the United States.”³ Furthermore, the treaty specified that the U.S. would protect Mexicans from Indians and return any Mexicans and/or property that had been captured within Mexican territory and taken into the United States. The treaty also stipulated that in the removal of Indians for future American settlement, the government would take care not to push them into Mexico. In an article in *The Indian Historian*, Van Hastings Garner wrote: “A

¹ In *Mexican Political Experience in Occupied Aztlán*, Armando Navarro details the hostilities between the United States and Mexico, leading to war. He also provides a historical understanding of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and resistance within the US Congress to annex Mexico because of the “colored races” within Mexico who would also be annexed with the land. In his coverage of the articles within the treaty, he interestingly skips Article XI altogether, while discussing articles one through fifteen. I point to this as an example of the erasure of Indians within discussion of the treaty. The focus is usually about Mexicans in the southwest impacted by the treaty and US invasion, while Indians are left out of the discussion, when they are clearly and explicitly referred to within the treaty.

² Transcript of Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). “Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement between the United States of American and the United Mexican States concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848. Article XI, accessed April 19, 2016. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/guadhida.asp

³ Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Article XI.

major concern of the Mexicans was that if the United States were allowed to follow her normal pattern of dispossessing Indians, northern Mexico would be inundated by a flood of refugees.”⁴ Turning to the treaty itself, the final paragraph of Article XI reads:

For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the Government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And, finally, the sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said Government, when providing for the removal of the Indians from any portion of the said territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States; but, on the contrary, special care shall then be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes, by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

The Treaty indicates a racial ordering between Indian and non-Indian. The citizens of Mexico, who could be of Indian blood, would become citizens of the United States while Indians who remained as “savage” were not given citizenship. It has been argued that Mexico after independence from Spain regarded Indians as citizens, unlike the United States. For example, Garner wrote: “In essence, the United States

⁴ Van Hastings Garner, “The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the California Indians,” *The Indian Historian* 9, no. 1 (Winter, 1976): 10-13.

had agreed by international treaty to continue the Mexican system of white-Indian relations throughout the Southwest, a system that was incompatible with the expansion of the United States, for it protected the property rights of the indigenous inhabitants.”⁵ However, this is a misleading argument that makes it seem as if Mexico had racial harmony. Mexican citizenship required Indians to discontinue their own ways of life, governance, language and ceremonial practice; and even when they did they were not guaranteed equal protection under the law. Those unwilling to submit to Mexican authority, or were able to persist outside of it, were not considered citizens with equal rights under Mexican law. As applied in California, Mexican citizenship meant little to California Indians who were further dispossessed of land by Mexican governance. In fact, tribes under Mexico (1821-1847) lost more land than through Spanish colonialism (1769-1821). This dispossession can easily be seen through the granting of land to non-Indians by Mexican authorities. Very few land grants were given to individual Indians, and neither tribal sovereignty nor indigenous property were honored in the granting of huge tracts of land to non-Indians. Historian Leonard Pitt wrote that in 1849 “an estimated two hundred Californio families owned 14 million acres of land...”⁶ This is an estimated 13% of the current state’s acreage, and much of the eastern portions, including the deserts and mountains, would not be settled for several decades after

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Leonard Pitt. 1966. *The decline of the Californios: a social history of the Spanish-speaking Californians, 1846-1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 86.

1849. Currently only an estimated half of the state is privately owned and the majority of the population resides in urban areas. These brief statistics display the vast land holdings of a small population in Mexican California that excluded Indian people from property rights. In the case of California, Indians were often thought of as little more than labor or potential labor by the Mexican government and the rancheros. Despite Mexico having abolished slavery in 1829, Indians continued to be enslaved to provide labor on Californio ranchos. Indians who supplied skilled labor were typically paid very little while unskilled free labor was merely provided food, clothing and other supplies. Indians were at the bottom of the racial hierarchy and citizenship or no-citizenship did not change that standing. The racial ordering of Indian and non-Indian persisted despite citizenship, and also continued the legacies of Spanish colonialism in both discourse and practice of white dominance of Native land and people.

The American invasion escalated the cycle of violence amongst tribes and between whites and Indians in the southwest. In California, whites (Anglo-Americans) rapidly became the overpowering majority. This was particularly true in northern and central California after gold was found. In Anglo-California, racial distinctions were further complicated by American ideas of race. The Mexican population was regularly considered “white,” often having more to do with land ownership and political and social status than skin-color. For example, within the debate of suffrage for the populations in California it was determined that former Mexican citizens, who might be dark skinned, were considered white under the law.

Those permitted to vote were: “White male citizens of the United States and every White male citizen of Mexico, who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States.”⁷ Those disenfranchised were primarily Blacks and Indians. The latter could either be determined to be citizens or non-citizens, meaning Indian, Black or white, not through genealogy or skin-color but by their social status and their ability to be part of a land owning family. Race in this practice is clearly a set of power relations, not a biological determinant.

Many Californios were of mixed heritage, including of African and American Indian origins, and through the construction of “white” they could be voting citizens of the United States and own property despite their descent. In this racial formation, whiteness and property are interrelated concepts.⁸ As Cheryl Harris has noted, whiteness is a property of its own “rooted in white-supremacy and economic hegemony over Black and Native American peoples.”⁹ Whiteness and property share a “right to exclude” and form the basis of “white privilege as a legitimate and natural baseline.”¹⁰ While Californios were racialized as white, their whiteness was not always recognized. Tomás Almaguer, in his book *Racial Fault Lines*, provided the example of Manuel Dominguez, who had served as an elected delegate for

⁷ Constitution of State of California, 1849.

⁸ Cheryl I. Harris. 1993. “Whiteness as Property”. *Harvard Law Review* 106 (8). The Harvard Law Review Association: 1707–91. doi:10.2307/1341787.

⁹ *Ibid*, 1714.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

California's constitutional convention in 1849 and on the Board of Supervisors for Los Angeles County. It was determined, in 1857, that he was ineligible to provide testimony in court. An Anglo lawyer argued that Dominguez was Indian and therefore did not have the right to testify. The judge upheld this argument and Dominguez was dismissed. Almaguer stated, "Although Mexicans were accorded the same rights as free white persons, actual extension of these privileges to all segments of this population was quite another matter."¹¹ Dominguez, while regarded as "white" could also have the property of whiteness stripped from him. Whiteness as legal-status in this example, demonstrates the difference between whiteness as a mere privileged identity, and as a "vested interest" in property that non-whites would attempt to possess and Anglos would struggle to protect.¹² When Dominguez was accused of being an Indian, apparently a punishable crime for which his testimony would therefore be dismissed, one of his few allies in the California government was Pablo de la Guerra who provided a speech to the senate. With but few speeches on the Senate floor, he addressed the issue of disenfranchising Californios: "many Californios were dark-skinned, and that to disfranchise them would be tantamount to denying them a part of their citizenship as granted by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo."¹³ De la Guerra himself would have his position as

¹¹ Tomás Almaguer. 2009. *Racial fault lines: the historical origins of white supremacy in California*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 57.

¹² Harris, 1725-1726.

¹³ Leonard Pitt. 1966. *The decline of the Californios*, 45.

Judge questioned in 1869 due to his race as a Californio with Indian blood. It was argued that he was not a citizen of the United States through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, as citizenship would require an Act of Congress. In the Supreme Court case *People v. De La Guerra*, the court ruled in favor of De La Guerra – ruling that he was a citizen of the United States through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

This complicated racial formation has had lasting implications for the Californio and Indian populations. Although Californios had been in possession of large tracts of land upon the American invasion, as detailed by Leonard Pitt in *Decline of the Californios*, and their property was thought to be protected under the international treaty, Californios lost the majority of their land through long legal proceedings and debt they incurred. Californios were racialized as Mexican, a national identity that functioned as a racial identity. They would resist this racial identity through claims of Spanish purity, but nonetheless Americans would largely view them as “the other,” and see them not as white-American citizens, but as labor and people in the way of American progress. Californios specifically would be viewed as a people in decline and at some non-descript time viewed as no longer a distinct people or culture. Native peoples on the other hand negotiated 18 treaties in 1851 with the U.S. Government. These treaties would have secured large reservation lands throughout the state, but unfortunately Congress never ratified them and Indians remained landless and further susceptible to violence, forced

labor and conditions that additionally decreased their populations.¹⁴ As non-whites, they had no legal right to property and could not use the court system. The beginning of the American period in California established a genocidal system. For example, California's first Governor, Peter H. Burnett, asserted in his annual address in 1851, "That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races, until the Indian race becomes extinct, must be expected." Moreover he stated, "While we cannot anticipate this result but with painful regret, the inevitable destiny of the race is beyond the power or wisdom of man to avert."¹⁵

Amongst the techniques used in California to dispose of the Native population and simultaneously take advantage of their bodies as labor while they could, the California Legislature passed "An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians" in 1850. This Act, with its deceptive name legalized the enslavement of California Indians and established an "apprentice" program for Indian children. This Act allowed for Indians to be arrested for vagrancy and auctioned off to the highest

¹⁴ For further detail, see Brenden C. Lindsay's excellent book *Murder State*. Also, Benjamin Madley's book, *An American Genocide*.
Brendan C. Lindsay. 2012. *Murder state: California's native American genocide, 1846-1873*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Benjamin Madley. 2016. *An American genocide: the United States and the California Indian catastrophe, 1846-1873*.
Both of these historical books detail the systematic and institutional genocide in California funded using taxpayer dollars and the rise of vigilantism supported by the government through speeches such as that by Governor Burnett.

¹⁵ Peter H. Burnett, "Governor's Annual Message to the Legislature, January 7, 1851," *Journals of the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, at the Second Session of the Legislature, 1851-1852*, (San Francisco: G.K. Fitch & Co., and V.E. Geiger & Co., State Printers, 1852), 13.

bidder. Although California had entered the Union as a Free State, the Americans quickly legalized the enslavement of Indians.¹⁶ The discourse produced in newspapers throughout California displayed Indians as savage and repeatedly called for their extermination.¹⁷ The genocide of California Indians was justified through the media and prescribed through administrative techniques.

Black Origins in California and the Inland Empire

Potentially, the first Blacks in California were slaves on ships of explorers such as Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo who traveled the coast in 1542-1543. Records remaining from Cabrillo's expedition are slim unfortunately. Yet, his use of Indian slaves in the construction of the San Salvador, his flagship, in Guatemala is well documented. Bartolomé de Las Casas wrote, "He killed an infinite number of people in the building of the ships..."¹⁸ Las Casas also wrote of Cabrillo, "He broke up homes, taking the women and girls and giving them to the soldiers and sailors in order to keep them satisfied and bring them into his fleets."¹⁹ In Sebastian Vizcaino's

¹⁶ Stacey L. Smith. 2013. *Freedom's frontier California and the struggle over unfree labor, emancipation, and reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1220632>.

¹⁷ Clifford E. Trafzer, and Joel R. Hyer. 1999. *Exterminate them: written accounts of the murder, rape, and slavery of Native Americans during the California gold rush, 1848-1868*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

¹⁸ Harry Kelsey. 1979. "The California Armada of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo". *Southern California Quarterly*. 61 (4): 313-336.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

diary from 1602 he reported that the Tongva of Santa Catalina had told of a Spanish ship that had previously been there with Blacks on board: “an Indian woman brought him two pieces of figured China silk, in fragments, telling him that they had got them from people like ourselves, who had negroes; that they had come on the ship which was driven by a strong wind to the coast and wrecked...”²⁰ It is possible, and others have hypothesized, that some of the African slaves that had been brought with the explorers had escaped and been taken in by California Indians, but little evidence of this exists. It did not survive in the oral histories, as the stories from 1539 of Esteban have for the Zuni in New Mexico.²¹

The 1781 founding of Los Angeles is notable in that many of the 44 Pobladores were of African or mixed heritage. Of the 44, there were 26 with African ancestry and 16 were Indians or mestizos from Mexico.²² One of the Pobladores with African ancestry was Luis Quintero.²³

²⁰ California: Vizcaino Expedition. Accessed April 19, 2016, 85.
<http://www.americanjourneys.org/pdf/AJ-002.pdf>

²¹ Bruce A. Glasrud. 2013. African American history in New Mexico portraits from five hundred years. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

²² William Mason. “Los Angeles under the Spanish Flag.” Accessed April 20, 2016,
<https://www.scsgenealogy.com/free/media/los-angeles-under-the-spanish-flag-wmason.pdf>

²³ I can trace my genealogy to the Quintero family, and I have taken part in the annual walk from San Gabriel to Los Angeles in honor of the founding of the city.

Luis Quintero, negro, 65, from Guadalajara; married to Petra Rubio, mulatto, 40; five children: Maria Gertrudes, 16; Maria Concepcion, 9; Thomas, 7; Rafaela, 6; and Jose Clemente, 3²⁴

He and his family were the last to sign up to be included in the founding of L.A. Petra was from Alamos, Sonora and Luis was from Guadalajara, Jalisco. The family only stayed in Los Angeles for a year. Several hypotheses have been shaped about this. One, that it was determined he was too lazy due to his race and therefore he was kicked out of the town. And the second, that at 65 years old and having been a tailor he was not fit to the life of a farmer in a new land. This coupled with his daughters who were married to soldiers stationed at Santa Barbara, made it more convenient for the family to leave Los Angeles and move to Santa Barbara. I am compelled to understand that there may have been a combination of the two that led the Quinteros to abandon Los Angeles for Santa Barbara. In the presidio, Luis was the tailor for the soldiers. His profession as a tailor was much more useful and successful in Santa Barbara than his attempt at being a farmer in Los Angeles. Others of African ancestry remained in the pueblo and speak to the continued diversity despite the Quinteros having left.

Los Angeles began as a city of mixed heritage, where whites were the minority, notwithstanding the white-supremacist project of settling California to

²⁴ Listing of the Quintero family. See, Doyce B. Nunis, Dana Church Cordrey, Harry Kelsey, Theodore E. Treutlein, and Thomas Workman Temple. 2004. *The founding documents of Los Angeles: a bilingual edition*. Los Angeles, Calif: Historical Society of Southern California.

secure Spain's control of the territory. The origins of the city are of multicultural white supremacy and settler colonialism, wherein people of color are central to the colonial project while simultaneously being susceptible to the racial logic themselves. Although the archive has not revealed the reasons why Black settlers came to the Spanish frontier to settle from their own perspective, it can be understood that their move was animated with the opportunities that such a travel could offer. The Pobladores and others who came after them are written into history as either coming for opportunities or escaping oppression – both of which can be equally true. Consequently, what is often left out of this narrative is the ways in which they were simultaneously complicit in the settling of Indigenous lands. These early settlers aided the structures of settler colonialism and Native erasure. However, they did not merely move to the so-called frontier as individuals invested in capitalism and opportunities; they were some of the most disadvantaged people in Mexico who came to Los Angeles, and their movement was institutionalized and government supported to extend the Spanish Empire and protect it from other Nation's encroachment. While they were not of the ruling class, in the racial hierarchy of Mexico they were raced and classed as above Indians, specifically the unbaptized Gentiles. Furthermore, the Pueblo of Los Angeles was placed and constructed on top of Yaanga, a Tongva village site, and further displaced the Indians from the region and made decolonization more difficult. Jack D. Forbes wrote, "Conservatively, we can estimate that at least 20 percent of the Hispano-

Californians were part-Negro..."²⁵ Furthering this point, Forbes argued that the physical appearance of the Spanish speaking Californians was not static. Through intermarriage with Native peoples, encouraged by both the government and the Church, the settlers became more Indian.²⁶ Yet simultaneously, wealthy families often attempted to restrict their interaction with the lower castes. William Heath Davis, Anglo and Hawaiian, married into the Estudillo Californio family and observed that the wealthier families were "somewhat aristocratic" and usually "did not associate freely with the humbler classes; in towns the wealthy families were decidedly proud and select, the wives and daughters especially."²⁷ Notable Blacks in California during the Mexican period (1821-1848) include Pio Pico, of mixed heritage, who was the last Mexican governor of the state, and Manuel Victoria who was also governor, but only lasted a year in that position and caused an armed rebellion from which he fled to Mexico in exile.

Richard Henry Dana wrote the following about the racial makeup of California in 1835:

Those who are of pure Spanish blood, having never intermarried with aborigines, have clear brunette complexions, and sometimes, even as fair as

²⁵ Jack D. Forbes. 1966. "Black Pioneers: The Spanish-speaking Afroamericans of the Southwest". *Phylon (1960-)* 27 (3). Clark Atlanta University: 233-46. doi:10.2307/274264, 243.

²⁶ Ibid, 243.

²⁷ William Heath Davis, 67.

those of English-women. There are but few of these families in California, being mostly in official stations, or who, on the expiration of their offices, have settled here upon property, which they have acquired; and others who have been banished for state offenses. These form the aristocracy, intermarrying, keeping up an exclusive system in every respect. They can be told by their complexions, dress, manner and also by their speech; for calling themselves Castilians, they are very ambitious of speaking the pure Castilian language, which is spoken in a somewhat corrupted dialect by the lower classes...

From this upper class [of pure Spaniards], they go down by regular shades, growing more and more dark and muddy, until you come to the pure Indian who runs about with nothing upon him but a small piece of cloth, kept up by a wide leather strap round his waist. Generally speaking, each person's caste is decided by the quality of the blood, which shows itself, too plainly to be concealed, at first sight. Yet the least drop of Spanish blood, if it be only of quadroon or octoroon, is sufficient to raise them from the rank of slaves and entitles them to a suit of clothes, boots, hats, cloak, spurs, long knife, all complete, and coarse and dirty as may be and to call themselves Espanioles, and to hold property, if they can get any...²⁸

²⁸ Richard Henry Dana. 1990. Two years before the mast. Raleigh, N.C.: Alex Catalogue.
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1085866>, 72-73.

This first hand observation of California is interesting, particularly Dana's inclusion of a one-drop description of whiteness raising the status of "slaves" to "Españoles." Consequently in the United States, where Dana originated, the one-drop²⁹ of genetic origin from Africa, hypodescent, lowered a person's status to potential enslavement. His articulation of whiteness as property is also a noteworthy addition, and follows the argument I have been making: Race in Spanish and Mexican California was a construct in which peoples of color could rise in the hierarchical racial structure through property. The Spanish designations for racial compositions were named as such, with the Spanish name followed by the parent's designation:

Español - - - Spanish and Spanish
Indio - - - - Indian and Indian
Negro - - - - Black and Black
Mestizo - - - Spanish and Indian
Mulato - - - - Spanish and Black
Coyote - - - - Mestizo and Indian
Lobo - - - - - Black, mestizo, or mulato and Indian
Morisco - - - - Spanish and mulato

²⁹ The one-drop rule, otherwise known as hypodescent, was a racial ordering that still continues to racialize people as Black if they have any Black ancestry or blood. This ordering is fundamentally about white racial purity. On the other hand having multiple categories for racial mixing, a symmetrical system, has the same purpose of creating a line between people of color and Whites. See the following article: Christine B. Hickman. 1997. "The devil and the one drop rule: Racial categories, African Americans, and the U.S. Census". Michigan Law Review. 95 (5).

Chino - - - - - Lobo and black or Indian; mulato and Indian;

Spanish and morisco

Pardo - - - - - Person of color whose ancestry may be unknown

Blacks held prominent positions in the governance of both Spanish and Mexican California, and a few, such as the Pico family were able to retain positions of power after the American invasion. Forbes used the Picos as an example in *Black Pioneers* and explained, “Many ‘white’ Californians today are descendants of the Picos, including some who boast of the ‘purity’ of their ‘Castilian’ ancestry” despite their origins from Santiago de la Cruz Pico (mestizo) and Jasinta de la Bastida (mulatto). Andres Pico, the brother of Pio, was elected as a State Senator as late as 1860, and in the U.S. Census of 1860 both Pio and Andres are listed as white.³⁰ As a phenotypically black man of mixed heritage, Andres should not have had the right under the law to vote or testify in court much less be a State Senator. However as stated earlier, whiteness functioned not as a rigidly defined concept predetermined by skin color or biological decadency, but as property, fluid and extendable to those with property and political and social status. Jack D. Forbes writing in *Africans and Native Americans* similarly argued, “appearance (phenotype) and/or social status determined the category used rather than any accurate assessment of actual ancestry (genotype), which could hardly be known for most persons who were not

³⁰ 1860 U.S. Census provided by familysearch.org.

recent slaves.”³¹ In *Black Pioneers* Forbes also argued that racial status in California often changed towards whiteness as social or economic status improved.³² The Pico family could be racialized as white, despite their dark skin and appearance by both Mexico and the United States. Within these two Nations race was an important colonial concept that functioned to provide an intersectional hierarchy – those who could become landowners and hold political and social power determined through race, capital, land, and gender – all of which added to exclusionary structures.

Several African Americans arrived in California during both the Spanish and Mexican periods. These Blacks were of non-Mexican origin and their numbers were very few. Amongst these, according to Forbes who cited Hubert Howe Bancroft, was a man named Bob who was left in California by the American Ship the Albatross in 1816. Bob was baptized as Juan Cristóbal in 1819 at Santa Barbara. Several others also came to California in 1818, including Molina who was residing in Monterey.³³

During the gold rush Blacks had come to California as slave and free. It is unknown how many came or how many stayed. Yet, there is an estimated number who settled in San Bernardino in 1851. On March 14th of that year, around 500 people, including 26 Blacks left Salt Lake City, Utah bound for San Bernardino. These

³¹ Jack D. Forbes. 1993. *Africans and Native Americans: the language of race and the evolution of Red-Black peoples*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 246.

³² Forbes, *Black Pioneers*, 233-246.

³³ Jack D. Forbes, *Black Pioneers*, 245-246. Also see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1890, II, 230-31n, 232n, 237, 248, 277, 722.

26 had been slaves owned by Mormon families. Byron R. Skinner writing in *Black Origins in the Inland Empire* provides a detailed account of this history focusing on Elizabeth Flake Rowan, a Black woman who had been born into slavery in South Carolina, and at the age of four was given away as a wedding present. She became the personal servant for the bride and it was with this family she would end up traveling to San Bernardino as an adult.

In 1850 the Mormons had decided to establish an outpost in San Bernardino. Differing reasons for the establishment of a colony in San Bernardino have been hypothesized. As examples: for economic purposes, for continued proselytizing, and as Skinner stated, “A more recent and rather controversial theory argues that the raging slavery issue prompted Brigham Young to grant permission for some of his flock to migrate, thereby getting rid of the state’s slave population.”³⁴ Continuing, Skinner said that this theory is compelling for two reasons: “First the 1850 census - one year prior to the migration to San Bernardino - Utah officials stated that there were 26 slaves in the territory and that they were ‘en route to California.”³⁵ Secondly he wrote, “in 1852 - a year after the California expedition had left - the ‘Saints’ tried to create the impression that as of that date, there were no blacks in Utah.”³⁶ This argument would have met the needs of Utah as it grappled to define

³⁴ Byron R. Skinner. 1983. *Black origins in the Inland Empire*. San Bernardino, Calif: Book Attic Press, 18.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 18.

³⁶ *Ibid*.

itself as either being a Slave or Free state and internal Mormon struggles with the issue of slavery. It would seem that San Bernardino's Black community originated through economic, religious and racial motives.³⁷

The Mormons reached the Cajon Pass on the San Bernardino side of the mountains and negotiated with the Lugos, a Californio family, for the purchase of Rancho San Bernardino. Jose Maria Lugo's three sons were granted over 37,000 acres in 1842. Lugo built his home, known as Homolla, near the present city of San Bernardino. His son Jose del Carmen Lugo built his home near Mission San Gabriel's old asistencia, in present day Redlands, and Vicente Lugo had his home near Politana. Lorenzo Trujillo and several families from New Mexico had lived on the rancho and were given land near Politana. These families from New Mexico had been sought to help stop Indian raids on the herds of horses and cattle on the rancho. Yet, the following year they moved to an area closer to Riverside, the Agua Mansa area on land provided by Juan Bandini. The Lugos in need of protection from Indian raiders contracted with Chief Juan Antonio and Mountain Cahuillas. As quoted in George Harwood Phillips' *Chiefs and Challengers*, one of Trujillo's followers recalled, "all the owners of the ranches and the old chief of the Coahuilla Mission Indians, the big president, Juan Antonio, who came with his interpreters and body guard and all together enjoyed a council, smoked the pipe of peace, and

³⁷ Ibid, 19.

established a lasting peace and friendship.”³⁸ Phillips in his book detailed the fragile and complex relationships between whites and Indians in California that often included cooperation and resistance to Mexican and American occupation. The Mormons arrived during the resistance led by Chief Antonio Garra of the Cupeño. One of his principal concerns was the number of immigrants tramping through his people’s territory, and the impacts of settler colonialism that brought further violence. Garra began to recruit all over southern California to “enlist as many leaders as possible for a coordinated and massive uprising against the Americans,”³⁹ wrote Phillips. Garra attempted to invite Juan Antonio to cooperate with the uprising. On December 2, 1851 in a letter to the Cahuilla chief, Garra wrote in desperation: “If we lose this war, all will be lost – the world. If we gain this war, then it is forever; never will it stop; this war is for a whole life.”⁴⁰ Although Juan Antonio had declined and held peace with the Americans, the tensions in southern California and the conflict between whites, who were still the minority, and Indians was a source of fear amongst the newly arriving Mormons. Phillips wrote, “On November 23, [1851] the Mormons of San Bernardino received word from Los Angeles that the River Indians had risen and killed all the Americans in that neighborhood.”⁴¹ *The Los*

³⁸ George Harwood Phillips. 2014. *Chiefs and challengers: Indian resistance and cooperation in southern California, 1769-1906*, 74.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 101.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 105.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 131.

Angeles Star had reported that the Indians had “killed all the Americans who were there and had thrown them into the river.”⁴² These rumors fuelled further fear of a larger uprising that could also include Californios. These speculations were reported in several newspapers and the publication of letters Garra had written to Californios, including Juan Antonio Estudillo and Jose Joaquin Ortega. In a January 1852 article in the *San Diego Herald* it was reported that the Lugos were actively recruiting Mexicans in Baja California to assist in the California Indian uprising. The Americans were in fear of the conflicts they were themselves creating through further disruption to Indian life. Whether there was coordination between Garra and Californios is still not fully known. In my understanding of stories from my family I have always understood that many of the Californio families in southern California were indeed in discussion with both Garra and Juan Antonio about resisting the American presence, but their support did not go beyond secretly funding the war through the exchange of resources. Juan Antonio while not participating directly in the war remained on the side of the Californios to defend their land from Americans such as the Irving Gang and other American incursions. The rapidly changing demographics in California were also quickly changing the lives of California Indians who were being pushed into the margins while Americans were becoming the majority with a more developed military and police force.

⁴² Ibid, 131.

Upon their arrival, the Mormons built a walled fort and constructed their homes within it. California was still in the midst of gold fever, and the settlers determined they needed protection. Further, Indians were feared and seen as a constant threat. The settlers planted crops, and constructed a gristmill.⁴³ It is unclear the role Blacks had in early San Bernardino, but the question of slavery continued to be an issue. Despite California entering the Union as a Free state through the Compromise of 1850, slavery persisted. Skinner concluded:

Status of the blacks in San Bernardino was a complex issue. Technically, they were all free the moment they set foot in California, but there was actually little change in the relationship between slave and master during those first few years in the new settlement. In short, most masters did not inform slaves of their new status. Despite the silence that whites generally maintained on the subject, blacks eventually discovered they were free.⁴⁴

Learning of their freedom Blacks often reacted in two ways: one in leaving and seeking their freedom, and two by staying with the slave owners out of fear and security. Neither choice was made without anxiety. Each was made with the hope of survival and a dedication to protecting family and loved ones. Quoted in Skinner, a daughter of former slaves reported: "...[I] often heard [my] people laugh in later years over the terror they felt on reaching California and learning they were no

⁴³ Mill Street in San Bernardino was named because of this mill.

⁴⁴ Skinner, 27.

longer slaves. They did not know how they could live, and begged their former owners to take them back to a slave state."⁴⁵

A few miles away, in Riverside it is also unclear what early Blacks were engaged in, as labor, creating community, or relations with White settlers. Tom Patterson wrote, "There [sic] is little to indicate what occupations the earliest Negroes in Riverside followed, although a number of black faces are recognizable in a photograph of a crowd welcoming President Benjamin Harrison along Main Street when he visited the town in 1891."⁴⁶ At least two churches were holding services in Riverside in the 1890s that Black settlers attended. Amongst their parishioners were families living in San Bernardino. Both of these churches were located on the East Side, however Black families lived in several locations throughout Riverside.

A couple of decades later the patterns of Black people living in various locations throughout the city shifted and Riverside became more segregated with the majority of the Black population living on the east side of town. In the 1880 U.S. Census only 23 Blacks are listed in San Bernardino County, which Riverside was part of then. By contrast there were over 7,000 whites in the County. In the 1900 Census there were 224 listed as Black in San Bernardino County and 260 in Riverside County.⁴⁷ Ten years later Riverside County had 649 listed and San

⁴⁵ Martha Embers as quoted in: Skinner, 28.

⁴⁶ Tom Patterson. 1971. A colony for California: Riverside's first hundred years. Riverside, Calif: Press-Enterprise Company, 231.

⁴⁷ 1900 U.S. Census provided by Familysearch.org.

Bernardino County had 1,334. Between 1880 and 1910 the Black population in these two counties increased by over 86%.

The Mormons in San Bernardino provide an example of the dual logics of anti-blackness and settler colonialism.⁴⁸ The discussion of slavery amongst the Mormon settlers was happening simultaneously to their attempt to convert Indians. Bishop Nathan C. Tinney had preached to the Cahuillas in 1856 and had visited the villages of Sahatapa, Yucaipa, and Soboba.⁴⁹ According to Phillips:

At Sahatapa the bishop told the assembled Indians that he had been sent as a missionary to preach among them and to baptize those who so desired. He claimed that the Mormon religion was the only true religion. He also offered the Indians land on the San Bernardino Rancho which he felt was better than where they were then residing.⁵⁰

Juan Antonio and his followers declined Tinney's attempt at evangelism. He stated that they did not want to be baptized again. Anti-Mormonism was strong and Tinney's preaching to the Indians was investigated as sedition and conspiring with the Indian [enemy] against American governance. In an affidavit Juan Antonio was reported as stating, "Kinney [Tinney] proceeded to preach and admonish the

⁴⁸ They were both slave owners and they displaced the Native peoples. Juan Antonio's band moved to Sahatapa after the Mormons moved onto their lands in 1851. They had previously lived on Rancho San Bernardino when the Lugos had owned it.

⁴⁹ Phillips, 154.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 155.

Indians in the following language: that the Americans were a bad people, were not Christians, and were the enemies of the Mormons, and that the Americans were not to be relied on or believed in nowise, for the Americans were fools and devils, and should any one of them come among the Indians the Indians should in nowise believe them..."⁵¹ Juan Antonio later denied what had been written in the affidavit about the Indians' conspiring with the Mormons against the Americans.

While Blacks in San Bernardino had gained their freedom and been given the opportunity to grow a community of their own, Indians on the other hand were increasingly encountering violence, often due to conflicts between and amongst the white population themselves – Americans and Californios. Blacks, as a small community in San Bernardino, do not seem to have become a target for the growing Anglo populations in southern California and their white supremacist violence that was contemporarily impacting Native peoples. During the later part of the 1850s Indians struggled just to survive as explained in the following by Juan Antonio on May 29, 1856:

In former years I lived at the rancho of San Bernardino, when it belonged to the Lugo family. When the Mormons came there, I arranged with them to come and live here, (San Timeteo.) [sic] The Americans are now squatting here, and taking away my land, wood and water... We have not land enough to plant; my people are poor and hungry; they want something from the

⁵¹ Ibid, 155-156.

government. Some Americans tell us we must go away to the mountains to live; other Americans tell us we must all live together on some land. We do not understand it; we do not like it.⁵²

Early in American California, the judicial system targeted Indians. Juan Antonio explained the attempts to charge Indians with crimes and the disparity they faced. He attempted to prove to the Americans that the Indians were peaceful good people and were not the enemies of Americans but were in fact allies, as one people. Juan Antonio attempted to sell the need of a strong relationship between his people and the Americans, but his desperation to remain a sovereign people not entirely under American control is clear in his speech of 1861. “Judges, Captains, and Gentlemen of San Bernardino: I come not here as a child to play, but as an old gray-headed chief to transact business and talk with the white man,”⁵³ he pled. “I am an American – my people are all Americans, although we are Indians. If we should hear of armed men in these mountains, we should come and tell you, and help you to fight them. If bad men should come here to fight you, we should fight with you,”⁵⁴ he explained. “This is our country, and it is yours. We are your friends, we want you to be ours,”⁵⁵ he

⁵² Ibid, 157. Is Juan Antonio’s description of “we must all live together” a reference to the Treaty of Temecula and the large inter-tribal reservation that was to be created? Juan Antonio was a signer of the 1851 Treaty.

⁵³ Ibid, 176-177.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

beseached. He stated that some of his people committed crimes, some were bad, "But all are not bad. He alone should be punished who murders and steals."⁵⁶ He further cautioned, "If the Governor of the United States should say my people were all bad, and must be all killed, then you should kill us. But the Governor does not say so, and he never will." Unfortunately, Juan Antonio was incorrect about this, as Governor Peter Burnett had actually said that there should be a war of extermination. Juan Antonio explained that his men were purposefully drugged with alcohol so that white men could "try to get their squaws..."⁵⁷ He argued that he needed to take his people away from the whites because "My people are buried all around, killed by white men."⁵⁸ As a solution to the American criminal justice system that was negatively impacting the Cahuilla, Juan Antonio suggested the following, "Now I want when one of my people commits a crime, to have him punished. I will deliver up any white man who commits a crime to be dealt with by his people, and I wish to punish my people my own way. If they deserve hanging I will hang them. If a white man deserves hanging, let the white man hang him. I am done."⁵⁹ His solution to the problem of justice in Indian Country is one that is still debated and fought for, where tribes have jurisdiction over their own lands and

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

people. However, several legal principals have stood in the way of this including the Major Crimes Act and P.L. 280. Nearly two years after the above speech, Juan Antonio would die in 1863 during a small pox epidemic that struck the village of Sahatapta in the San Timoteo Canyon, near San Bernardino. The few families of Cahuilla that remained were unable to stop American squatters from moving in. Immediately one white man fenced in a portion of the land and one occupied another plot. The Indian presence in the San Bernardino area, while still extant, was continuing to be erased while the populations of settlers of all colors dramatically increased.

A Colony for California: Riverside

John W. North and Dr. James P. Greeves founded Riverside as a “colony.” Riverside was founded on former rancho lands, specifically: Rancho Jurupa (sections of which had been owned by Bandini, Stearns and Rubidoux⁶⁰), Rancho La Sierra (Maria Vicenta Sepulveda), and El Sobrante de San Jacinto Rancho (María del Rosario Estudillo de Aguirre). In March of 1870 the two men, North and Greeves, sent out separate announcements of their intentions to found the colony; North sent his on March 17, 1870 from Knoxville, Tennessee. He titled it, “A Colony for California.” He and Greeves had not settled on a location for their colony or

⁶⁰ An article in the *Press and Horticulturalist* describes the Riverside Colony Company having purchased the land from Louis Rubidoux and proceeded to discuss the history of the Rubidoux and the author’s view of that history as being romantic.

purchased land, but North's announcement was overly optimistic of their plan to build a settlement in Southern California near the line of the Southern Pacific Railroad. North wrote that he and "personal friends and correspondents" were "now engaged in organizing a Colony for settlement in Southern California..." Greeves on the other hand was seeking to put together an "excursion party." On March 25, 1870 his leaflet was titled, "Ho! For California!! Excursion Trip from Chicago to San Francisco and Return."⁶¹ North's announcement read in part:

Appreciating the advantage of associated settlement, we aim to secure at least 100 good families, who can invest \$1,000 each, in the purchase of land; while at the same time we earnestly invite all good, industrious people to join us who can, by investing a smaller amount, contribute in any degree to the general prosperity. We do not expect to buy as much land for the same money, in Southern California, as we could expect to buy as much land for the same money, in Southern California, as we could obtain in remote parts of Colorado or Wyoming; but we expect it will be worth more, in proportion to cost, than any other land we could purchase within the United States.

Further, North wrote:

We wish to form a colony of intelligent, industrious and enterprising people, so that each one's industry will help to promote his neighbor's interests, as

⁶¹ Both of these advertisements were republished from their original in Tom Patterson's *A Colony for California* and are located in the Riverside Public Library's Local History Archives., J. W. North. 1870. *A colony for California*. [Knoxville, Tenn.]: [publisher not identified].

well as his own. It is desirable, if possible, that every one shall be consulted in regard to location and purchase; but since those who will compose the colony are now scattered from Maine to Texas, and from Georgia to Minnesota and Nevada, this seems next to impossible. For this reason it is proposed that some men of large means, who are interested in the act with them, select and purchase land sufficient for a colony of 10,000 persons. Let this be subdivided and sold to the subscribers at the lowest figure practicable, after paying the expenses of purchase and subdivision. We hope in this way to arrange it so that each individual shall receive his title when he pays his money and commences in good faith to improve his property. It is also proposed to lay out a Town in a convenient locality, so that as many of the subscribers as possible can reside in the land and enjoy the advantages which a first class town affords. We expect to have Schools, Churches, Lyceum, Public Library, Reading room etc. at a very early day, and we invite such people to join our colony as will esteem it a privilege to build them.⁶²

John Wesley North had idealistic, even utopian, ideas for a colony as can be seen in the above transcription of his advertisement. These ideals were based on beliefs he had acquired from his father, a part-time preacher and follower of John Wesley –

⁶² North, 1870.

who had preached of a more ethical world with human freedom, opportunity and hope for salvation.⁶³

While the ideas of a colony were based in Protestant ideals, North was already busy linking Spanish colonialism and the Mission project with that of a settlement in southern California; a settlement that would become Riverside:

We hope to make up a party of subscribers to visit California in May next, and determine on a location. It is desirable that the subscribers in each of the above localities be represented in that party. We wish to secure early and prompt action, with as little machinery and routine as possible. We wish to secure all the advantages of a good colony; with as few preliminary conditions, and restrictions as is consistent with the best success. We invite the earnest co-operation of all good people, who wish for houses in that land that the early Missionaries thought "fit for the abode of Angels," (Los Angeles.)

North who had acquired an education in theology had taken on the social crusade of his day: abolition. Tom Paterson in his study of the founding of Riverside wrote that North was devoted "full time to the work of the Connecticut Abolition Society – talking, lecturing and organizing."⁶⁴ Further Patterson wrote that North had been "Disillusioned by the church's failure to give its active support to the abolition

⁶³ Patterson, 24.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

movement...” and instead of entering the ministry “for which he had prepared,” North instead studied and practiced law.⁶⁵ With the ending of the Civil War, North had ventured to the South intent on starting a colony made up of blacks and whites developing industry and education. Despite his racial equity leanings for whites and blacks, North was evidently ignorant of the issues California Indians had lived through with the Mission system or were experiencing contemporaneously. It is telling that he was linking his “colony” to the Missions at this early period, prior to the construct of the *Spanish Imaginary*. Perhaps his theological background had shaped his view of missionaries and Christian evangelism, and predetermined how he would understand it in connection to his own colonial project? It is also telling that the majority of the labor in Riverside was produced by Indian bodies. John Goodman in his study of Spring Rancheria wrote, “Indian labor was much sought after when the early Riverside colony was getting established; there was no other sizeable labor force from which to draw during the early 1870s.”⁶⁶ Indians contributed to the construction of buildings, the water canal, planting orchards, and other manual labor. Goodman further stated, “the influx of Chinese, Mexican, and Anglo laborers into the area overshadowed the need for Indian labor” by the 1880s.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ John David Goodman. 1993. Spring rancheria: archaeological investigations of a transient Cahuilla village in early Riverside, California, 3.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 4.

Prior to the colony begun by North and Greeves, in 1868 Louis Prevost had purchased the Riverside land and sought to produce silk.⁶⁸ California went through a mini silk producing craze, planting mulberry trees and using silkworms for cocoons. According to Patterson, "Prevost and his colony had expected to train Indian women to do the tedious work of unwinding the cocoons and thus to make the colony profitable on the basis of an actual end product."⁶⁹ More than likely, Prevost and company also would have relied on Indian labor to plant the trees, dig irrigation ditches, clear the land, etc. The American settler colonial project was little different in logic than the rancho era. Indians were seen as potential labor to produce capital for white life. The newly formed Southern California Colony Association bought the land from the silk colony after Prevost's death for \$21,000, in cash and stock transfer, with a total of 8,500 acres.⁷⁰

Prior to the founding of Riverside there were few Anglo settlements in southern California. Along with Los Angeles, Santa Barbara and San Diego all with Spanish colonial origins, there was El Monte founded in the early 1850s with Southern sympathies, San Bernardino which originated as a Mormon colony in 1852, Anaheim begun by people of German descent in 1857, Compton in 1868 and

⁶⁸ Paterson, 35.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 38.

Santa Ana in 1869.⁷¹ Near Riverside were two small Spanish-speaking communities: Agua Mansa and La Placita founded in the river bottomlands. Juan Bandini had recruited New Mexicans in 1845 to settle in this location to help defend Rancho Jurupa and its stock from Indian Raids.⁷² The leaders of the New Mexicans were Jose Antonio Martinez de la Rosa and Lorenzo Trujillo. These settlers consisted largely of mestizo and Pueblo Indians. They established placita settlements, with a central plaza. In 1851 they constructed the Agua Mansa church: San Salvador. The Mexican population at San Salvador, called Spanishtown by Riverside residents, had conflicts

⁷¹ The history of Riverside and its region can be read in the following accounts:

- W.W. Elliott & Co. 1883. History of San Bernardino County, California ...: descriptive of its scenery, farms, residences, public buildings, factories, hotels, business houses, schools, churches, etc. ... including biographical sketches. San Francisco, Cal: W.W. Elliott & Co.
- Elmer Wallace Holmes. 1912. History of Riverside County, California: with biographical sketches of the leading men and women of the county who have been identified with its growth and development from the early days to the present. Los Angeles: Historic Record Co.
- Robert Hornbeck. 1913. Roubidoux's ranch in the 70's. Riverside [Cal.]: Press Printing Co.
- John Brown, and James Boyd. 1922. History of San Bernardino and Riverside counties / with selected biography of actors and witnesses of the period of growth and achievement. [Madison, Wis.]: Western Historical Association.
- Mission Inn. 1927. The bells and crosses of the Mission Inn, Riverside, California. [Riverside? Calif.]: [The Inn?].
- W. W. Robinson. 1957. The story of Riverside County. Riverside, Calif: Riverside Title Co.
- Esther Klotz. 1972. Riverside and the day the bank broke; a chronicle of the city, 1890-1907. Riverside, Calif: Rubidoux Press.
- Jane Davies Gunther. 1984. Riverside County, California, place names: their origins and their stories. [Riverside, Calif.]: J.D. Gunther.

⁷² San Bernardino County Museum; The Agua Mansa Pioneer Cemetery, Accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.sbcounty.gov/museum/branches/agua.htm>

with Riverside settlers. The Mexicans from San Salvador continued to raise their livestock on the range without fences, leading to their animals entering Anglo alfalfa fields. The economy of the settlement relied on livestock, cattle, horses and sheep, all requiring lands for grazing.⁷³ Other issues arose over water rights and land boundaries. Abel Stearns one of the owners of Rancho Jurupa after Juan Bandini wanted to evict the residents of San Salvador. Stearns' eviction court case was unsuccessful, and likely increased tensions between Anglos and Mexicans. The Mexican population largely left San Salvador seeking new employment opportunities after they were unable to rely on stock raising for their economic means. Chinese farmers used the ruins of the abandoned Catholic Church for a time at the end of the 1800s.⁷⁴

Spanish settlement in the Riverside and San Bernardino areas began with Fray Dumetz who built a small temporary chapel close to the village of Guachama, Cahuilla and Serrano, in 1810. He had been sent to establish an *asistencia* in the San Bernardino Valley by Mission San Gabriel. Nine years later Father Maria Zalvidea established a stock ranch and constructed a permanent *asistencia*, and an adobe residence for the *mayordomo*, Carlos García. The Indians of Guachama provided the labor and also established a *zanja* using "cow scapula hoes and dirt hauling

⁷³ Goodman, 55.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 56.

baskets..."⁷⁵ The *asistencia* helped establish a system of Indian labor in the region that would later provide workers for Ranchos Jurupa, Jurumba, Yucaipa, Agua Caliente (Jubuval), and San Gorgonio.

The first undertaking of the Colony in Riverside was the digging of a canal to bring water to land that had been staked out for the town, as a square mile, in the current downtown Riverside area: between 1st and 14th, and between Olive Street (which has disappeared) and Pine St. The mile square had 169 blocks and by September 1870, the first building, the colony office, was constructed. Before the canal was finished, the growing town relied on the River for water. They filled barrels with buckets from the clear running water of Spring Brook, and one resident worked as a professional water hauler, selling the barrels of water. It would be unbelievably dangerous to rely on the river water for drinking currently as it is contaminated and Spring Brook no longer reaches the surface.

Japanese and Chinese Settlers

Traditions of anti-Asian and anti-immigrant hostilities have long affected immigrants in California, and Riverside was no exception. In California for example, the state enacted the Alien Land Law in 1913. Ronald Takaki explained that discussions of such a law began in 1907 to create a "bill designed to deny

⁷⁵ Ibid, 31.

landownership to Japanese immigrants.”⁷⁶ Anti-Japanese legislation was overwhelmingly supported and passed, according to Takaki, “thirty-five to two in the Senate and seventy-two to three in the Assembly.”⁷⁷ As written, the law was not explicit in being anti-Japanese, but it limited ownership of “real property” by “aliens ineligible to citizenship.”⁷⁸ This legislation was on the heels of the national treaty between Japan and the United States known as the Gentlemen’s Agreement. This “agreement” restricted the emigration of Japanese laborers, but allowed parents, wives, and children of laborers already in the U.S. to emigrate. The Chinese, who had immigrated decades before had existed largely as a bachelor society – young men living without family. Takaki wrote, “Seeking to avoid the problems of prostitution, gambling, and drunkenness generated by an itinerant bachelor society and to bring greater stability to the immigrant communities here, the Japanese government promoted the emigration of women.”⁷⁹ The movement of Japanese to the United States began after 1882 with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Chinese Exclusion had been based on racial attitudes. Takaki argued, “the Chinese were associated with blacks in the racial imagination of white society,” and “the Chinese

⁷⁶ Ronald T. Takaki. 1989. *Strangers from a different shore: a history of Asian Americans*. Boston: Little, Brown, 203.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 203.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 46.

future in America could be seen in the black and Indian past.”⁸⁰ Americans saw the United States as a racially homogenous country, with Americans being racially white. Those outside of whiteness were to be excluded, as “strangers,” to use Takaki’s words. Mark Rawitsch writing in *No Other Place: Japanese Pioneers in a Southern California Neighborhood* clarified, “The declining numbers of Chinese workers were soon replaced by the economically competitive Japanese, many of whom reached the mainland after working as sugar plantation contract laborers in Hawaii.”⁸¹ Around two thousand Japanese were living in the United States by 1890. In the 1900 census approximately 96 Japanese were living in Riverside County and 300 Chinese.⁸² By contrast there were 121 Chinese in San Bernardino County in 1880, which Riverside was part of then, and no Japanese. Takaki reported that numbers were able to dramatically increase despite the Gentlemen’s Agreement and anti-immigrant legislation. Between 1908 and 1924 approximately 66,926 Japanese women entered the United States. According to Takaki, in 1920 “females represented 46 percent of Japanese in Hawaii and 34.5 percent on the mainland... a year before the ‘Ladies Agreement,’ in which Japan terminated the emigration of picture brides. But by then, some 20,000 picture brides... had already arrived

⁸⁰Ibid, 46.

⁸¹ Mark Howland Rawitsch. 1983. *No other place: Japanese American pioneers in a Southern California neighborhood*. Riverside: Dept. of History, University of California, Riverside, 2.

⁸² 1900 Census provided by familysearch.org. By contrast there were less than 900 Indians living in Riverside County according to census records.

here.”⁸³ Furthermore, between 1885 and 1925 more than 200,000 immigrated to Hawaii and 180,000 to the mainland U.S., primarily to California.⁸⁴

Chinese migration had primarily been the movement of men who largely viewed their transit as temporary – working in the gold fields, in agriculture, and the railroad. While there had been small business entrepreneurs, the majority of Chinese emigration was of laborers who wished to return. Most of the Chinese were “pushed” from China due to a combination of pressures: wars, rebellion, famines, political corruption and oppressive landlords.⁸⁵ The T’ai-p’ing Rebellion (1848-1865) for example killed 15 to 20 million Chinese.⁸⁶ Simultaneously, the Chinese were “pulled” by California’s Gold Rush. The Chinese knew California by the name Gold Mountain. While the prospect of finding gold in the mountains and rivers of California had lured the Chinese to emigrate, they were driven away from the goldfields by the imposition of the Foreign Miner’s Tax and violence against them by White competitors. They moved on to work in the construction of the railroads, and “Between 12,000 and 14,000 Chinese worked on the construction of the Central

⁸³ Takaki, 47.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Riverside Municipal Museum. 1991. *Life in little Gom-benn: Chinese immigrant society in Riverside, 1885-1930*. Riverside, Calif: Riverside Municipal Museum.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Pacific [Railroad].”⁸⁷ With the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the next venture for the Chinese was as agricultural labor.

Unlike the Chinese, the majority of Japanese were not seeking a return to Japan. On average, the Japanese immigrant was better educated, and had more capital than their European counterpart.⁸⁸ As Rawitsch explained:

Japanese who had become agricultural labor contractors and proprietors of small businesses established early employment patterns. Although many Issei initially viewed American employment as a temporary stepping stone that would eventually lead them back to a life of economic security in Japan, most soon discovered that their low status in American society would not allow for swift economic advancement. Those who accepted reduced expectations, patience, and hard work as keys to further Japanese progress gradually became interested in establishing families and residing permanently in the United States. They were here to stay.⁸⁹

The settlement of Japanese, while facing anti-Japanese discrimination by white America, also furthered the project of Native erasure and settler colonialism. The

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Little Gom-benn can also be read about in: Lawton, Harry W. 1987. *The pilgrims from Gom-Benn: migratory origins of Chinese pioneers in the San Bernardino Valley.*

⁸⁸ Takaki, 46.

⁸⁹ Rawitsch, 3.

Japanese, like other settlers desired land. Examples of anti-Japanese violence can be seen in the following quote from Richard Street's book *Beasts of the Field*:

On March 29, 1904, a Japanese crew arriving to work for the American Citrus Company near Highland was attacked and forced to return to Riverside by armed white laborers. Six months later, a group of Japanese grape pickers were chased back to Riverside from Cucamonga. On January 14, 1905, a crew of Japanese citrus pickers were attacked near Corona. Loaded into wagons, they too were sent back to Riverside, but refused to press charges against their attackers.⁹⁰

The majority had been farmers in Japan and sought to own land and become successful agriculturalists in the United States. The anti-Japanese contingent understood the desire of the Japanese for land and successfully passed laws prohibiting non-US citizens from owning land, the previously noted Alien Land Law. But the Japanese continued to find ways around the land law using three tactics: 1. They established land corporations with American citizens as majority stockholders, often their children who were naturalized citizens; 2. The purchase of land through trusteeships by American citizens with Japanese funds; 3. Japanese parents bought land and recorded it in the name of their naturalized citizen children.⁹¹ Although the Alien Land Law did not explicitly name the Japanese as its target, the question of

⁹⁰ Richard Steven Street. 2004. *Beasts of the field: a narrative history of California farm workers, 1769-1913*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 499.

⁹¹ Rawitsch, 12.

land ownership was one based on racial orderings by the dominant white

Americans. Attorney General Webb in 1913 argued the following:

It is unimportant and foreign to question, whether a particular race is inferior. The simple and single question is, is the race desirable... [The Alien Land Law] seeks to limit their presence by curtailing their privileges which they enjoy here; for they will not come in large numbers and long abide with us if they may not acquire land.⁹²

Land rights were central to the anti-Asian, anti-immigrant movement, and were also at the core of colonialism and settler colonialism. Land ownership as a “right” is inherently exclusionary – to whom is this right bestowed? While it was important to Asian immigrants in California and elsewhere to have access to land, it was also demanded by Anglo Americans to control the land and to take as much as they could away from the Indian. Asians while being excluded from land ownership as non-citizens found ways around the exclusionary laws and directly benefited from settler colonialism, acting themselves as settler colonizers who desired Native lands – whether they understood the land as Indian or not. Haunani-Kay Trask provided a similar argument about Asian settler colonialism in Hawaii:

Modern Hawai‘i, like its colonial parent the United States, is a settler society; that is, Hawai‘i is a society in which the indigenous culture and people have

⁹² Frank F. Chuman. 1976. *The Bamboo People the law and Japanese-Americans*. Del Mar, Calif: Publisher's Inc., 48
<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/2188923.html>. As quoted by Rawitsch, 13.

been murdered, suppressed, or marginalized for the benefit of settlers who now dominate our islands. In settler societies, the issue of civil rights is primarily an issue about how to protect settlers against each other and against the state. Injustices done against Native people, such as genocide, land dispossession, language banning, family disintegration, and cultural exploitation, are not part of this intrasettler discussion and are therefore not within the parameters of civil rights.⁹³

American desire of landownership and Asian exclusion resulted in racial (intrasettler) confrontations, passage of legislation and racial prejudice over housing and segregated neighborhoods. These racial confrontations negatively impacted Asian settlement within California, while simultaneously their demand for land required Native dispossession.

Riverside

The first mention of Chinese in Riverside was an 1875 advertisement for Riverside Land and Irrigation Company, which stated that Chinese house servants could be hired by the month for \$16 to \$25.⁹⁴ In 1879 Chinese were working in raisin packing sheds in Riverside.⁹⁵ On January 8, 1881 *The Press and*

⁹³ Haunani-Kay Trask. 1999. *From a native daughter: colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 25.

⁹⁴ Patterson, 194-195.

⁹⁵ Little Gom-Benn Riverside Municipal Library, 1991.

Horticulturalist reported, “Chinamen are being employed in grading the California Southern Railroad at \$20 per month, they boarding [sic] themselves, to the exclusion of white laborers, who are willing to work at \$1 and board.”⁹⁶ The number of Chinese was increasing in the city with the construction of the Riverside, Santa Ana & Los Angeles Railroad through Riverside. The Chinese were living in downtown Riverside, but exclusionary segregationists assisted in moving them and creating a new Chinatown on a block of Tequesquite Avenue and by 1886 all had been moved to the new site. Chinatown had living quarters, stores and workshops. It was of wood construction, 26 buildings, and all but eight were burned down in 1893. The structures of the Chinatown were quickly replaced and two brick buildings were also built. It has been alleged that Whites burned down Riverside’s Chinatown.⁹⁷ Unlike major Chinatowns in San Francisco and elsewhere, the Chinese population in Riverside did not have as many of the same issues with opium and gambling that the larger communities were notorious for – often mythologized as having vast underground networks.⁹⁸ Yet, in archaeological excavations of Riverside’s Chinatown, 88 opium bowls were found. Also arrested in Riverside’s

⁹⁶ Patterson, 195.

⁹⁷ Personal conversations with UCR Ethnic Studies faculty member Edward Chang, Winter 2015.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Chinatown during drug raids were Chinese, Americans, Mexicans and Indians.⁹⁹ Soon a second Chinatown was located on Adams Street between Magnolia and California.¹⁰⁰ However, Chinatown was not without its vocal detractors. In a letter to the Editor of the *Press and Horticulturist*, a local Riverside newspaper, the author wrote, "I hear the manager or proprietor of the cannery here has hired Chinamen to work in his establishment, and I find that the fact is causing criticism among those opposed to Chinamen and their ways."¹⁰¹ Anti-Chinese sentiment was often aired in such a public manner.

The Chinatown located on Tequisquite Avenue was known as Little Gom-Benn. It carried this name because most of the Chinese in Riverside originated from Gom-Benn village located near the Pearl River on the Canton Delta. They were also mostly members of the Wong Family Association.¹⁰² The Chinese called Riverside "Yea So Fow" meaning Jesus City – most likely due to the large number of churches established there.¹⁰³ At its peak Little Gom-Benn had 350 to 400 permanent

⁹⁹ Goodman, 177. Citing Wylie, J. and R. Higgins. *Opium paraphernalia and the role of opium in Riverside's Chinatown*. In: Great Basin Foundation. 1987. *Wong Ho Leun: an American Chinatown*. San Diego: The Foundation.

¹⁰⁰ Patterson, 196.

¹⁰¹ *Press and Horticulturalist*.

¹⁰² Little Gom-Benn Riverside Municipal Library, 1991.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

residents and the Chinese population in Riverside would increase to over 2,000 during harvest season.¹⁰⁴

During the early 1900s, Asian demographics were increasing in Riverside. By 1901 Riverside's First Congressional Church, founded in 1872, reported eight Chinese members.¹⁰⁵ According to Rawitsch, "among its trustees was Frank Miller, who regularly made substantial financial contributions to the church and influenced its reconstruction in Spanish Renaissance style in 1912"¹⁰⁶ – another of Miller's impacts to Riverside and usage of the *Spanish Imaginary*. The Japanese in Riverside, unlike the Chinese, who had lived in a Chinatown segregated from their white neighbors, lived scattered throughout the city.¹⁰⁷ According to Rawitsch, "By 1910, two clusters of Japanese settlement existed. One was centered in the Mile Square, in the Main and Eighth streets commercial district; the other, across the railroad tracks on Fourteenth Street."¹⁰⁸ There was also a concentration of Japanese citrus laborers living in an area known as the "village" between Magnolia and Victoria, near what is now Van Buren Boulevard. They also lived in a tent encampment called "Gum

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Rawitsch, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 20.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Tree”¹⁰⁹ according to Patterson, “in a eucalyptus grove on Magnolia Avenue near Adams Street. Thus they were close to the Adams Street Chinatown, although they maintained their separate culture and traditions.”¹¹⁰ Japanese laborers in the citrus industry as an important workforce cannot be stressed enough. They helped promote southern California as a land of opportunity with their labor in California’s Orange Rush, or Other Gold Rush, and contributed to the wealth of settlers and their demographic growth. Richard Street poignantly wrote,

By 1909, they were, in fact so dominant in the citrus industry that, when investigators for the U.S. Immigration Commission visited twenty-three Southern California citrus ranches, they found that the Japanese controlled labor on eighteen of them and played an important role on the other five. By 1910, the Japanese held down six of ten picking jobs; in 1915, a force of seven hundred Japanese picked and packed virtually the entire twenty-one-million dollar Washington navel orange crop, held down seven of ten jobs in the orchards around Riverside, focal point for the citrus industry, and filled about one of four positions washing, sorting, and grading fruit in the packing sheds.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Goodman, 54.

¹¹⁰ Patterson, 197.

¹¹¹ Richard Steven Street. *Beasts of the field*, 500.

However, according to Rawitsch, “With their sights set on more promising opportunities, the Japanese eventually abandoned Riverside’s citrus industry and were replaced by Mexican agricultural workers. Many Japanese drifted away from Riverside.”¹¹² Japanese residents in the city had decreased to 340 by 1920. However according to Patterson, just ten years prior, in 1910, there were 3,000 Japanese in Riverside during the citrus harvest.¹¹³

Citrus in Riverside

According to Tom Patterson, Japanese were employed as laborers in the citrus industry as early as 1887. Luther and Eliza Tibbets were the planters of the first navel oranges in Riverside that would lead to a boom economy for the city and growing areas of southern California. There are differing stories of the plant’s origins, and which of the two, Luther or Eliza who were a married couple, bears responsibility for the growth of the crop and the economic shift that created an industry from citrus growing. Tom Patterson details this confusion in his book *A Colony for California*. What is definite is that the Washington Navel Oranges originated in Bahia, Brazil around 1815; the orange itself is seedless and propagated by budding. It is known as a navel orange due to its shape where it connects to the stem. Sometime between 1873 and 1875, specimens of the tree were shipped from

¹¹² Rawitsch, 20.

¹¹³ Patterson, 197.

the Department of Agriculture to the Tibbets, possibly to Eliza, for trial in their planting in Riverside. At an informal citrus show in 1878, the fruit from the orange trees was first introduced. In 1879 at a more formal citrus fair, the navel oranges were well received and the *Riverside Press* reported that Luther Tibbets' oranges were the center of attraction, "The Washington trees have all proved fine."¹¹⁴ In 1883 Luther Tibbets was advertising in the *Press & Horticulturalist* the sale of navel orange buds.

The navel orange and citrus in general caused an explosive boom in Riverside, Orange County and the Inland Empire during the Eighties. The production of oranges drastically increased, from 4,300 boxes shipped at about 75 pounds each in 1881 to 1,569,800 boxes, or approximately 117,735,000 pounds of oranges by 1898.¹¹⁵ This economic boom, the other Gold Rush, also impacted California Indians. It did not have the vast genocidal effects of the first Gold Rush, but it prompted construction projects and the settling of Indian land. One of the impacts of settling in California has long been the disturbance of Indian burials. In 1898 an article in the *Los Angeles Herald* details one such destruction. "Oranges for Red Men's Bones," tells a story of the racial component to settler colonialism that targets Native land and people. Juana Razon, a Cahuilla woman died in San Bernardino in an area called

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 146.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

“Squaw Flat” east of that city’s Chinatown.¹¹⁶ The article stated, “The deceased came to her death by lack of medical attendance and partly by lack of food, for there sat around the corps three of her companions almost as squalid as the corpse.” The coroner determined that Razon died of natural causes. Her relatives wanted to bury her in their burial ground, but could not because “the whites have stolen our burying ground to plant oranges,” an older relative stated. Instead the county buried her in a pauper’s grave. The article reported that the Cahuilla had a “burial place at Pala. But they were driven away and the ground taken by the whites plowed up. They had another at San Manuel, in the foothills, near the city, but they were driven from all their heritage except from a few rocks that the white man could not use.” Further it reported, “They had one at Poletana, between here and Colton, but here again the white thieves took their city of the dead, plowed up the land fertilized by the bones of hundreds of Indians that had lain there for years and made the soil fruitful with oranges.”¹¹⁷ Cannibalism, as Jack D. Forbes wrote, “*is the consuming of another’s life for one’s own private purpose or profit.*”¹¹⁸ Settlers, as cannibals, ate the Indian dead through the fertilized oranges. The farmers who tilled the soil filled

¹¹⁶ Squaw Flat, according to Casandra Lopez (Cahuilla), is in the area of Meadowbrook Park. Her grandfather’s family lived in that area. Personal communication, April 13, 2016. See also, City of San Bernardino, *Mary Bennett Goodcell Cleans up Meadowbrook Park*, Accessed April 13, 2016. http://www.sbcity.org/about/history/pioneer_women/mary_bennett_goodcell.asp

¹¹⁷ Los Angeles Herald, Volume 26, Number 27, 27 October 1898.

¹¹⁸ Forbes, *Columbus and other Cannibals*, 24. Italicized in original.

with compostable Indian bodies showed no respect for the life they consumed. Their cannibalism was not accompanied with spirituality or ceremony, but was solely self-serving greed and consumption.¹¹⁹

Also needed for the Citrus Industry, and for all life in general, is water. In 1903 the only spring that provided water for the San Manuel Indian Reservation was contested. According to the *Los Angeles Herald*, "F.W. Tanby has caused great alarm among the San Manuel Indians by entering upon their reservation above Highland and posting a notice appropriating all the water in the open spring on the place."¹²⁰ Tanby had intended to pipe the spring water further down the mountain to land he had under cultivation for oranges.¹²¹ This was not the first time there was an attempt by settlers to steal water from San Manuel's spring. The article stated, "About ten years ago a company of Highland fruit growers decided to dig a tunnel under the reservation and tap the main source of the spring, intending to pipe the water down sand canyon to a thirsty tract of land upon which they were trying to grow oranges."¹²² In a later article from 1910, the *Los Angeles Herald* detailed the poor conditions at San Manuel and described land cultivated with Oranges using water "piped through a tunnel onto other lands. The government has allowed the

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 25.

¹²⁰ Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXX, Number 360, 26 September 1903.

¹²¹ San Francisco Call, Volume 94, Number 118, 26 September 1903.

¹²² Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXX, Number 360, 26 September 1903.

water to be carried away without protest or effort to turn it onto the lands of the Indians.”¹²³ The impacts of settler colonialism and its growth because of the citrus industry had imposed dire effects on Indian peoples throughout southern California. Water is life, and through its theft the settler attempted to exploit the Indian source of existence for private profit. These examples at San Manuel and in the San Bernardino region exemplify the cannibal disorder explained by Forbes in which the cannibal consumes the lives of those they exploit.

In a book written about Little Gom-Benn published by Riverside’s Municipal Museum, the authors wrote:

By combining Chinese knowledge and labor with promotional techniques, the 1895 Riverside citrus growers had made their community the richest city per capita in the United States. Land prices shot up, which reinforced the “need” for a low wage Chinese labor force to continue intense cultivation of the “highly profitable” Washington Navel orange. One Sunkist Growers, Inc., the Citrus Experiment Station of the University of California, citrus packing house machinery, orchard heating, and a host of related developments all originated in Riverside.

The citrus industry was not the only route to economic security for Riverside’s pioneer Chinese. The Chinese truck farmers for around 50 years supplied Riverside residents with vegetables. These crops were grown in the fertile soil of the Santa

¹²³ Los Angeles Herald, Volume 37, Number 122, 31 January 1910.

Ana River bottomland.¹²⁴ The Chinese influence in helping Riverside become a prosperous city is little known today. Similarly, the history of the Chinese and the inclusion of a Chinatown in Riverside is also largely without notice for the current city residents. However, today even the wealth of the citrus era is largely inconceivable for the current population for which the Inland Empire is popularly known as an economically disadvantaged area of southern California with elevated drug use and manufacturing.¹²⁵

Conclusion

The city of Riverside in California began as a racial project invested in whiteness as property and Native exclusion. The founders of the city located their rights of ownership through the web of colonialism that began with the Spanish and the Doctrine of Christian Discovery. It began, named aptly, as a colony. A colony is an area that is controlled by a distant country and occupied by settlers of that country. Anglo Americans as settlers relocated from the East to California and created a settlement they named Riverside due to its location near the Santa Ana River. These Anglo Americans were distinctly settler colonizers, having the intention of moving to the region from their homelands and replacing the Native peoples – the Cahuilla

¹²⁴ Little Gom-Benn, Riverside Municipal Library, 1991. And, Lawton, Harry W. 1987. The pilgrims from Gom-Benn: migratory origins of Chinese pioneers in the San Bernardino Valley, 73.

¹²⁵ Even the popular television show, *Breaking Bad*, about a high school chemistry teacher turned meth cook was originally to be set in Riverside.

and others who had lived in the region since time-immemorial. Similarly, they would transform the land they acquired to meet their needs and dislocate the Californios and Mexicans who had previously been the dominant settler groups. They planted non-native species, constructed water canals, began building homes and businesses, and exploited Indian labor to do so. In many ways Anglo California had little to make it different from Spanish or Mexican California. National governance and policy may have been different, directed through English instead of Spanish, but the exploitation of Indian labor was a constant until around the turn of the century, approximately 1880 -1900, when Indian labor was replaced by increasing numbers of Anglos, Chinese and Japanese.

Although playing an important role in the founding of Los Angeles and San Bernardino, the number of Blacks in California remained relatively low until the 1890s when large migrations of African Americans left the South, escaping racial violence. And although Californios of mixed racial ancestry and Mexicans had been in California since 1769, the numbers of people who migrated to California from Mexico also remained relatively low until the early 1900s. Waves of migrants came for the Gold Rush and to work on the railroad and in agriculture, but large numbers did not come to stay until the 1900s. Previously California Indians produced the majority of labor on the Mexican Ranchos, that became the backbone of the *Spanish Imaginary*, and it was California Indians who were pushed off their lands for California to accommodate the large numbers of both Anglos and people of color who now call towns such as Riverside home in California.

Water has always been an important resource in California. It was a site of confrontation between the New Mexicans at Agua Mansa and Anglo settlers in Riverside. And it was/is repeatedly a resource settlers fought over, between themselves (intrasettler) and with Indigenous populations. The cannibal disorder as Jack D. Forbes theorized is accurately exemplified through the theft of San Manuel Indian Reservation's water from the spring on their lands. Cannibalism, as the exploitation of life for private profit, is also demonstrated through the citrus industry and its abusive use of labor and land consuming the life of those it employed and whose lands were cultivated.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Mount Rubidoux: Resisting Native Invisibility through Cultural Continuance, Historical Narrative, and Alliance Building

Positioned on the top of Mount Rubidoux, in Riverside California, are two symbols synonymous with the United States: the cross and the American flag. They demonstrate to all who can see them from miles away that the United States, as a Christian nation, has claimed ownership over the land. These symbols are similar to those used by the colonizing European nations to take possession of lands in the Americas through the Doctrine of Christian Discovery – international laws beginning in the 15th century that provided Christian monarchs the ability to lay claim to lands they “discovered.” This Doctrine was explicitly used by the United States Supreme Court to secure their claims over Indian land.¹ Columbus and other “discoverers” used the cross, as a symbol of Christian and European supremacy, to stake their claim to land. They similarly used flags from their various nations to make these claims.

Currently, the United States supports Israel’s claim over lands and right of return for the Jewish populace over those of the Palestinian Nation and peoples. In the case of Palestine, the Israeli government has formatted its own version of the Doctrine of Discovery and Manifest Destiny through their use of Zionism, wherein

¹ Walter R. Echo-Hawk. 2010. *In the courts of the conqueror: the ten worst Indian law cases ever decided*. Golden, Colo: Fulcrum Pub.

they claim a right of religious return.² The logics of dispossessing others of land used by European nations and later the United States with those of Israel are comparable. Mount Rubidoux, with its flag and cross, would seem an odd place for a group of Palestinians and American Indians to gather.

Natives, including faculty, staff and graduate students from the University of California, Riverside along with community members from the Sherman Indian School led a hike to the top of the mountain on July 30, 2015. They met at the base of the mountain on one of the hottest and most humid days Riverside had seen in recent years. With temperatures reaching well over 100 degrees and humidity near 70 percent with a chance of thunderstorms, they gathered with a group of Palestinians who were students in a summer youth program at the University of California, Riverside. The leaders of the program brought lunch and water for the day's hike and activities. Waiting for all to arrive at the base of the mountain, the participants began sweating while standing in the shade. It was nine in the morning and they knew the hike was not going to be easy with the current weather conditions. I was asked to introduce myself and provide some background information about where we had gathered and its significance.

Spring Rancheria

The Riverside area is recognized as being in the traditional territory of

² Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Law of Return 5710-1950. July 05, 1950. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/mfa-archive/1950-1959/pages/law%20of%20return%205710-1950.aspx>

Cahuilla people. However, this area is also in the traditional territories of the Tongva, Serrano, and Luiseño. It once included the pre-contact village of Pachappa and a transient Cahuilla village, Spring Rancheria, from approximately 1870 to 1893.³ The hills surrounding Mount Rubidoux were home to this village, the Spring Rancheria. According to Henry C. Koerper and Bobby McDearmon, the Spring Rancheria was located “on the western high terminus of Tenth Street, Riverside, on North Mount Rubidoux, and with Indians camped on Fairmont Hill above the northerly terminus of Pine Street...”⁴ My research suggests that this village may have comprised several locations including what is now known as Fairmont Park.⁵ In *The Catcher Was a Cahuilla: A Remembrance of John Tortes Meyers (1880-1971)*, Henry C. Koerper writes that the “Spring Rancheria,” was “so-named for the perennial stream (Spring Brook) just below the settlement.”⁶ According to Koerper

³ John David Goodman. 1993. Spring rancheria: archaeological investigations of a transient Cahuilla village in early Riverside, California. Goodman reported, “It has not been determined precisely when Spring Rancheria was established, but historic accounts suggest that it was active by the early 1870s. Most of the artifacts from the site date from the 1870s to 1890s.” (Goodman, 63).

⁴ Koerper, Henry C., and Bobby McDearmon. 2010. "Samuel Cary Evans, Jr. and his beloved cogged stones". Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly. 44 (2): 55-68.

⁵ Ibid. There may have been three villages. One at Fairmont Park, the Spring Rancheria on Little Mount Rubidoux by Spring Brook, and at the foot of Mount Rubidoux. Patterson wrote that Jessie Berman had reported Cahuillas living on her family’s citrus grove on Magnolia near Monroe. (Patterson 1971, 137 and Goodman, 64).

⁶ Henry Koerper C. 2002. "The Catcher Was a Cahuilla: A Remembrance of John Tortes Meyers (1880-1971)". Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology. 24

and McDearmon, in a photo taken by R.H. Benson in 1883 or 1884, “60 to 70 people lived there when the photo was snapped.”⁷ The Rancheria was at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy in Riverside. A reporter for the *Riverside News*, in 1877, described the Indians living at the village disparagingly, saying they “lived in habitation of the most squalid description and they seemed to have little genius for any sort of handicraft, made no earthenware or baskets, living chiefly by odd jobs or work obtained from the Americans.”⁸ According to John David Goodman who excavated the site, “Indians of Spring Rancheria were paid minimal wages and were mostly relegated unskilled and strenuous jobs.”⁹ He concluded, “Both historical documentation of the village and archaeological data recovered from excavations at the site demonstrate that residents of Spring Rancheria were materially destitute when compared to other ethnic communities in the Riverside area during this period...”¹⁰ Benson also remembered a village being located, “near where the Experiment Station now is by Evergreen Cemetery and that later the camp was

(1): 21-39. John Tortes was a major league baseball player for the New York Giants. His mother, Felicite Tortes Meyer worked as a domestic employee in Riverside, including at the Mission Inn.

⁷ Henry C. Koerper and Bobby McDearmon, 63.

⁸ *Riverside News*, 1877. Quoted in W.W. Elliott & Co, and Riverside Municipal Museum. 1965. History of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties, California: with illustrations. 1883. Reproduction ... including material on present-day Riverside County. Riverside, Calif: Riverside Museum Press. Also quoted by Goodman, 59.

⁹ Goodman, 1-2.

¹⁰ Ibid.

moved to near 4th and Pepper Streets.”¹¹ The Experiment Station Benson mentioned was the Rubidoux Laboratory. On its website, the University of California History digital archives notes,

On authority of the University's Board of Regents, granted February 14, 1907, 23 acres of land on the eastern slope of Mt. Rubidoux in Riverside were leased for an experiment station to conduct investigations in horticultural management, fertilization, irrigation, fruit handling, improvement of varieties, and related subjects. The laboratory remained at this location until 1917, when it was moved to a site on the western slope of the Box Springs Mountains.¹²

The later site of the Experiment Station would become the University of California, Riverside. The Spring Rancheria is all but invisible in the histories of Riverside and remains without any markers or mention, including on Mount Rubidoux with its many such markers to individuals such as Frank A. Miller, Henry Huntington and Junípero Serra. Spring Rancheria is designated as CA-Riv-678 in the California Archaeological Inventory, listed as a historic village of the Santa Rosa Cahuilla Indians.¹³

¹¹ Henry C. Koerper and Bobby McDearmon, 63.

¹² University of California, Riverside.

¹³ Goodman, 2. It has this listing and the Most Likely Descendent (MLD) being from Santa Rosa Cahuilla Indians because many of the descendants of Spring Rancheria

The Hike - 2015

The other Native individuals gathered for the hike introduced themselves and discussed what they do and their relationship with the land that Mount Rubidoux is located on. One individual has long standing ties to Sherman Indian School, three generations, and is also Cahuilla. She provided details about the boarding school experience and the impacts of the assimilatory functions of the school. I briefly discussed my family's connection to the Santa Ana River on the West side of the hill. I pointed to where my family had land until the 1960s in the Santa Ana Canyon, approximately 20 miles away. I also pointed out the location of the Spring Rancheria and asked students to be particularly aware of the changes to the environment due to colonialism as they looked down on the lands from the top of the mountain, especially to the Santa Ana River, which was dry when we visited Mount Rubidoux.

Before beginning our hike, I also discussed the history of Mount Rubidoux and the monument to Junípero Serra that we would see at the top of the mountain positioned below the, "35-foot concrete-and-steel cross that's visible for miles" as described by Susan Straight in her article about the cross and the fight over religion

relocated to the Santa Rosa Reservation and Cahuilla Reservation located east of the city of Anza.

that threatened its position on top of the mountain.¹⁴ The hill itself was possibly originally named Pachappa, but it has been speculated by Tom Patterson, a former professor at UCR, in *Landmarks of Riverside and the Stories Behind Them* that the name of the mountain was reassigned to the current Pachappa Hill to extend the size of Rancho Jurupa.¹⁵ This realignment of Pachappa Hill was a strategic use of geography, which benefitted the landowner and affected the naming of Indigenous territory.

Rancho Jurupa

The origins of the name Rancho Jurupa are from the Tongva (Gabrieliño). In Mission records, Native people are written as originating from the Rancheria of Jurupet.¹⁶ In the papers of C. Hart Merriam, he notes, “In the Book of Baptisms at Mission San Gabriel, the Jurupa valley, the northern end of the Jurupa grant to Bandini, is variously written, Jurupet, Jurupa, Jurumpet, Jurupe. Fr. Sanohez

¹⁴ Susan Straight, “Mt. Rubidoux: The Cross and The Fight Over Religion and Landmark,” KCET, December 03, 2012, http://www.kcet.org/updaily/socal_focus/commentary/notes-of-a-native-daughter/mt-rubidoux-the-cross-and-the-fight-over-religion-and-landmark.html

¹⁵ Tom Patterson. 1964. *Landmarks of Riverside and the stories behind them*. [Riverside, Calif.]: Press-Enterprise Co., 19. Patterson, Tom. 1971. *A colony for California: Riverside's first hundred years*. Riverside, Calif: Press-Enterprise Company, 82.

¹⁶ Bean, L.J. and S.B. Vane (CSR, Inc.). 1979. *Cultural Resources And The Devers-Mira Loma 500Kv Transmission Line Route (Valley To Mira Loma Section): A Study Of The Paleontology, History And Archaeology Of The Vicinity Of The Line*. Report on file, Eastern Information Center, University of California, Riverside.

mentions Jubabal as a place in this valley.”¹⁷ Using the *Early California Population Project Database* through the Huntington Library, a search of baptismal records results in 50 Indians having been baptized whose origin is Jurupet. C. Hart Merriam found 72 who were baptized from the various spellings of the village including 26 men, 21 women and 25 children.¹⁸

An example of an individual who was baptized is Menas, her Spanish name, who was three years old at the time of her baptism on February 15, 1811. She was the daughter of Aguitauimobit and Uyuibam, both gentiles – unbaptized Indians. In the notes of her baptismal record for Mission San Gabriel, written by the Franciscan priest Jose Maria de Zalvidea, it states that her father was the Capitan, or Tribal leader, of Jurupet and her mother was also from Jurupet. Menas’ *madrina*, or godparent, is listed as Maria Luisa Cota who was married to Claudio Lopez. The majority of the other Indians baptized at Mission San Gabriel from Jurupet had other Indians as godparents. From the data available, it can be assumed that Menas had a Spanish godparent because of her status as the daughter of a Chief. According to information on *Ancestry.com*, Maria Luisa Cota was born at Mission San Borja, Baja, Mexico on June 23, 1776 to Roque Jacinto Cota and Juana Maria Verdugo.¹⁹ Roque

¹⁷ C. Hart Merriam Papers Relating to Work With California Indians, 1850-1974.

¹⁸ C. Hart Merriam. Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey. No. 74. Village Names in Twelve California Mission Records. Berkeley. July 1968.

¹⁹ Ancestry.com, Maria Luisa Cota, Accessed April, 16, 2016, http://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/maria-luisa-cota_127896201

Cota was one of the Spanish soldiers who accompanied the Pobladores from San Gabriel to found Los Angeles in 1781. These intersecting genealogies and ties through the Church of Californio families and California Indians provide a rich description and analysis of the way in which colonialism functioned in California. Church and state were deeply connected, on both a micro, or individual level, as well as on the macro.

Although Jurupet is viewed as a Gabrieliño village, it is unclear who the residents were and what their primary language was or how they identified themselves. It is clear that the identity as Gabrieliño would not have existed for them until after baptism as this is a tribal identity created through colonialism. Similarly, Indians baptized at San Gabriel also included more than Tongva people. Also missionized through San Gabriel, which extended its reach into the San Bernardino valley, were Serrano (Yuhaviatam) and Cahuilla. Yet, utilizing Mission records solely to understand identity would conflate both Serranos and Cahuilla, who were baptized at Mission San Gabriel, into Gabrieliño due to their affiliation with the Mission and not based on language or Indigenous tradition.

Rancho Jurupa was granted to Juan Bandidni by California Governor Juan B. Alvarado in 1838. Bandini was formerly granted Rancho Tecate in what is now Baja California, Mexico, east of San Diego. The original grant for Tecate was made in 1829, and later granted as Rancho Cañon de Tecate in 1834 under governor José Figueroa. The granting of Rancho Jurupa occurred after 1836 when Kumeyaay and

former neophytes, baptized Indians, raided Bandini's rancho and other ranchos near San Diego. In the accounts provided by Augustin Janssens,

Indians had attacked the ranch of Don Pío Pico. They had burned the house with four men, who were inside, among whom was the major-domo, Leyva...

The news also came that on the same night the Indians of Tia Juana would arise and, joining with others, would attack in the same manner the ranch where the families of Argüello, Juan Bautista Alvarado (of San Diego),

Estudillo, and others.²⁰

Janssens explained how he was part of an effort to put down the Indian rebellion, "[w]ith such force as we thought necessary, we went to the Rancho Tecate of Don Juan Bandini, which had also been besieged by the Indians. Only because this house was on an elevation and there were only men within, had they been able to beat off the attack."²¹ Juan Bandini came to California from Peru. He became a wealthy landowner, politician, and rancher. He employed many Indians at Rancho Jurupa, Tecate and in his home in San Diego. Bandini also became the administrator of the former Mission San Gabriel after secularization, which continued as a Church and employed Indian labor as a rancho. According to Victor Walsh, in an article in the *Journal of San Diego History*, Bandini as administrator of the Mission "made off with

²⁰ Agustín Janssens, William H. Ellison, and Francis Price. 1953. *The life and adventures in California of Don Agustín Janssens, 1834-1856*. San Marino, Calif: Huntington Library, 65.

²¹ Janssens, 66.

the best horses, and could not provide Indian residents with the barest necessities, including clothing and food.”²² In this same description of treatment of the Indians at San Gabriel Walsh stated:

The community’s dire straits reached a flashpoint in 1839-1840 when some Indians refused to work until Bandini provided them adequate clothing. An unnerved Bandini asked William Hartnell, the Visitador General of the ex-missions, for assistance, ending his letter on this note of dismay: “Please consider the harm that would result if these Indians are not compelled to work because you are unable to cover their basic needs.”²³

Bandini’s treatment of Indians at San Gabriel also included taking other resources and giving them to friends and family who stayed at the mission. While the Indians had little to eat, Bandini’s guests were well fed. The Mission priest stated in 1840, “There is still some bread, though not every day; a little bit of meat just for the midday, some wine and *aguardiente*, but there is nothing else.”²⁴ For wealthy Bandini, the health and wellness of the Indians was unimportant. They were seen as little more than labor and servants – as slaves. The Indians at San Gabriel according to Walsh, struggling for sovereignty,

²² Victor A. Walsh. “The Casa and The Don: Juan Bandini’s Quest for Homeland in Early San Diego.” *The Journal of San Diego History*, Winter/Spring 2011, Vol. 57 Issue 1/2, 39.

²³ *Ibid*, 39-40.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 40.

confronted Bandini and told him that they, not government-appointed administrators, should determine San Gabriel's fate. 'I reproved them severely,' he recalled, 'for their secret meetings which they held at night, saying that the government would punish them.... With that they departed but they are not to be trusted.'²⁵

Bandini's treatment of the Indians at San Gabriel was surely the same treatment he doled out at Rancho Jurupa. Walsh in his footnotes stated the following:

In another example, an overseer Hilario García was tried in 1830 for flogging a party of Indians accused of stealing cattle, "one of whom was pulled about by the hair until he dies," according to Hubert Howe Bancroft. García was sentenced to ten years, but at a second trial, his sentence was reduced to five years after "Bandini defended García, pronouncing the charges only lies of Indians." See Bancroft, 2:549.²⁶

These examples of Bandini's treatment and supported behavior towards Indians shows the beginnings of the way Native people would be viewed in the Riverside area and at Rancho Jurupa which encompassed Mount Rubidoux.

The Santa Ana River

²⁵ Ibid, 40.

²⁶ Ibid.

Beginning our hike, Natives and Palestinians, we ascended the mountain under the hot sun sharing stories and talking the entire way up. We passed an area full of cactus that several of the Palestinian youth remarked reminded them of home. They discussed how the cacti have roots that are difficult to eradicate as a metaphor for themselves. I was reminded of the Mexican proverb, “They tried to bury us. They didn’t know we were seeds.” We rounded the mountain and were now on the western slope looking down at the Santa Ana River. On the opposite bank there was a housing development. Several of the Palestinian youth commented to me that the housing looked just like an Israeli settlement to them. After this comment they realized that these houses too were those of settlers.

Wanawna, the Santa Ana River, stretching from the San Bernardino Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, is the largest riparian ecosystem in southern California. However, the river today has largely been channelized, diverted and urbanized.²⁷ The last Environmental Protection Agency assessment status deemed the river to be “impaired” –determining that it cannot support its designated uses. Amongst these usages include: water contact and recreation, aquatic life support, cultural/ceremonial uses, for drinking water and in support of wildlife habitat.²⁸

²⁷ Water Resources Institute, California State University, San Bernardino (2004). *The Santa Ana River and Watershed Bibliography*. Prepared by Redlands Institute, University of Redlands, contract no. GT40405, Redlands, CA.

²⁸ “2004 Waterbody Report for Santa Ana River.” U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, n.d. Web. 22 Feb. 2014.

The Santa Ana River watershed spans four counties in an area of California with one of the fastest growing populations.²⁹

The Orange County Water District estimates that there are 4.8 million people living along the river's watershed and this population has an impact to the river on a daily basis.³⁰ Currently the river faces multiple environmental and urban strains that affect its ability to be used by both humans and animals in healthy ways.

According to the *Press Enterprise*, a local newspaper, testing of the river "between Prado Dam near Corona and the Mission Boulevard Bridge in Riverside... found elevated levels of lead." In addition, other regions of the river are polluted with lead and copper. While yet other regions and tributaries contain high levels of bacteria, often from "leaking sewers, septic tanks, pet waste and manure from dairy farms."³¹ The current ecological damage to the river is connected to the histories and lived condition of the indigenous populations that relied on and continue to view the river as resource, foundation of identity and significant to their place-based worldviews.

Upon seeing the Santa Ana River in southern California, Miguel Costansó of the Portola Expedition wrote in his journal on July 28, 1769: "It is a beautiful river, and carries great floods in the rainy season, as is apparent from its bed and the sand along its banks. This place has many groves of willows and very good soil, all of

²⁹ Water Resources Institute.

³⁰ "Santa Ana River Watershed." Orange County Water District, n.d. Web. 22 Feb. 2014.

³¹ David Danelski. "REGION: River segments, creeks make polluted list." *The Press Enterprise*, 11 Oct. 2011. Web. 23, Feb. 2014.

which can be irrigated for a great distance. We pitched our camp on the left bank of the river. To the right there is a populous Indian village; the inhabitants received us with great kindness. ³²

Although farther downriver, closer to the ocean than Mount Rubidoux this assessment of the river in 1769 compared to the description above shows an example of the ecological effects of colonialism in southern California. Colonialism has had dire effects that not only impact Native peoples, but all people.

Water, one of the most important resources for life has not been taken care of in a sustainable way. Furthermore, the Santa Ana River, which flows through Riverside, is no longer seen as a resource or an important geographic marker. At the beginning of every class I teach I ask several key questions whether the class is Native Studies or not. The questions I ask include: 1. Whose traditional territory is UCR on? Meaning, which tribe's land is this? And 2. What is the name of the river that Riverside is adjacent to? So far, after having asked this question to over 1000 students, only 1 student knew that UCR is on Cahuilla land and a handful knew the name of the river - Santa Ana as it is currently named. It is striking to me that more students do not know the names or locations of major geographical and environmental features of the land they live on. What is not surprising is that they do not know, and the majority has never questioned, whose land they occupy. The discourse surrounding Indians is one that largely places us in the past, and not as

³² Miguel Costanso. 1770. Diary of the Portola expedition, 1769-1770. Accessed April 04, 2015, <http://www.scvhistory.com/scvhistory/costanso-diary.htm>.

living peoples with a continued culture. According to Jodi Byrd, “the deeper cultural discourses” are ones that “require Indians to remain primitive vestiges of early modern man [and] dictate that Indians cannot intellectually, culturally, or spiritually cope with the corrupting influences of technology...”³³ Philip Deloria also reminds us that the world we live in is the “shared creation of all peoples” while at the same time “the costs and benefits” have not been equal. He also asks us to remember that some were more “active in that creation” while others were “acted on.”³⁴

President William Howard Taft

The mission system in California began in 1769 with the founding of Mission San Diego by the Franciscan Junípero Serra. Its first purpose, in conjunction with the Spanish military, was to extend the Spanish empire into California securing their claims to land. The second purpose was one of evangelism. They presumed that California Indians were pagan heathens in need of Christian saving. In order to turn them into Christians, the Catholic priests baptized any Indian they could. In order to ensure the Indians, now considered neophytes, remained Christians the priests engaged in various efforts to keep them at the Mission. The priests used the military to hunt down and return Indians who attempted to escape. On return the Indians

³³ Jodi Byrd, “‘Living My Native Life Deadly’: Red Lake, Ward Churchill, and the Discourses of Competing Genocides.” *The American Indian Quarterly*, Volume 31, Number 2, Spring 2007, 313.

³⁴ Philip Joseph Deloria, 2004. *Indians in unexpected places*. Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 6.

would be subjected to harsh discipline including flogging and stockades dispensed by priests or other Indians at the command of the priests. Through violence, malnutrition and disease, missionized Indians died at alarming rates. Spanish efforts to colonize and simultaneously convert Indians to Christianity created genocidal conditions. While many historians, are weary of naming the mission system as genocidal, I believe that it was explicitly a genocidal condition.

Upon reaching the summit of Mount Rubidoux the group of hikers and I explored the various markers, including a commemoration to Junípero Serra placed at the bottom of the cross inserted into a large boulder on October 12, 1909 which was dedicated by President William Howard Taft. During the fall of 1909, Taft, the 27th President of the United States, began a tour of the southern and western states. While on this tour he visited Riverside and Mount Rubidoux.

During his tenure as President, from 1909 to 1913, Taft had a mixed impact in Indian Country, both positive and negative. Some highlights include the decision to continue allotting reservation lands. Allotment was used to break up commonly owned Indian lands and promote the ideals of individualized private property. In 1909 for example, the Coeur d'Alene reservation in Idaho completed its allotment and 638 Indians received allotments. Taft appointed Robert Valentine as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and in 1910 Valentine established competency commissions to determine if Indians were competent enough for ownership of private property and to become American citizens. Being competent also meant that Indians could sell their private property. The idea of competency was created due to

previous allotments being sold quickly, which the government understood as Indians not being capable of managing their own affairs, therefore needing to have a determination whether they were competent enough to have land allotted to them. According Felix S. Cohen in the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, under the General Allotment Act (Dawe's Act) 60 percent of fee patents to allotted land were sold within three years.³⁵ Later the competency commission would use blood-quantum criteria amongst other measures to determine whether an individual was capable of having title to their land. Writing in *Native Acts*, Joanne Barker notes, "the extent to which blood was directly applied to competency evaluations at the field and federal levels is impossible to determine. Instead, it is important to note that the BIA's regulations of competency and land title by blood marks the constitutive role of race in Native dispossession."³⁶

During his administration, President Taft created several executive order reservations. Amongst these include reservation lands reserved for Tohono O'odham in 1811: Maricopa, Cockleburr, Chi Chisch, Tat-muri-ma-kutt, and Boboquivari Peak-Santiergos Reservations, 80 acres each.³⁷ Although he designated reservation lands for tribes, in 1910 he took land away from the Navajo people

³⁵ Felix S. Cohen. 1971. *Handbook of Federal Indian law*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

³⁶ Joanne Barker. 2011. *Native acts: law, recognition, and cultural authenticity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 90.

³⁷ Ojibwa, "President Taft and the Indians," *Native American Netroots*, Accessed April 20, 2016, <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1394>

without consent or compensation. Rainbow Bridge National Monument in San Juan County, Utah was designated on May 30, 1910. The Rainbow Bridge and surrounding lands including a cave, spring and prayer spot on a tributary of the Colorado River are sacred sites for the Navajo. This taking of land continues to impact Navajo people who were further affected with the construction of the Glen Canyon Dam, forming Lake Powell in 1964 and covering sacred sites with water. The designation of Rainbow Bridge as a National monument and increased tourism coupled with the construction of the dam and the flooding of sacred sites has made it nearly impossible for the Navajo to conduct ceremony there.³⁸

In August of 1909, President Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Act. According to the New York Times, Taft ran for president on a campaign of tariff reform. However, the act

lowered the overall tariff rate by only five percent and raised rates on crucial resources like coal and iron ore. In seeming contradiction of his pledge to oversee meaningful reform, President Taft signed the bill into law and then embarked on a national tour to shore up popular support for the measure.³⁹

Taft's stops on his tour would include southern California's Inland Empire. Ten days

³⁸ *Badoni v. Higginson*, 638 F.2d 172, 177 (10th Cir. 1980).

³⁹ Robert C. Kennedy, "En tour," *On This Day: New York Times*, On October 2, 1909, *Harper's Weekly* featured a cartoon about President William Howard Taft and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. Accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/harp/1002.html#explanation>

prior to this stop, *Harper's Weekly* featured a cartoon lampooning Taft's tour to drum up public support of the bill.

The New York Times journalist Robert C. Kennedy described the cartoon in the following way:

This cartoon lampoons the Republican Party's lame attempt at tariff reform and the president's trip. The Republican caravan is led by Taft, in top hat and tails, carrying a bouquet "for the people." Behind him is the Republican Elephant advertising an angelic Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, chief architect of the final bill, as "the people's friend." Bringing up the rear is a cart transporting a bucket of "whitewash," which is "to be applied liberally at all important stops." The tin can labeled "tariff revision" that is tied to the elephant's tail signifies a problem that will soon trip up its wearer, and reflects an older symbol of a teapot (or teakettle) tied to an animal's tail.⁴⁰

While Taft found his visits elsewhere on his tour to be at times unsupportive of his Presidency due to the tariff bill, in southern California he found supportive crowds cheering for him. The *Los Angeles Herald* for example reported on October 13, 1909 that Taft reached San Bernardino at 2:30 in the afternoon by train. "All San Bernardino was at the depot..."⁴¹ to welcome him. The crowd swelled with

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Los Angeles Herald. October 13, 1909, 8.

excitement and calls of “We are for Taft! We are for Taft! Taft, Taft, Taft!”⁴²

The *Los Angeles Herald* began its coverage of Taft’s visit by discussing his whirlwind trip through the Inland Empire. The newspaper stated,

President Taft saw sixty-five miles of orange trees today. It all happened in less than four hours. He made a flying auto trip from San Bernardino to Redlands, up Smiley Heights, through Colton, half the length of Riverside county, Up Mount Rubidoux, down Magnolia Avenue to the Sherman Institute and back to the Glenwood Inn, where he was honored with a banquet.⁴³

The Inland Empire, the region of southern California that contains Riverside, San Bernardino and Redlands, at the time of the President’s visit was a rich agricultural area dependent on the citrus industry.

The *Herald* detailed Taft’s trip through the Inland Empire, “a hard one.” It stated, “[i]t is not an easy matter to ride sixty five miles in an auto...”⁴⁴ By the end of the trip, the President was covered in dust and dirt. Despite the difficulty of the trip, his “smile never came off, even though the dust came into little canyons every time he moved his face.”⁴⁵ The *Herald* reported that the President saw what made

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

California great, focusing on the transformation of the land to meet the needs of the settler population:

He got a glimpse of what makes the greatness of Southern California. He saw roads built up steep mountains; he saw valleys and plains, once bare wastes, now filled with blossoms. And, judging from the many pleasures he gave during his trip, he must have been surprised.⁴⁶

From the train station in San Bernardino, President Taft departed by automobile to Redlands, up Smiley Heights, on to Colton for a brief stop and into Riverside.

When the party entered Riverside county they did so through a beautiful welcome arch of flowers. Riverside itself was out en masse for the occasion. Seventh street, down which the procession went to get to the Glenwood Inn, was an avenue of people, children along the curbing and their elders standing back so that the little folks could get a good view.⁴⁷

The *Herald* reported the crowd as “unselfish.” Adults made sure that children were given the opportunity to be part of the festivities. It quoted Taft as stating that the crowd “embodied the real California spirit, ‘Help others and you help yourself.’”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Palm Trees, Big Sun and the Calm Breeze

The roadway to the Glenwood Inn, where the President stopped for a brief period before heading to Mount Rubidoux, was decorated patriotically. As reported by the *Los Angeles Herald*, “In the center of the street, hanging from the trolley wires, were hung palm wreaths, and at either side palm branches. Flags were everywhere and flowers were used in abundance.”⁴⁹ By 1909, the palm tree had already become synonymous with California. They represented California as desert oasis. In a focus piece about the history of palm trees in California, KCET explained,

Although they conjure the image of Los Angeles as desert oasis, L.A.'s palm trees owe their iconic status more to Southern California's turn-of-the-century cultural aspirations and engineering feats than to the region's natural ecology. Though watered in some places by perennial streams like the Los Angeles River, Southern California's pre-1492 landscape was decidedly semi-arid, a patchwork of grassland, chaparral, sage scrub, and oak woodland. As monocots, palms are actually more closely related to grasses than they are to woody deciduous trees. They need an abundance of water in the soil to grow successfully, and so they—like the manicured lawns they often adorn—rely on the vast amounts of water that Southern California

⁴⁹ Ibid, 8.

imports from distant watersheds.⁵⁰

Despite the image of California's landscape being covered with palm trees, only one species of palm is native to the state. *Washingtonia filifera*, the California Fan Palm, grows in limited locations such as Palm Springs and the Oasis of Mara (Twenty Nine Palms). As reported by KCET, "Southern California's native palms grow far away from Los Angeles..." They grow in "spring-fed Colorado Desert oases tucked deep inside steep mountain ravines."⁵¹ In *Mukat's People: The Cahuilla Indians of Southern California*, Lowell John Bean writes, "The trees grow in groves ranging from two or three to several hundred; the larger groves are favorite village and camp sites."⁵² In *Temalpakh: Cahuilla Indian Knowledge and Usage of Plants*, Lowell John Bean and Katherine Siva Saubel write,

Fan palms range northward as far as Twentynine Palms, first occupied by the Serrano and later by a Chemehuevi group. To the east, fan palms are found extending to Corn Springs in the Chuckawalla Mountains. On the west, their range of distribution is halted by the barriers of the Santa Rosa and San Jacinto mountain ranges. To the south, they extend as far as the Mexican

⁵⁰ Nathan Masters, "A Brief History of Palm Trees in Southern California," KCET, December 07, 2011. http://www.kcet.org/updaily/socal_focus/history/la-as-subject/a-brief-history-of-palm-trees-in-southern-california.html

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Lowell John Bean. 1972. *Mukat's people; the Cahuilla Indians of southern California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 44.

border.⁵³

Most of California's native fan palms are within Cahuilla territory in Palm Canyon near Palm Springs and in Thousand Palms Canyon near Indio.

The first palm trees, other than the native tree, in California were planted by the mission system, brought by the Spanish priests presumably using Indian labor. Palm trees have an importance to Christianity and are cited in many bible verses.

However, it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that palms became prominent in the southern California landscape. According to the previously quoted KCET article,

the region's leisure class introduced the palm as the region's preeminent decorative plant. Providing neither shade nor marketable fruit, the palm was entirely ornamental. Its exotic associations helped reinforce what Kevin Starr describes in *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* as "Southern California's turn-of-the-century conviction that it was America's Mediterranean littoral, its Latin shore, sunny and palm-guarded."⁵⁴

The palm tree would eventual spread throughout southern California. In 1931 for example, Los Angeles' division of forestry planted over 25,000 such trees.⁵⁵

⁵³ Lowell John Bean, Katherine Siva Saubel, Harry W. Lawton, and Lowell John Bean. 1972. *Temalpakh (from the earth): Cahuilla Indian knowledge and usage of plants*. [Banning, Calif.]: Malki Museum Press, 145.

⁵⁴ Nathan Masters, KCET.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

For the Cahuilla, palms were much more than decorative landscape pieces as they had become for the colonial American culture. According to Bean and Saubel, the fan palm was an economically important plant for the Cahuilla.⁵⁶ They argue that while the literature about Cahuilla culture has focused on other important plants such as the oak, mesquite and yucca, the California Fan Palm “was a regular, dependable, and significant food source to a number of Cahuilla groups and a source of construction and other materials.”⁵⁷ As food source, the fruit of the palm are ready for gathering from late June to early November.⁵⁸

Each tree sometimes had as many as a dozen fruit clusters, weighing from five to twenty pounds each. The dark blue fruits are small (about the size of a pea) and have a large seed coated within a thin layer of sweet flesh, which tastes much like the domestic date.

The date was eaten raw or dried and stored for later use. Lowell and Saubel describe that the dried fruit was “ground into a flour that included both flesh and seed. The flour was mixed with other flours and water and eaten as a mush.” Cahuilla also made a drink by soaking the fruit in water and occasionally made a jelly.

Other uses of the fan palm were for construction purposes. The Cahuilla

⁵⁶ Bean and Saubel, 145.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 145.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 146.

would gather the palm fronds and weave them together. “The fronds were interwoven on the sides of a house and laid over it for a roof. Fronds were regularly changed each year. Houses built of palm fronds were both waterproof and windproof. Ramadas were also made from palm fronds.” Uses also included “making various tools and utensils such as ladles and spoons.”⁵⁹ Bean and Saubel note the importance of palm in Cahuilla fire making.

The origin of the fire-making process is part of the Cahuilla creation myth. Curtis (1926:10) records that in the beginning “... they laid a woman, Ninmaiwaut (palm), on her back, and Aawut (horsefly) took a wooden spindle and drilled her. First blood, then fire, came forth. This woman then became a palm (formerly used for the hearth of the fire-drill), and the man a house-fly, which still rubs its sticks together as if using a drill.”⁶⁰

This story shows the importance of palm, for Cahuilla culture, in helping sustain life through fire and the way women were viewed as important life givers. *Ninmaiwaut* gave Cahuilla fire.

The seeds from the palm fruit are used in making gourd rattles. In *The Heart is Fire: The World of the Cahuilla Indians of Southern California*, Deborah Dozier quotes contemporary Cahuilla bird singer Anthony Andreas discussing the palm seeds for use in gourd rattles.

⁵⁹ Bean, 45.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

I would get some seeds from the palm tree. I have to cure those. When you pick them, they have the fruit on them. I put those seeds in there [in the gourd] without the handle and I kind of tape it and see if I need any more seeds. I play it a little bit [to hear] if it sounds just right, or I will take some seeds out, If I got the right amount of seeds in there, I will glue the handle on.⁶¹

Also discussing palm seeds as used in Cahuilla gourd rattles, Alvino Siva stated,

The volume comes in the size. The bigger it is, the more [shakes rattle]. And then I found out, also, that what makes a lot of difference is the size of those little palm seeds. If you use the bigger seeds you will get a different sound altogether. I got a whole bunch of those seeds divided into different sizes.⁶²

Bird Songs are a continuation of the Cahuilla creation story of which various versions exist. Deborah Dozier presents one version in *The Heart is Fire*. In the story, the people kill Mukat, their Creator, after his unwanted sexual transgressions with the moon caused her to leave and travel behind the earth out of sight and then to make herself seen again in the same way we see her today. It is understood that due to their killing Mukat, the people were in turmoil and migrated away from the area in groupings. Many of the people returned to their homelands while others went on to populate other areas of the world. Those who returned had stories of their

⁶¹ Deborah Dozier. 1998. *The heart is fire: the world of the Cahuilla Indians of southern California*. Berkeley, Calif: Heyday Books, 104.

⁶² Ibid.

migrations in song form. Alvino Siva, one of the elder Cahuilla Bird Singers who is important in the continuance, and cultural revival of Singing the Birds discussed the origin of Bird Songs in Deborah Dozier's book *The Heart is Fire*:

I wanted to know how it originated, how the songs came about. So this old man, Mariano, that is Joe Patencio's father, he wouldn't really just sit down and tell us everything and how it was kept and whatever, he just said our bird songs started way back with our creation stories.

When they killed Mukat, everybody was in turmoil, everybody just went their ways. When you hear about the creation I think it was nothing but Cahuillas, but everybody else was there. Everything that Mukat created. So when he died, they just dispersed. They went to the four winds. What Cahuillas were left, they said, "Let us look around and listen to the people that are talking Cahuilla and let's get them together." So they did that, they got all the Cahuillas together. They said that they went around the continent three times. These songs they sang, these bird songs. That is why these songs are so ancient you can't understand them. Some of them you can understand. Some of the songs are singing about the land, and it parallels the migrations of the birds, you have the animals in them. He said, "This is what we sang when we landed here in that area, Palm Springs." That is where those songs came from I guess, from when they are moving.⁶³

⁶³ Ibid, 88.

The Bird Songs are part of a collection of songs that are performed as a cycle using the gourd rattle with palm seeds inside. A song cycle is a progression of songs that are sung in a particular order and have a beginning and an end to them. The above quote by Alvino Siva is an example of the importance of Bird Songs for the Cahuilla. The instrument used as percussion, the gourd rattle with its palm seeds inside is an example of the relationship Cahuilla have with the land. Their songs explain how they came to live in southern California, and their creation story includes the palm tree, whose seeds – the trees life and origin – are used to produce the rhythm for the songs detailing the Cahuilla's own origins.

Unlike the idea of California as a place with palm trees and a cool breeze, pre-contact California had only one species of palm tree. This species, the *washingtonia filifera*, is an indispensable plant for traditional Cahuilla culture. It remains important to the continuation of Bird Singing and the proliferation of song and sound as a method of sharing culture and its reclamation. Sound and song are vessels for cultural exchange and have proven to be valued conduits for youth involvement in traditional Indigenous cultures.

The Road to Mount Rubidoux

The narrow road up Mount Rubidoux is difficult to imagine having had a history of vehicles climbing up towards its peak. Their final destination being the large cross and flag on the top, or the monument dedicated to the missionary responsible for bringing Christianity, colonialism and genocide to California:

Junípero Serra. Today, the road is limited to pedestrians walking up the mountain. The majority of hikers make their way up the mountain for exercise and leisure. The goal of the hike for the dual group, Palestinian and Natives, was something altogether different. The two groups, who have similarities and differences, came together not to glorify colonialism but instead to discuss colonialism's nefarious effects. The purpose of this dissertation is not to debate whom the Indigenous peoples of Israel/Palestine are or which group has more similarities with Native Americans: Palestinians or the Jewish population. Those debates can happen in other academic arenas and on blogs and social media. Yet, what is clear from the history of the region since 1948 is an imbalance of power between the Israeli state and the Palestinian, with a decrease in land controlled by Palestinians. Furthermore, increased numbers of the Palestinian population have experienced a diaspora and dispossession of lands they had previously lived on. The earlier discussed recognition by both Indians and Palestinians of the housing development next to the river as a settlement highlights an example of the connections between the two groups. They were both able to see the housing, a non-spectacular example of settler colonialism, in a similar way. They shared a common sense reality of colonialism's impact on land. This brief overview of the experience of some Palestinians has commonalities with that of Native Americans. Correspondingly Jack D. Forbes wrote, "The white settlers in North America frequently claimed that divine providence or destiny had given them the right to displace the 'inferior' Americans with 'superior'

white European industry, ingenuity, know-how, and ideology.”⁶⁴ Forbes compared this history with that of Israel, “The Israeli occupation of Palestine (Kanaan or Filistina) has also been justified on the alleged ground of a divine grant in Mosaic times. The white New Englanders spoke of a New Canaan in North America, and thus we see how strikingly alike are the Anglo-American expansionist ideology and the Zionist perspective.”⁶⁵ Furthering his argument Forbes asserted, “And just as the First Americans were condemned as ‘savage’ and ‘Redskins’ for defending their home countries, so too the Arab Palestinians are categorized generally as ‘terrorists’ for striking back at Israeli settlements.”⁶⁶ The overall purpose of the hike up Mount Rubidoux was for an exchange of knowledge and for the Palestinian youth to learn about the histories of the Native peoples whose land they were on as part of their summer program in recognition of Indigenous peoples and settler colonialism. The description sent in an email by Megan Awwad to those participating gave the following description:

This intensive hike with our Native allies is designed to trigger a psychological understanding of Nakba – a process of dispossession. At the top of the mountain, we will have a family oral history sharing circle about our family stories of dispossession, identity, migration, and creation stories

⁶⁴ Forbes, *Columbus and other Cannibals*, 128.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

as well as the importance of land and understanding the history of settler-colonialism in Riverside.⁶⁷

The goal of the hike was especially significant given that the monument to Serra reads in part, “The beginning of Civilization in California.” This statement truly means that the Cahuilla and other Native people of California were viewed by the white-supremacist culture as being uncivilized and inferior, rhetoric that is also sometimes used to describe the Palestinians as unworthy of land as Forbes had explained.

The West’s fundamental binary is often between civilization and wilderness or Christian and non-Christian. Occupying the *wilderness* is the Native who is occasionally considered competent enough to be brought into civilization, but more often than not is perceived as inhabiting a perpetual state of savagery or otherness. Edward Said defined Orientalism as the process in which the West separates itself from those it deems inferior. The inferior “other” or “Indians” are those who live outside of civilization. They, according to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, are fundamentally constructed as the “other” of Western subjectivity.⁶⁸ Andrea Smith in her article *Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy* noted, “[t]he logic of Orientalism marks certain peoples or nations as inferior and as posing a constant threat to the well-being of empire... they will always be imagined as permanent

⁶⁷ Email from Megan Awwad, July 25, 2015.

⁶⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.

foreign threats..."⁶⁹ The Indian, as both real and imagined, must always be disappearing as Andrea Smith wrote, "in order to allow non-indigenous peoples rightful claim over... land."⁷⁰ The "Indian," as the embodiment of wilderness is a continuous threat, who must be disappeared to be replaced by those who carry civilization (i.e. Christianity) with them. The settler and the missionary, both, have intended to bring civilization with them and transform the land (nature) to meet their own needs and desires.

President Taft's motorcade drove up Mount Rubidoux and it was at the summit that the car came to a halt. According to the *Los Angeles Herald*, "a beautiful sight was seen. As far as the eye could reach in all directions were beautiful fruit-laden trees."⁷¹ The scene was of capitalist progress; a drastic change to the environment to propel both the capitalist project and that of settlement, continuing the genocidal condition for California Indians. Furthermore, the President unveiled the memorial to Serra, one of the first colonizers in California.

The Riverside chamber of commerce, which planned President Taft's entertainment, had arranged a special feature, the unveiling of a bronze tablet to the memory of Fra Junipero Serra, the first Franciscan monk to enter California. The tablet is placed on a rock at the very summit of Mt.

⁶⁹ Incite! Women of Color Against Violence. 2006. *Color of violence: the Incite! anthology*. Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 68.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 68.

⁷¹ *Los Angeles Herald*. October 13, 1909, 8.

Rubidoux. When the president arrived there he was given a string and as he gently pulled it an American flag fell aside, revealing the tablet.⁷²

The Riverside Chamber of Commerce was declaring, using the President and the American flag, that California and the United States are Christian and were founded by Christians. They were also developing a connection between the United States and the longer history of California beginning with the Spanish. This linkage allowed Americans to view the history of Spanish colonialism and the Mission project to be their own history. California's unique past, having been first colonized by Spain and Mexico would become more than history. It would become mythology that the incoming settlers would identify with, a contradiction from a few decades earlier when California was seen as needing U.S. intervention and Americans focused on the deplorable conditions the mission had created for California's indigenous peoples. This *Spanish Imaginary* was created to honor California's Christian and white origins.

The inscription on the memorial to Junípero Serra, which is approximately two feet by three feet in size, reads as follows:

The Beginning of Civilization in California

Fra. Junipero Serra

Apostle

Legislator

Builder

⁷² Ibid.

To commemorate his good
works this tablet is hereby placed

Unveiled by

William Howard Taft

Twenty Seventh President

of the

United States

October 12, A.D. 1909

After revealing the memorial to Serra, the President's motorcade drove back down the mountain and headed for Sherman Institute (Sherman Indian Boarding School) on Magnolia Avenue, also in Riverside. I will provide an expanded history of the boarding school project and Sherman in Chapter Five. The *Los Angeles Herald* reported, "Here the Indian girls and their fresh white waists and dark skirts, and the boys in their gray uniforms, presented an impressive and beautiful sight. President Taft said a few words of cheer to the government's wards and was on his way back to the Glenwood Inn."⁷³

Once back at the Mission Inn (Glenwood) the President was given an hour's rest before dinner. The *Herald* reported that those in the motorcade used this hour to wash up after being covered in dust, "President Taft included, wore a coat of dust at least an eighth of an inch thick when the auto ride was ended." It also said that,

⁷³ Los Angeles Herald. October 13, 1909, 8.

“Many a gallon of water was used” in order for the party to be dinner ready. The President’s suite, the same used by President Roosevelt when he came to Riverside in 1903 was decorated with “characteristic tropical greenery.” Similar to the decorations along the streets, described earlier, the room was decorated with “Date palm branches, peppers, acacias and umbrella plant... with clusters of sunflowers adding the only touch of color.”⁷⁴ The *Herald* also reported that the dining room was similarly decorated, “As the presidential party entered the Glenwood dining room they passed under an arch of date palm branches with pendant clusters of ripening dates.” The newspaper also described the centerpiece, “The piece de resistance of the dining room was a huge Roman vase piled high with oranges and grapefruit.”⁷⁵ The dinner featured California striped bass, roasted Riverside turkey, ripe Mission olives, Mission Inn orange salad and orange straws amongst its dishes, highlighting local protein and agricultural products.

Beyond the food and decorations, the most important feature of the dinner for analysis is the President’s speech, reported in full in the *Los Angeles Herald’s* coverage.

This dinner has assured a function I did not expect. I had not anticipated the honor of unveiling a tablet to so great a man as Father Serra. Had I known what was to come, I would have prepared myself with more in preparation

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Los Angeles Herald. October 13, 1909, 8.

about the missionary fathers. I first became aware of the padres in the Philippines; there I learned first the heroic side of the Spanish character. We are in the habit of looking back to our ancestors with smug satisfaction and feeling that ours are the only ancestors who ever did anything worth while. It reduces the size of our heads and puts us in better adjustment to become aware of the fact that there were others in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who fought the battles of civilization and who did things which will live in all times. When you consider the hardships of the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the Maules of the early days, it is hard to believe the work we see today was done then. Those pioneer missionaries converted the only Christian people in the orient today. It is fitting that we pay a tribute to one of those pioneers today.⁷⁶

President Taft, from this statement, knew very little about the colonization of California. The Mission system in California did not begin until 1769, towards the end of the 18th century. However, colonial and genocidal processes that included converting indigenous populations to Catholicism did begin much earlier. The Spanish, for example, began educating and converting Filipinos during the late 16th century.

Taft travelled to the Philippines in 1900 after the Spanish-American War at the request of President McKinley. The purpose of his trip was forcing a U.S. centered idea of nation building onto the islands. He drafted and implemented laws,

⁷⁶ Ibid.

a constitution, a court system, an administration, and a civil service bureaucracy. The constitution he wrote included a bill of rights, almost identical to that of the U.S. On his arrival, the islands were in rebellion against the U.S. military control. Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipino nationalists was captured, the U.S. military relinquished control and Taft became president of the civilian commission, known as the Taft Commission or the Second Philippine Commission, the sole government of the Philippines under the sovereign control of the United States (also known as the Insular Government). Taft held this position for over a year, and then became the Civil Governor of the Philippines. He would hold this position until 1904 when President McKinley appointed him Secretary of War for the United States.

Taft's understanding of colonialism as he explained it, helps us understand why he was a perfect head of state to unveil a monument to Junípero Serra. In his own words, Taft understood the encounter between indigenous peoples and Christians, who he spoke of as civilized, as "hardships" encountered by the colonizer.⁷⁷ To further analyze Taft's statement, it is easy to understand that he would have viewed the genocidal conditions of native populations as justified simply because of the binary, civilized and uncivilized, Christian and non-Christian. This binary was central to a white supremacist understanding of the frontier. The Filipinos, similar to California Indians were uncivilized and colonialism, whether destructive to the Native population or not, furthered the goal of converting the

⁷⁷ These hardships are collectively known as the White Man's Burden.

uncivilized into Christians. Dylan Rodriguez in *Suspended Apocalypse* explained that Taft “echoes and affirms the discourse of historical inevitability, military necessity, and political rationality that constitutes genocidal frontier warfare in the opening movements of the Philippine colonial project.”⁷⁸ Rodriguez further stated that while Taft did not “unleash the rhetoric of bloodthirstiness and over racist brutality” that one may expect from a leader of a genocidal effort, Taft does provide the “rhetorical, philosophical, and ethnographic blueprint for a transpacific rearticulation of white supremacist (colonial) nation building.”⁷⁹

Continuing his speech at the Mission Inn, Taft discussed his visit to southern California:

I have seen as much today of Southern California as any one ever saw in any twelve hours and everything I have seen has pleased me. It is fitting that my visit should end in a building like this which commemorates the region in which it is situated and the architecture of a departed race. I believe that the missions of Southern California should be preserved for they are the greatest historical relic of the west. I am heartily in accord with the sentiment of the men of Riverside, who want to build their government building on a site of one of the old missions. California has a past and it is well that you here are trying to make that past live through its architecture. I have preached so

⁷⁸ Dylan Rodriguez. 2010. *Suspended apocalypse: white supremacy, genocide, and the Filipino condition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 128.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

many sermons and have come in such close contact with the churchmen that I feel a good deal like a bishop. The progress of modern civilization is largely dependent upon the Christian missions of every denomination, not upon the trader who goes into the heathen land to take what he thinks the heathen does not value but which he knows to be of value but upon the missionary, the one who advances civilization. It is such men as the churches send to foreign climes who brave all dangers that convince all men that there is a living spirit which they should embrace. There is in California that broad tolerance of other religions which is coming to make a man more companionable and the erection of the bronze tablet to the memory of Father Serra, done by men ninety percent of whom are not followers of his faith is an added evidence of that fact. We are making progress in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. And it is well that we are, for it shows us to be the most progressive of all.⁸⁰

President Taft indeed saw much of southern California in his twelve hours touring the Inland Empire. While travelling this same distance today would take much less time, in 1909 Taft was able to see many important locations that would determine the history of southern California for decades to come.

The Mission Inn, much like Taft's call for both Mission restoration and continued and increased use of mission revival style architecture would impact California's public understanding of the Mission system and its genocidal effects on

⁸⁰ Los Angeles Herald. October 13, 1909.

Indian people. It is clear from his speech that Taft viewed the genocide of California Indian people as a noble endeavor undertaken by the Spanish at the hands of priests such as Junípero Serra. Taft viewed Christianizing the non-Christian, enforced by any denomination as progress. This, as Denise da Silva helps us understand, is a construct created through European post-Enlightenment colonialism where it was understood that there were “two kinds of minds.” The first being “able to know, emulate, and control powers of universal reason.” The second “kind of mind subjected to both the exterior determination of the ‘laws of nature’ and the superior force of European minds.”⁸¹ California Indian self-determination continues to be understood as limited to within the boundaries of European (U.S.) external domination and determination of their futures and lands within Christian theology and legal theory. Rodriguez explained that within these conditions there “is no... ‘outside of’ colonial dominance, genocidal conquest, and neocolonial rule...” This is what Taft articulates as “progress”.

I have appreciated having Governor Gillett and others with me during the seven days I have been in California. I have been treated with exceptional courtesy and have learned much. I have seen all parts of the state and I have been surprised and gratified. I know the welcome here and everywhere in the state has been sincere and I know that the Californians are loyal to the backbone and proud to be part of this great nation. Your welcome has been

⁸¹ Denise Ferreira da Silva. 2007. *Toward a global idea of race*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 116-117.

pleasing and full of new meaning for me. You have been warmer in your reception here than further east, but that must be because you are so far from Washington. If you saw me every day you might not like me so well, but I am delighted to take advantage of your ignorance. There is no experience in my life so delightful as these seven days in California. It has been strenuous, but so is life. I regret I must say goodbye, but we must all part some time.

Goodby and thank you.

Departing Riverside, Taft helped leave a legacy of American imperialism in the Pacific as connected to Manifest Destiny and the importance of the Spanish Imaginary in developing a connection to California for Anglo settlers.

Conclusion

Before departing the summit of Mount Rubidoux, the group of Palestinians and Natives who had hiked to the top shared stories of colonization. They theorized futures, both under continued colonialism and of freedom. The later difficult to envision given the current violence in Palestine and the ongoing legacy of genocide, land dispossession, resource extraction, and impact to the environment and sacred sites within the United States. What seemed clear from these conversations was that the histories already encountered by America's indigenous peoples has striking similarities to the genocidal condition facing the Palestinian peoples. Although President Taft had determined that Junípero Serra was a man of religious and historical significance, a man who he viewed as having progressed the goals of white

(Christian) supremacy, history is never complete and its analysis is certainly not finished. Similarly, the Palestinian condition does not need to have men such as Junípero Serra honored for their own demise and land dispossession. How historians will write about and explain colonial forces in the future is unknown, but I am hopeful that genocidal impacts on any human population will not go unmourned, or far worse, celebrated.

Chapter Five:
Architecture of Genocide

It has been left to you, Frank Miller, a genuine Californian, to dream the hotel that ought to be, to turn your ideal into plaster and stone, and to give us in mountain belted Riverside the one hotel which a Californian can recognize as his own.

David Starr Jordan¹

I am especially anxious to secure the location of this building in Riverside [Sherman Indian School], as it will mean a great deal to tourist business. The Helen Hunt Jackson "Ramona" story, every other tourist has read, and a great many people drive over to the Perris School, a distance of about thirty-two miles, round trip.

Frank A. Miller²

Architecture has changed the California landscape. Prior to colonialism California Indian architecture was sustainable with the environment. It was biodegradable, and most homes were constructed of a combination of willow and tule or palm fronds. By design it was temporary and left little impact on the earth. The human-land relationship California Indians organized their ways of life around insisted that people live responsibly with their environment. In a Native spiritual perception of reality human beings have a responsibility to the earth. This relational organization of life, based on space rather than time, was deeply different and

¹ Kevin Starr. 1985. *Inventing the dream: California through the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.

² Frank Miller letter to Henry Huntington, 23 January 1899. As quoted in: Nathan Gonzales. 2002. "Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian: Frank A. Miller and the Creation of Sherman Institute". *Southern California Quarterly*. 84 (3-4): 193-222.

contrasting with the culture of the settler who values the environment for what it can provide as resource for exploitation and not through a sacred relationship. The Cahuilla of the Spring Rancheria in Riverside constructed their homes “of well-constructed brush and batten-board rectangular homes,” as explained by Goodman in his archaeological investigation.³

The first settler architecture in the city of Riverside was little more than barn style structures, board-and batten shacks,⁴ and was more indicative of a camp than a town. Soon after the founding of Riverside in 1875 permanent structures using Victorian Stick style architecture borrowed from the East coast was used in home construction. This architectural style according to the *Riverside Citywide Design Guide* is constructed with “steeply gabled and cross-gabled roofs with decorative woodwork at the apex under overhanging eaves.”⁵ The description provided by the City of Riverside also detailed that this design is distinguished through its decorative woodwork and wall surfaces that “are generally shingles or boards, and are often decorated with periodic, raised sections of horizontal, vertical, or diagonal stick designs.”⁶ Riverside also incorporated another architectural style from the East

³ John David Goodman. 1993. Spring rancheria: archaeological investigations of a transient Cahuilla village in early Riverside, California, 52.

⁴ Ibid, 44.

⁵ Riverside Citywide Design Guide, Chapter 4, *Riverside's Architectural Heritage*, 4-4. Accessed March 20, 2016, <https://www.riversideca.gov/historic/guidelines.asp>.

⁶ Riverside Citywide Design Guide, Chapter 4, *Riverside's Architectural Heritage*, 4-4.

coast known as the Queen Anne style. According to the Citywide Design Guide, “Queen Anne buildings are characterized by complex roofs of fairly steep pitch; combinations of siding materials such as clapboard and patterned shingles; rounded and three-sided slant bays of one or more stories; towers and turrets; porches and balconies, sometimes rounded in configuration; and by the incorporation of ornamental elements such as turned wood columns and spindles, sawn bargeboards and brackets, stained and leaded glass, and molded plasterwork.”⁷ A variant of the Queen Anne was known as the Carpenter Gothic, used for the construction of wood frame churches.⁸ Another architecture style was known as the Eastlake, named after English architect Charles Lock Eastlake. This style of architecture is distinguished according to the Guide through “a distinctive type of spindlework ornamentation, produced by using a chisel, gouge, and lathe, which is distinct from the two-dimensional gingerbread look produced by the scroll saw. The Eastlake style is heavier, with curved, heavy brackets, the ornamentation of exposed rafters, and decorative friezes or fascias along the overhangs of porches or verandas.”⁹ Yet another Victorian style architecture was used known as Victorian Shingle, often two or three stories with cross gables and multi-level eaves.¹⁰ The Guide stated, “The

⁷ Riverside Citywide Design Guide, Chapter 4, *Riverside’s Architectural Heritage*, 4-5.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Riverside Citywide Design Guide, Chapter 4, *Riverside’s Architectural Heritage*, 4-6.

Shingle style evolved from the Queen Anne style around 1880 and was first seen in New England. In 1886 Willis Polk brought the style to California where it flourished locally, although it never gained the widespread popularity of the Queen Anne Style.”¹¹ These four styles of architecture were the primary architecture used in Riverside up to around 1900.

Circa 1898 the Prairie style became much more common until 1920. The Guide stated, “Frank Lloyd Wright is usually credited with the origin and development of the Prairie style home. This style was presented in stark contrast with the ornate embellishment of the Victorian era. Prairie styling is generally characterized by strong horizontal lines, overhanging flat or slightly hipped roofs with flat, enclosed soffits, and the clustering of windows into bands of three, four, or more openings.”¹² Prairie style was a contemporary of the American Colonial Revival. The Guide explained this style in the following manner:

The American Colonial Revival went through several phases, beginning in the late nineteenth century when such features as columns, dentils, gable ends treated as pediments and double- hung sash windows were associated locally with the Queen Anne and American Foursquare styles. In the 1920’s and 1930’s, Colonial styling became one of the choices of revivalist architects.

Larger homes were usually two stories, with hipped or gabled roofs, wood or

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

brick exteriors, and a symmetrical arrangement of features. Two story structures often featured a full-length portico, and are generally referred to as Neoclassical Revival. More common, however, was the Colonial Revival Bungalow. Usually built between 1920 and 1925, these one-story residences were side-gabled, wood-sided, with central entrances often treated as gabled porticos, and a symmetrical arrangement of windows. One popular subtype combined the more formal Colonial elements such as Tuscan columns and a central entry with the more rustic Craftsman vocabulary of exposed rafters and pergolas.¹³

Another contemporary of the Prairie was the American Foursquare. These homes according to the Guide “are characterized by square proportions. They are often given a horizontal emphasis by roof or siding treatments, by the nearly always present hipped roof and dormer, and by a front porch, either recessed or attached, spanning all or part of the facade. Columns suggestive of the classical orders, dentils, and boxed cornices tied these homes to the tradition of the American Colonial Revival movement...”¹⁴

Amongst other architectural styles of the early 20th century included Craftsman (ca. 1900-1925), Classical Revival (ca.1900-1950), and the English and Tudor Revivals (ca. 1920’s and 1930’s). However, the architectural style to have the greatest and longest lasting impact on Riverside was the Mission Revival Style and

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

its relational style, Spanish Colonial Revival. Many buildings and homes were constructed using these architectural styles. But perhaps the two most important were the Mission Inn and Sherman Indian School, both of which shared the same architect and helped popularize the *Spanish Imaginary*. Frank Miller owner of the Mission Inn had his hand in the development of the Indian school on Magnolia and was a very influential member of early Riverside. He specifically chose the Mission Revival Style, not out of necessity as there were plenty of other architectural styles already being used in Riverside, but as a smart business decision to promote tourism to a hotel that was authentically Californian. It was an architectural style Californians could call their own, and distinguish their state from elsewhere in the United States.

In this chapter I will argue that the educational system designed for the assimilation of Indians was genocidal. I will also trace the histories of the founding of Sherman and argue that the Indian School was not only similar to the California Missions, it was designed to function in the same manner utilizing the same architectural style. The California Missions functioned not only to educate and convert Indians, but they also solidified Spain's ownership of the land and produced resources for the Spanish crown. Likewise, Sherman Indian School was not simply built to provide an education for Indians and convert them to Christianity and American individualism, it also functioned to solidify Riverside's standing as a city of great resources and increase those resources through tourism.

Architecture is symbolic and representational. It functions to organize systems of thought and power. It shapes the organization of societies and provides order to hierarchical systems through a manipulation of the environment on which buildings and infrastructure is constructed. Architecture is relational to the environment and the principals used in governing its design and evolution. The way in which buildings are designed exemplifies the system they represent. Buildings also function to provide conduits for human interaction with one another. Architecture is similarly a design solution for consumerism, product placement, investment and real estate. To satisfy the requirements of the consumer, architecture is designed accordingly. The physical elements satisfy a consumer driven market. Architecture is used to implement a system and its structure – the essential elements and their relationships, capabilities, and the principals and guidelines governing their design and ability to change over time. The physical structures used are in relationship to the system of power relations within the cultural discourse of a society. Architecture is a physical embodiment of how a culture arranges itself – this can be a building itself, or the larger arrangement of buildings, streets, walkways, green spaces, etc. This systems design, along with its infrastructure, is intersectional – race, space, gender, sexuality, class – can all be understood and contextualized from the chosen architecture, and associated material culture, to some degree of accuracy without the need of the culture’s literature or histories. For example, one can simply look around a city landscape and see what is important, what is accessible and what is comparable to other regions in

order to gain a surface level understanding of the areas wealth: is there a Starbucks on every corner, or is there a check-cashing, pay-day loan operation? While this question helps us view the space, if we have the words of those who designed the structures and their associated systems we can critically analyze both the space as well as those responsible. In this chapter I will be analyzing both architecture and those who deliberately made the choices to use the styles I critique.

The Riverside architectural heritage guide I have cited above describes Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial Revival styles in the following way:

The Mission Revival style is defined by low pitched, red-tiled roofs, a traditionally shaped mission dormer or roof parapet, widely overhanging eaves, stucco wall surfaces, quatrefoil windows, porches supported by large, square piers, and the conservative use of decorative detailing. The style emerged in the late 1880s and early 1890s in a regional architectural movement that celebrated pride in local heritage. Instead of reacting to Eastern styles, which focused on the Colonial Revival style architecture that reflected their regional past, California architects took inspiration from the region's rich Hispanic heritage in their architectural designs. The Mission Revival style is thus an assertion of the state's individuality and a celebration of its cultural heritage through the simplicity of large, unadorned expanses of plain, stucco surfaces and arched openings.

The Spanish Colonial Revival style was given impetus by the 1915 Bertram Goodhue and Carleton Winslow designs of the Pan Pacific Exposition in San

Diego's Balboa Park. In its simplest form, Spanish styling is characterized by white (usually) stucco exteriors and red tile roofs, with an occasional arched opening. More elaborate examples incorporate rejas and grilles of wood, wrought iron, or plaster, extensive use of terra cotta and tile, and integral balconies and patios. Asymmetric massing typically includes features such as stair towers, projecting planes set off by corbelling, and a variety of window shapes and types. During the revival eras, the design features of other regions of the Mediterranean were also used for inspiration, including those of Italy, France, North Africa, and the Middle East. The result was endless variations on stucco and tile themes.¹⁵

Interestingly enough, the guide, produced in 2003, more than gestures at the *Spanish Imaginary* through the use of descriptors as "cultural heritage," "individuality," "Hispanic heritage," and "pride." These are the selling points of the *Spanish Imaginary* through which Native peoples and their genocide in the California Missions is erased, and instead the periodization through an architectural style is romanticized. None of the other descriptors of architectural styles within the guide provided an assessment of the style as being anything other than architecture. Stated differently, none of the other descriptions depict the architectural styles as asserting importance or meaning; they simply explain the construction elements. The simplicity of the buildings - unadorned, painted white stucco symbolizes purity. It is this style that was chosen to represent California by Anglo Americans who did

¹⁵ Ibid.

not see the Missions as concentration camps, primarily because they did not view Indians as being fully human or surviving into the contemporary – they are always thought of in past-tense. The legacy of the Americans continuing to view Indians as subhuman, or at the best of their analyses, as uncivilized, resulted in another mission project known as the Boarding Schools.

American Education of Indians

Scholars such as Ward Churchill in *Kill the Indian, Save the Man* and Andrea Smith in *Conquest* have declared the Indian boarding schools as genocidal projects. Smith argued that the schools violated legal human rights standards.¹⁶ Churchill provided a similar argument and analyzed the scholarly contributions of Leo Kruper, Israel Charny, Raphael Lemkin and others who assisted in defining the concept of genocide and the *United Nations Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. With precision Churchill detailed the United States policy of educating Indian children through assimilation and the underlying genocidal intentions of such a policy – as defined by the U.N. However, the majority of scholars writing about the boarding school have employed the term “assimilation” and avoided using the term “genocide.” This can be seen clearly in the 10 essays in the book *Boarding School Blues*, largely written about Sherman Indian School in Riverside, California. Much of the recent scholarship about boarding

¹⁶ Andrea Smith. 2005. *Conquest: sexual violence and American Indian genocide*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

schools not only details the oppressive environments and assimilatory structures of the schools and U.S. policy, the scholarship also portrays resistance and positive experiences of Indian children at the schools. The two approaches to boarding school scholarship are not necessarily distinct, exclusive or in dispute with one another. In my view, a policy and praxis can be genocidal while simultaneously having a positive result for those undergoing the assimilatory and genocidal process. The human experience is rarely un-complex and the genocidal condition of assimilation is one that can allow some within the Tribal group to excel even under conditions meant to destroy their worlds and ways of life. However, these positive results are often perceived through an American notion of individualism, progress and prosperity. Individuals who went to the schools and prospered as individuals are viewed as success stories. And while they provide positive stories, these views of them as individuals do not negate the genocidal mission of the schools: to assimilate and reduce Native culture to being relics of the past that Boy Scouts and others can mythologize and have fun at playing and pretending to be Indian.

I understand that both views of the boarding school help to frame the policy of assimilation as one intended to destroy traditional Native life ways and allow Native peoples, whether successful or not, to exist in an American world as a racialized group. This is the sentiment of Richard Henry Pratt's oft-quoted

statement, "Kill the Indian, save the man."¹⁷ His views were founded in environmental determinism in which the Native "savage" environment, or culture, predetermined the Indian to be uncivilized, and were not caused solely by their racial origin.¹⁸ In order to uplift the Indian from their "primitivism," Pratt sought to replace their "uncivilized cultures" with that of white life and allow Indian children, according to Pratt, to "grow to possess a civilized language and habit."¹⁹ This liberal policy of assimilation, i.e. genocide, through education was a shift in U.S. policy that stemmed from Enlightenment philosophy and followed the end of the Civil War in which President Grant outlined a "Peace Policy" in 1869. Clifford Trafzer wrote, "In reality the [peace] policy rested on the belief that Americans had the right to dispossess Native peoples of their lands, take away freedoms, and send them to reservations, where missionaries would teach them how to farm, read and write, wear Euro-American clothing, and embrace Christianity. If Indians refused to move to reservations, they would be forced off their homelands by soldiers."²⁰ The goals of

¹⁷ Richard H. Pratt, *The advantages of mingling Indians with whites*, 46. in Prucha, Francis Paul. 1978. *Americanizing the American Indians: writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

¹⁸ Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc. 2006. *Boarding school blues: revisiting American Indian educational experiences*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 13.

¹⁹ Pratt, "The advantages of mingling Indians with whites," quoted in Adams, David Wallace. 1995. *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928*, 52.

²⁰ Clifford E. Trafzer. 2009. *American Indians/American presidents: a history*. New York: Collins.

the Peace Policy, outlined by Ely Parker (Seneca), were an avoidance of military action through assimilation and the continuance of living Native people. It also happens that a policy of assimilation was seen as cheaper, both monetarily and psychologically, than continuing warfare. The Nation had experienced large losses of life during the Civil War. A liberal agenda of assimilating Native populations reduced the need for soldiers and continued warfare. An ascendant view of Indians was that they could become American citizens if only they would give up their Indian ways of life. Conquest in this view was a nearly complete project and the Indian survivors had a choice to live if only they would assimilate - in the same manner that the Southerners would to an economy without slavery. However, assimilation was not always a choice – as boarding school history demonstrates.

Annual meetings of an organization calling itself “Friends of the Indian” began in 1883 at Lake Mohonk, New York. Albert K. Smiley, who would later be a prominent citizen of Redlands, California, was a Quaker educator who along with his twin brother sponsored annual conferences at his resort at Lake Mohonk. The annual conferences, from 1883 to 1912, attracted government officials, congressmen, and reformers.²¹ Friends of the Indian along with other Eastern reform groups such as the Women’s National Indian Association and the United States Board of Indian Commissioners desired a liberal reform agenda for federal

²¹ John M. Oskison, and Lionel Larré. 2012. *Tales of the old Indian territory and essays on the Indian condition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 571.

policies advocating education. According to the Finding aid for the Smiley Family Papers located at Haverford College Library:

In 1883, Quakers Albert Keith Smiley and his brother Daniel Smiley organized the first annual conference to discuss assistance to Native Americans at their estate at Lake Mohonk in New York state. These conferences were widely attended by specialists in various fields, as well as important officials. Only later were Native Americans represented, but they did come. The concern to "uplift" was also directed at Filipino, Hawaiian, African American and Puerto Rican peoples, though attention at the conferences was primarily focused on Native Americans.²²

Their agenda addressed the "Indian problem" and the Friends of the Indian set out to influence the Senate and Congress through political pressure utilizing the media and public opinion to pass legislation.²³ These Indian reform organizations were designed around Christian principles and sought to not only help keep the Indian from further military campaigns, but also to indoctrinate them into Christianity. In order to do this a complete system reset was necessary through education and disconnecting them from land as sacred and communal. Amongst the participants of the Lake Mohonk Conference was Massachusetts Senator Henry M. Dawes, the

²² Haverford College Library Special Collections. Finding Aid for the Smiley Family Papers, 1885-1983 bulk 1885-1930. Collection No. 1113. February 2010, 1.

²³ Bobby Bridger. 2002. Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: inventing the Wild West. Austin: University of Texas Press, 331.

architect of the 1887 General Allotment Act.²⁴ This Act was used as a mechanism to break up tribal communal use of land and instill within the Indian an individualist idea of land ownership. The General Allotment Act provided the legal context to dispossess Native Nations of approximately two-thirds or 90 million acres of their remaining property.²⁵ Through the Dawes Act Indian adult males were allotted 160-acre parcels or less, depending on if he was single or had a family. The land leftover that remained un-allotted was no longer part of the reservation and was made available for purchase. The purpose of the allotments was to turn Indians into individualist farmers and as President Theodore Roosevelt famously stated, it was a “mighty pulverizing engine breaking up the tribal mass.”²⁶

Indian education provided by non-Indians has a long history beginning with mission projects, such as the Catholic Missions in California (1769-1833), and Protestant efforts in New England that began possibly as early as 1617.²⁷ Harvard University published a pamphlet in 1643 titled, “New England’s First Fruits; First of the Conversion of Some, Conviction of Divers, Preparation of Sundry of the Indians.”

²⁴ Senator Henry Laurens Dawes of Massachusetts is listed in the Finding Aid for the Smiley Family Papers located at Haverford College Library. He, his wife and his daughter were regular attendees of the Lake Mohonk Conference.

²⁵ David E. Wilkins, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark. 2011. American Indian politics and the American political system. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 128.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ The blog of the Yale Indian Papers Project, Accessed April 20, 2016, <http://campuspress.yale.edu/yipp/page/8/>

In this publication the University made clear that its mission was to assist in the education and conversion of American Indians. The pamphlet resulted in two large donations to Harvard for the education of Indians including a scholarship fund.²⁸ A commitment to educate Indians was reflected in Harvard University's Charter of 1650 which read in part, "all other necessary provisions, that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of the country, in knowledge and godliness..."²⁹ In 1655 Harvard created an Indian College, only the second building on campus to be constructed. Its purpose was to house, educate and Christianize the Indians of New England. One hundred years later, in 1754, Moor's Indian Charity School (later named Dartmouth) offered education for Indian men to become missionaries. The founder of the school Eleazar Wheelock thought "Indian missionaries may be supposed better to understand the tempers and customs of Indians, and more readily conform to them in a thousand things than the English can..." and thus would make for a better missionary.³⁰ Other universities such as Hampton Institute and Harvard also offered education to Indian youth. William and Mary College in 1774 extended an offer for Indian attendance. Canassatego, of the

²⁸ Ann Radcliffe (Lady Mowlson) gifted Harvard 100 pounds to establish the University's first scholarship fund; and the Society for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel in New England help fund the University as it struggled financially if it committed to educate American Indians.

²⁹ Harvard University Archives. The Charter of 1650.
<http://library.harvard.edu/university-archives/using-the-collections/online-resources/charter-of-1650>

³⁰ The blog of the Yale Indian Papers Project.

Onondaga declined the invitation to attend and offered instead to educate the white people's children:

We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced that you mean to do to us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are wise must know that different nations have different conceptions of things, and you will, therefore, not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours.

We have had experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the College of the Northern provinces. They were instructed in all your sciences. But when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods... Neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing.

We are however not the less obliged for your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.³¹

³¹ Stan Junaeu. 2001. "History and Foundation of American Indian Education," Office of Public Instruction, Montana. Accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.opi.mt.gov/Pdf/IndianEd/Resources/History_FoundationAmindianEd.pdf

The long histories of Indian missionization continued into the boarding school era after a shift in the United States formal relations with tribes. According to Michael Lerma in *Indigenous Sovereignty in the 21st Century*, the end of treaty negotiations in 1871 set the stage for this shift. Lerma wrote, “Prior to 1871, the U.S. made treaties with international actors in the same way that any nation made treaties.”³² However after 1871 according to Lerma, “Indigenous nations” were within U.S. “domestic policy.”³³ Further Lerma explained that this shift has resulted in a “ward/guardian relationship” that “assume[s] a paternalistic relationship in which the U.S. can unilaterally decide what is best for Indigenous nations.”³⁴ With this pattern well established, the U.S. created a formal boarding school policy in order to meet the white-supremacist liberal interest of continuing a genocidal ideology, and supervising it without the necessity to justify the mass killing of “uncivilized” “primitive” peoples. In the effort to educate Indians the U.S. could still “kill the Indian,” exclusive of copious bloodshed, and ultimately reduce military expenditures and the escalation of violence through militarization. Indian Education was a liberal policy of de-escalation through assimilation and selective incorporation of Indians into white society.

³² Michael Lerma. 2014. *Indigenous sovereignty in the 21st century: knowledge for the indigenous spring*, 27.

³³ *Ibid*, 33.

³⁴ *Ibid*.

Writing a preface to Churchill's book on the boarding schools, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man*, George E. Tinker wrote the following about the Lake Mohonk Conference and its intentions to educate and assimilate Indian children:

The Lake Mohonk Conference, for example, loses the benign complexion bestowed upon it through conventional settler scholarship. Far from being a well-intentioned assembly motivated, however arrogantly or erroneously, by a desire to "do good" for American Indians, it finds a more appropriate parallel in the infamous Wannsee Conference during which the nazis crafted their "Final Solution." The liberal claim that they posed an "enlightened" and "humanitarian" alternative to the openly exterminationist policies embraced by their more conservative counterparts finds its echo in the instruction of Heinrich Himmler that European Jewry be eradicated in the most "humane" manner possible. Those, like Richard Henry Pratt in the U.S. and Duncan Campbell Scot in Canada, who implemented the scheme devised at Lake Mohonk find their peers, not among the Paolo Friars of the world but among the Adolf Eichmanns.³⁵

The boarding school was a product of the Lake Mohonk Conference and an extension of the Indian prison at Fort Marion, Florida. 77 Chiricahua Apaches were sent to Fort Marion in April 1886 as prisoners of war. Later in August of that year 383 more Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache were boarded onto a train and

³⁵ Ward Churchill. 2004. *Kill the Indian, save the man: the genocidal impact of American Indian residential schools*. San Francisco: City Lights, XXV.

taken to the prison.³⁶ Soon after General Nelson A. Miles defeated Apache leader Geronimo, he and his followers were also sent to Florida as prisoners of war near Fort Marion at Fort Pickens. Among the POWs were 165 Apache children.³⁷ In October government officials removed 44 of the Apache children from their parents and took them to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. As quoted by Margaret D. Jacobs in her essay in *Boarding School Blues*, Pratt boasted that the children arrived “as wild, untrained, filthy savages” but had been transformed by the school’s “civilizing atmosphere.”³⁸ The following spring of 1887, Pratt brought another 64 children to Carlisle from the prisoner of war camp in Florida. Jacobs explained the Apache resistance to the transfer of their children:

The remaining Apache prisoners were slated to be removed to Mount Vernon, Alabama. The prisoners protested both the taking of their children and their own removal to yet another location by holding nightly dances atop the fort. Nevertheless, the U.S. government carried out its plans to take their children and to remove the adults yet again. Government officials, missionaries, and reformers all conceived of the removal of children for the stated purposes of education as a means to fully pacify the POWS.³⁹

³⁶ Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, 212.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

Kiowa and Cheyenne Indians were imprisoned in 1875 after the Red River Indian War and were transported to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida, just as the Apache were a decade later. The Captain of the Fort was Richard Henry Pratt who put several of the Indians to work during their incarceration “cleaning horse stalls, painting, policing the prison grounds, and caring for the buildings.”⁴⁰ In *The Indian School on Magnolia*, Trafzer, Gilbert and Sisquoc wrote, “Pratt believed idle hands were the devil’s playground, and that through work Indians would learn the value of money. Labor and money management became central to Pratt’s vision of assimilation, and he employed his vision of advancing assimilation and Indian education on a national scale.”⁴¹ Simultaneously Hampton Normal and Industrial School in Virginia had opened its doors to educating African Americans who had been former slaves. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the son of a Protestant missionary, grew up on Maui, Hawaii, and had devoted his missionary work to educating African Americans and later Native Americans at Hampton. Seventeen of Pratt’s Kiowa and Cheyenne POWs were enrolled at Hampton in 1878. A year later Pratt lobbied for an appropriation from Congress for an Indian school and he opened Carlisle Indian Industrial School on a former Army base.⁴² The education system established by Pratt was meant to separate Indian children from their families, their culture, their

⁴⁰ Ibid, 3.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

religion and languages. It was a system established to eradicate the Indian way of life through indoctrination by white teachers and was a direct extension of a policy of conquest and Native extermination.

The first students at Carlisle were prisoners of war, and instead of beginning a school to prison pipeline, they were part of a prison to school pipeline – or just a continuance of prison – a genocidal continuum: from war - to prison - to school. A 1902 article in the *Los Angeles Herald*, written about the creation of Sherman Indian School, reported:

As we look at these beautiful buildings, complete and awaiting their inmates, we remember Booker T. Washington's graphic description of the founding of Tuskegee institute and regret that Sherman institute could not have been founded more upon the same line of self-help. If the Indians had borne a larger share in these schools heretofore would have been more effective. But the negroes of the south are eagerly seeking education, while it must be admitted that education is compelled to seek the Indian.⁴³

The education system designed for Indians was one of extermination by whatever means necessary. The 1948 U.N. Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines the crime of genocide as “any of the following acts

⁴³ Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXIX, Number 297, 27 July 1902.

committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:"⁴⁴

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

As presented by Churchill, genocide has three main modes: 1. Physical Genocide; 2. Biological Genocide; and

3. Cultural Genocide – which encompasses the schema of denationalization/imposition of alien national pattern Lemkin had described as being the central figure of the crime in 1944 – includes all policies aimed at destroying the specific characteristics by which a target group is defined, or defines itself, thereby forcing them to become something else. Among the acts specified are the “forced transfer of children . . . forced and forced and systematic exile of individuals representing the culture of the group . . . prohibition of the use of the national language, or religious works, or the prohibition of new publications . . . systematic destruction of national or

⁴⁴ 1948 U.N. Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Accessed April 20, 2016, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2078/volume-78-I-1021-English.pdf>

religious monuments, or their diversion to alien uses [and] destruction or dispersion of objects of historical, artistic, or religious value and of objects used in religious worship.⁴⁵

The transfer of children was involuntary and coercive as the boarding schools began. Students and parents resisted their transfer often through a refusal. In 1891 Congress authorized the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to “make and enforce . . . such rules and regulations as will ensure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit.”⁴⁶ In order to enforce the attendance Congress backed up their earlier order in 1893 allowing the Indian Agents to “withhold rations, clothing and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children of proper school age in school.”⁴⁷ The boarding schools were built off reservation and children were often taken hundreds of miles from their homes. Children were schooled year-round, living at the school for often longer than a decade without contact with their parents. The schools attempted to place children under complete control of the teachers and administrators in order to make them act, talk, and think like white children – far removed from their parents and tribal ways of life.

⁴⁵ Churchill, 6.

⁴⁶ *Studies at Large of the United States*, Vol. 26, p.1014. As quoted by Churchill, 16.

⁴⁷ *Studies at Large of the United States*, Vol. 27, p.635. As quoted by Churchill, 17.

California Indian Education

Education of Indian peoples in California began in the Spanish Missions as previously noted. The Spanish enforced a Christian doctrine and trained the Native population at the missions to be laborers – agricultural, ranching, domestic, and to use the tools available to support the operation of the missions. Each mission worked toward being self sufficient and sustainable with the labor provided by the students: the Indians. After the missions were no longer in operation, Mexican ranching grew to prominence and Indians used the skills they learned at the mission. The economy and land seizures forced many Indians to adopt the role of laborer and although a formal education system such as had existed under the missions was not continued, the education of Indian laborers persisted under the settler colonial regime of Mexico.

Once the Americans took control of California, they were quick to write law that included education, or in the terms of the day, “apprenticeship.” In an 1853 law entitled *Treatise on the Practice of the Courts of the State of California, Carefully Adapted to Existing Law* an apprenticeship for Indian minors was first mentioned:

[T]here are two exceptions to the general rule that minors cannot contract. The one case is contracts for apprenticeship. Minors can bind themselves as apprentices for seven years by deed, if the seven years are within their maturity. The other case is in contracts for necessities. What are necessities is frequently a question hard to resolve. What would be necessities for one, would not be for another. Necessary boarding, clothing, and lodging, and

medical attendance in sickness, tuition of necessary teachers – these are necessities. The age and sex of the minor, the real station in society, property and business or vocation selected for life, all these things are necessarily involved in the question.⁴⁸

This treatise was followed by the 1858 *Act To Provide for Binding Minors as Apprentices, Clerks and Servants which stipulated that* “the person to whom a child was bound send the child to school three months of each year of the period of the indenture to learn to read, write and the general rules of arithmetic.”⁴⁹ Both the treatise and the 1858 Act were outgrowths of the 1850 Act punishing vagrancy, *An Act For the Government and Protection of the Indians:*

Any Indian able to work and support himself in some honest calling, not having wherewithal to maintain himself, who shall be found loitering and strolling about, or frequenting public places where liquors are sold, begging, or leading an immoral or profligate course of life, shall be liable to be arrested on the complaint of any resident citizen of the county, and brought before any Justice of the Peace of the proper county, Mayor or Recorder of

⁴⁸ Jesse B. Hart, *A Treatise on the Practice of the Courts of the State of California, Carefully Adapted to Existing Law*, (New York: Gould, Banks & Co., 1853), 108. As quoted by Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians*. Prepared at the request of Senator John L. Burton, President Pro Tempore, California Research Bureau, September 2002.

⁴⁹ 1858 Cal. Stat. ch. 182 § 9. As quoted by Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians*. Prepared at the request of Senator John L. Burton, President Pro Tempore, California Research Bureau, September 2002.

any incorporated town or city, who shall examine said accused Indian, and hear the testimony in relation thereto, and if said Justice, Mayor, or Recorder shall be satisfied that he is a vagrant...he shall make out a warrant under his hand and seal, authorizing and requiring the officer having him in charge or custody, to hire out such vagrant within twenty-four hours to the best bidder, by public notice given as he shall direct, for the highest price that can be had, for any term not exceeding four months.⁵⁰

The U.S. education of Indian children as it was constructed in California began similarly as the national system: educating Indians whose embodiment existed outside the law - as prisoners. The 1850 Act created a system of indentured servitude and in 1860 the act was amended to extend the length children were allowed to be “apprenticed” or indentured. By 1860, many Indian children were without parents because of state-funded expeditions to kill and remove Indians from lands needed for gold mining and other resource extraction. This structure made them more vulnerable to kidnapping and slavery. The vagrancy laws within the 1850 Act were not repealed until 1937.⁵¹ Heizer and Almquist published

⁵⁰ Original Bill File, Chapter 133, 1850, California Secretary of State, State Archives, Location E6553, Box 1, (transcript of Original Bill File contents on file with the California Research Bureau); Journal of the Senate of the State of California, at the First Session of the Legislature, 1849-1850, (San José: J. Winchester, State Printer, 1850) 217, 224 (Senate Journal – 1850). As quoted in Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians*. Prepared at the request of Senator John L. Burton, President Pro Tempore, California Research Bureau, September 2002.

⁵¹ Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws*, 14.

findings in their review of Indians who were indentured from 1860 to 1863 in Eureka, California:

Ages of 110 persons indentured range from two to fifty, with a concentration of 49 persons between the ages of seven and twelve. Seven are listed as “taken in war” or “prisoners of war”—this notation refers to children five, seven, nine, ten, and twelve years of age. Four children of ages eight, nine ten, and eleven are listed as “bought” or “given.” Ten married couples were indentured, some of them with children. Three individuals seem almost too young to have been so treated—Perry, indentured in September 1860 at the age of three; George, indentured in January 1861 at the age of four; and Kitty (November 1861), also four years of age.⁵²

These statistics by Heizer and Almquist are useful in providing documentation of the terms I am using here, most notably “prisoners of war” and children having been “bought” and interred into an indentured servant structure, otherwise known as slavery – functioning distinctly from chattel slavery.

⁵² Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 53. As quoted in Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws and Policies Related to California Indians*. Prepared at the request of Senator John L. Burton, President Pro Tempore, California Research Bureau, September 2002.

Section 3 of the 1850 Act displays education of Indian children under California law as inextricably bound to both slavery and imprisonment.⁵³

Section 3: County and District Judges in the respective counties of this State shall by virtue of this Act have full power and authority, at the instance and request of any person having or hereafter obtaining any Indian child or children male or female under the age of fifteen years from the parents or person or persons having the care or charge of such child or children with the consent of such parents or persons having the care or charge of any such child or children, or at the instance and request of any person desirous of obtaining any Indian or Indians whether children or grown persons that may be held as prisoners of war, or at the instance and request of any person desirous of obtaining any vagrant Indian or Indians as have no settled habitation or means of livelihood and have not placed themselves under the protection of any white person, to bind and put out such Indians as apprentices to trades --- husbandry or other employments as shall to them appear proper, and for this purpose shall execute duplicate Articles of Indenture of Apprenticeship on behalf of such Indians, which Indentures

⁵³ For discussions linking the enslavement of Africans in the Americas to the prison industrial complex see: Angela Y. Davis. 2003. *Are prisons obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press., Ruth Wilson Gilmore. 2007. *Golden gulag: prisons, surplus, crisis, and opposition in globalizing California.*, and, Dylan Rodriguez. 2006. *Forced passages: imprisoned radical intellectuals and the U.S. prison regime.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

shall also be executed by the person to whom such Indian or Indians are to be indentured: one copy of which shall be filed by the County Judge [stricken from text: with the] in the Recorders Office of the County and one copy retained by the person to whom such Indian or Indians may be indentured; such Indenture shall authorise [sic] such person to have the care custody control and earnings of such Indian or Indians and shall require such person to clothe and suitably provide the necessaries of life, for such Indian or Indians for and during the term for which such Indian or Indians shall be apprenticed, and shall contain the sex name and probable age of such Indian or Indians, Such Indentures may be for the following terms of years, such children as are under fourteen years of age, if males until they attain the age of twenty five years; if females until they attain the age of twenty one years; such as are over fourteen and under twenty years of age if males until they attain the age of thirty years; if females until they attain the age of twenty five years; and such Indians as may be over the age of twenty years for and during the term of ten years then next following the date of such Indenture at the discretion of such Judge. Such Indians as may be indentured under the provisions of this section shall be deemed within such provisions of this act as are applicable to minor Indians⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Section 3 of the 1850 Act as quoted in Kimberly Johnston-Dodds, *Early California Laws*.

Indian children were to be apprenticed and taught a trade if they were “obtained,” in other words bought or kidnapped, or if their parents were prisoners of war. Any person that was “desirous” of an Indian child could “obtain” any Indian, child or adult, if they so chose if the Indian was a vagrant, prisoner of war or had their village and means of livelihood disrupted by whites. This apprenticeship and indentureship was the beginning of an American education system for California Indians. As for Indians elsewhere, Americanized education was an extension of a prison structure rooted in warfare and white supremacy. Furthermore, the legalized apprentice and indentured structure for California Indians was genocidal as outlined under the previous section where children were bought, sold, kidnapped, made prisoners of war and forcibly transferred from their group to another with the purpose of using them as labor and denying them of their cultural traditions.

Central to the logics of education are also a continuation of viewing Indians as both uncivilized children, and as labor – the two being relational. This was the view that defined the Padre’s and the Mission system’s dealing with the Indians; it was also the view of these early American and California laws as defined above. The United States military control over California, beginning in 1846, even before the Treaty of Cahuenga and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were signed also viewed Indians in a similar light. Indian policy in these early years of American dominance was one meant to secure American and Mexican property from Indian raids. This early Indian policy also continued a structure that was reliant on Indian workers. Although this dependency did not involve the creation of a formal education

arrangement, the structure of colonialism setup a system of labor dependent on Indians being educated in the labor practices of the dominant society in contrast to their traditional forms and ideas of work. General Stephen W. Kearny, the military governor of California appointed two Indian Agents: John Sutter and Mariano Vallejo, in April and June 1847. Kearny's successor Colonel Richard B. Mason appointed Jesse B. Hunter of the Mormon Battalion in southern California as Indian Agent with instructions to protect Mission San Luis Rey. Mason directed him to, "reclaim the old mission Indians to habits of industry, and if possible, to draw in the wild ones too, and protect them in their lives and true interests, and to prevent them from encroaching in any way upon the peaceable inhabitants of the land."⁵⁵ Mason also directed Hunter to require Indians to use passes to travel about their own country. Mason's orders were to prevent Indians from "going about in crowds, and make them receive from yourself a written paper when they desire to go any distance from their houses or Rancherias."⁵⁶ This system as Albert Hurtado pointed out was a reflection of Black Codes in the southern states and possibly Mason's view of Missions as similar to plantations - viewing the Indian population similarly to that of Blacks - in need of white instruction and domestication. Similarly Kearny had

⁵⁵ William T. Sherman to Hunter, August 1, 1847, and Mason to Hunter, August 2, 1847, "Message from the President of the United States Communicating Information Called for by a Resolution of the Senate of the 17th Instant in Relation to California and New Mexico," 31st Cong., 1st sess., Ecn. Ex. Doc. 18, ser. 557. As quoted in California's Indian Labor Force, 225.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

viewed Indians as children and stated that the “Great Father” would take “good care of his good children.”⁵⁷ American Indian policy in California was not only similar to that of the Spanish and Mexican, but was a direct continuation of the former Nations’ response to the Native populations as seen in Mason’s command to retain and re-establish Mission San Luis Rey.

Indian Policy in California was positioned to control, domesticate and take advantage of Indian labor. The enslavement of Indian people tethered with warfare, produced prisoners of war and increased violence, rampant capitalism with the discovery of gold and land acquisitions by the incoming Americans, and ideas of educating Indians through labor practices created a genocidal condition and the establishment of racialized institutions.

Frank Miller and the Mission Inn

A book of poetry from 1908 titled, *The Mission Inn, Done by Arthur Burnett Benton, the Sketches by Wm. Alexander Sharp* provides a beginning to my historical presentation and analysis of the famous hotel that utilized Mission Revival Style architecture in Riverside, and an analysis of Sherman Indian School’s construction using the same architect and style. The preface to the book, yellowed with age,

⁵⁷ Kearny to Vallejo, April 14, 1847, Governor's Letter Books, National Archives Microfilm, Record Group 393, M 18. As quoted in HURTADO, ALBERT L. 1979. "Controlling California's Indian Labor Force; Federal Administration of California Indian Affairs During the Mexican War". Southern California Quarterly. 61 (3): 217-238.

written by Arthur Benton - the architect of both the Mission Inn and the Sherman Indian School stated:

In Riverside, in California, in the lovely valley of the Santa Ana, there is an Hotel whose praise is in many travelers mouths, & whose guests return from near & far, year by year . . . A generation ago, when Riverside was but a name, Judge Miller built of the red clay of the plain the "Old Adobe" & opened the "Glenwood Tavern." There he & his children after him have taught many guests to say - "I take mine ease in mine Inn" . . . Ease is hard to find in these hurried noisy times, & we do not much expect it in great inns: so when one is found where comfort is- joined to hospitality, & to these restful quietude; when conveniences of a town are at the door, but with its clamours softened by wide lawns; where great trees do grow & birds sing . . .

But not alone for its hospitality, its restfulness, its old time architecture is the Glenwood Known . . . betterment of Riverside, whether of social or civic life, this Inn has been the center. Mine Host of the Inn, Frank Miller, has had no small part in making his town one of the best anywhere. The building of highways, of public buildings & of schools; the planting of trees, the making of parks, -have been with him a life occupation; . . . love for old California ways has so found expression in his Inn, that, as has been truly said, "the State of California is in his debt for adding so much to its assets." -

The Mission Inn is making history; therefore I have thought it not unfitting to

link it in story with the old time mission days which have been its inspiration.⁵⁸

Arthur Benton provided a brief historical sketch of the Mission Inn and showcased the importance of Frank Miller to the development of Riverside. Miller was responsible for, or had his hands in, the creation of many lasting initiatives in Riverside, including the park at Mount Rubidoux, the Mission Inn, Sherman Indian School, and the symbol of Riverside: the bell and raincross – credited to both Miller and Benton. The raincross can be seen on city vehicles, the city flag, and throughout the city on streetlights and street signs. Through symbolism, the Mission and the *Spanish Imaginary* became part of Riverside - even though a Mission was never located in Riverside. Yet many tourists either believe that a Mission was in Riverside or the Mission Inn had formerly been a Mission itself.⁵⁹

In 1875 Christopher Columbus Miller built a home in Riverside for his family. He had arrived in Riverside in the spring of 1874 to work as an engineer at the Temescal Tin Mines and before long was working to construct Riverside's irrigation canals that were vital to the growth of the city.⁶⁰ Christopher was born in New York

⁵⁸ Arthur Burnett Benton. 1908. *The Mission Inn*. [Los Angeles]: [Press of Segnogram Pub. Co.].

⁵⁹ In a review of the Mission Inn on Yelp, one reviewer "Adriana K." from Alhambra, CA wrote, "The place was not ever a Mission, in case you were wondering. It has always been a hotel." March 27, 2013.

⁶⁰ Esther Klotz. 1981. *The Mission Inn, its history and artifacts*. Riverside, Calif: Rubidoux Print, 2.

State, earned a degree in civil engineering from Cleveland University and had worked as an engineer in Wisconsin constructing railroads. His wife Mary and four children joined him in California in the fall of 1874. Frank was 17 years old at the time. They took the train from Chicago to San Francisco, a trip that took nearly ten days, followed by a three day boat trip to Los Angeles, another train to Pomona and a ten hour stage coach ride to Riverside. They settled into a cottage on Seventh Street and began building a two-story adobe house; much of the adobe work was done by an Indian named Miguel.⁶¹ The house, named The Glenwood Cottage was finished in July of 1876. Five months later, The Glenwood had its first paying customer and a little over three years later, in February 1880, Frank Miller purchased the hotel from his father for \$5,000 and later rebranded it the Glenwood Tavern. In the census of 1880 Frank is listed as a married white male, 23 years old, and his occupation is listed as “Operates Hotel & Store.”⁶² The census also lists his wife, Bella (Isabella), her sister, his sister, a nephew, and two servants – a “House Servant” from Ireland, and a “Cook” from China.⁶³ An advertisement for the Glenwood Cottages described the hotel in the following way:

⁶¹ Ibid, 4.

⁶² Original censuses available on Familysearch.org, Accessed April 20, 2016, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GYBC-9SRK?mode=g&i=26&wc=QZ27-Y5C%3A1589395335%2C1589398073%2C1589398071%2C1589395557%3Fcc%3D1417683&cc=1417683>

⁶³ Ibid.

This Hotel is centrally located; has verandas on all sides; is surrounded with Fruit and Shade Trees, and Ornamental Shrubbery, and with the grounds, occupied the entire block . . . The House has been thoroughly renovated, painted, carpeted and furnished throughout. Sunlight reaches every room. A good team and Carriage for the conveyance of guests. Business men, Tourists, Travelers and Pleasure Seekers will find at Glenwood Cottage the best accommodations in Riverside. Special arrangements will be made for entertaining visitors at the time of the CITRUS FAIR.⁶⁴

From the advertisement, it is clear that the citrus industry was of great importance for Riverside. An advertisement for the Glenwood in 1883 from the *Pacific Rural Press* advertised Riverside as much as it promoted the hotel:

RIVERSIDE CONTAINS a population of about 3,000, embracing more persons of wealth, education and magnificent orange groves, extensive vineyards and palatial residences have a world-wide reputation. For the Eastern traveler advice is, "See Mecca and die," but we can truly say, if you wish to see the best and fairest portion of this mundane sphere, visit Riverside . . . we have six churches, excellent schools, and some of the finest stores in the country, as well as public buildings and private residences with ample grounds and surroundings beautified with all the wealth of flowers and fruits that a semi-tropic climate can produce. It is 64 miles from the ocean, at an altitude of

⁶⁴ Pacific Rural Press, Volume 21, Number 9, 26 February 1881.

1000 feet, with a climate dry and healthful, and the fact that it is the acknowledged home of the orange...⁶⁵

The *Pacific Rural Press* described Miller as having an “enterprising character and kindly nature.”⁶⁶ In 1885 Miller was advertising the sale of the Glenwood and its furniture. The *Los Angeles Herald* reported, “This popular resort hotel, which has been so ably conducted by Mr. Miller and his sister Miss Alice R. Miller, affords a splendid opportunity to anyone wishing to engage in that business.”⁶⁷ The hotel was not sold, and Miller remained its owner – an event (or non-event) that would affect Riverside’s future and the city’s use of the *Spanish Imaginary* to define its identity.

Frank Miller was, as Esther Klotz wrote, “an experienced hotel man.”⁶⁸ But, Miller was also a major real estate investor with a keen eye for opportunities. He owned stock in the Loring Building and Opera House, and managed it for over a decade. The opera brought famous actors to Riverside and most of them stayed at Miller’s hotel.⁶⁹ The hotel grew and expanded over the years, but its major growth did not occur until 1902. Miller raised \$250,000 from “family, friends and local townspeople” according to Klotz. She also wrote, “Henry E Huntington... who

⁶⁵ Pacific Rural Press, Volume 25, Number 13, 31 March 1883.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Los Angeles Herald, Volume 24, Number 101, 24 December 1885.

⁶⁸ Klotz, 7.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

developed the Pacific Electric Company with its interurban street car network, put in \$75,000.”⁷⁰ Huntington was the nephew of Collis P. Huntington, one of the so-called Big Four – the men instrumental in constructing the Central Pacific Railroad (the southern Pacific). Miller’s decisions and his investments, while beneficial for Riverside as a whole, were also beneficial for him and his company. These decisions, including the idea to rebrand his hotel and give it a new identity which he would help inscribe onto Riverside was a well planned opportunity to meet the desire of a tourist economy.

The Landmark’s Club

Gaining interest in California were the ruins of the Missions and their preservation. From an article in 1878 in the *Daily Alta California*, Mission San Carlos de Monterey is described in its state of ruin, “[t]he rapacity of neighboring ruins have unroofed it.”⁷¹ The newspaper reported that money needed to be spent to “arrest its premature decay.”⁷² It also stated, “It is one of those landmarks of California’s history which should be religiously preserved by the State and placed in the hands of a Curator...”⁷³ The funds would be paid for by “the number of visitors

⁷⁰ Ibid, 8.

⁷¹ Daily Alta California, Volume 30, Number 10141, 15 January 1878.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

who annually inspect the spot from which proceeded the germs of California's agricultural and industrial wealth."⁷⁴ Also worthy of preservation according to the *Daily Alta California* was the burial of Junípero Serra and the "fifteen Governors of the State..."⁷⁵ The paper does not mention or include Indians or their burials in their zeal to protect the Mission.

In an 1895 article in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, it was stated that the directors of a group calling itself the Landmark's Club of Southern California included Charles Lummis (President) and Arthur Benton (Secretary). Lummis, from a full-page article about the Club in 1901, was described as a "well-known author and authority upon Spanish civilization and an enthusiastic student of folk lore and romance of the southwest. So brilliant and talented.... His intimate knowledge of Indians and Spanish people..."⁷⁶ In an article, *Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian*, Nathan Gonzales wrote, "Southern California advocates like Charles Fletcher Lummis realized the value of the Spanish myth, which was loosely based on the factual colonial period of California. This myth was fashioned into a nostalgia for the seemingly simple times of the days of missions and ranchos."⁷⁷ The purposes of the

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXVIII, Number 153, 3 March 1901.

⁷⁷ Nathan Gonzales. 2002. "Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian: Frank A. Miller and the Creation of Sherman Institute". *Southern California Quarterly*. 84 (3/4): 193-222.

Landmark's Club according to the 1901 article above were "to undertake the immediate and permanent preservation from decay and vandalism of the venerable missions of Southern California, to make such repairs and take such measures as may be necessary to protect the buildings from further ravages of the weather and other destructive agencies and to aid in the safeguard and conservation of any other historic monuments, relics, or landmarks which may properly be deemed part of our public inheritance of history or romance."⁷⁸ The Club was incorporated under California law in order to own property and was able to secure leases of mission ruins.⁷⁹ In 1886 in his first annual report for the Landmark's Club Arthur Benton stated, "The club has confined its work to the mission of San Juan Capistrano..."⁸⁰ Of San Juan Capistrano, Benton stated, "Founded in 1776 and built almost entirely by Indian workers, it excels in architectural design and in magnitude any building of the colonial period of the Atlantic states."⁸¹ In his report, Benton detailed the work accomplished to preserve and rebuild Mission San Juan Capistrano. He stated, "To do this it has cost much in material and labor..."⁸² If the cost in workers in the late 1800s to fix the crumbling mission was great, it can only be concluded that the free

⁷⁸ Sacramento Daily Union, Volume 90, Number 95, 10 December 1895.

⁷⁹ Los Angeles Herald, Volume 26, Number 49, 18 November 1896.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

Indian labor used in its initial construction was not free, but was slave (and prison) labor. In his statement, Benton acknowledged that some would ask, "Is there money in it?" – the preservation of the missions.⁸³ Answering this question he declared, "there is money in it, for these same missions serve now and will continue in a ever increasing ratio in the future to attract the best class of tourists, to whom California must look for no small part of her material advancement."⁸⁴ The preserving of the Missions was not solely a project to protect history, but was purposefully to draw tourism to the state. Tourists would use Huntington's railroad and tourists would stay in hotels. Benton in his address on behalf of the Landmark's Club provided their view of Indians as no longer important or living peoples: "The missions were designed for the accommodation of vast numbers of Indians who have long since disappeared, and are not fitted for modern ordinary uses." Benton, the architect of both the Mission Inn and Sherman Indian School, in his own words is clear that lives of Mission Indians did not matter. While he and the Landmark's Club had little interest in Indians, the first peoples of California, they were invested in saving and protecting the missions as well as "old trees." He stated that Americans were "criminally careless of our trees" resulting in the death of "the noble oaks and lordly sycamores" which were "falling under the axe with few to plead for them and those

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

few almost unheeded.”⁸⁵ He pleaded that the trees were “ancient” with “vested rights.”⁸⁶ Benton was critical of an American spirit that was uncaring of “sentiment” or “romance.”⁸⁷ He argued that “sentiment” was what “brought our forefathers to New England and the Franciscan father to California.”⁸⁸ Although he deeply cared for the rights of the ancient trees, he could not see the forest from the trees when it came to Indian people.

At an 1896 symposium of Mission studies, organized by the Landmark’s Club, experts provided “very entertaining descriptions” about Mission San Juan Capistrano and highlighted “the village life of the Indians that clustered about its sides, and of the uses of the building itself...” The uses described were of soldier’s quarters and “many guest chambers in its living rooms.” The *Los Angeles Herald* reported, “The guest chambers were particularly mentioned, for in them were entertained all travelers and wayfarers, friends and foes: many poor and needy sojourners frequently finding there in a piece of silver and at their departure a fresh horse instead of a jaded one to help them on their way.”⁸⁹ The presentation of the Missions from these experts was more of a fairy tale Middle Ages castle than a

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Los Angeles Herald, Volume 45, Number 138, 26 February 1896.

location with Indian slave laborers. One expert wrote, “Then were the days of Arcadia... around them cluster beautiful legends of history and romance, and with all come the picture of the faithful priests who journeyed from mission to mission... to minister to their flock.”⁹⁰ This view of the mission as site of romance, the *Spanish Imaginary*, would take physical shape in the form of Sherman Indian Boarding School and the Mission Inn. The latter would take in the tourist, the guest, the wayfarer like the architectural structure it found origins in – or at least that is the story of “experts.” And much like the expert quoted above who dismissed slavery and genocide, the story presented by both the school and the Inn would be one of romance that displaced Indians and simultaneously promoted tourism – the intersectionalities of race, place, and capital.

Sherman Indian School

Amongst the board members of the Landmark’s Club over the years were the previously noted Lummis and Benton, as well as Frank Miller (Vice President), John McGroarty (Director and author of the Mission Play), and Father St. John O’Sullivan (Director and Priest at Mission San Juan Capistrano).⁹¹ The board was responsible for not only protecting Mission sites, which have become Native sacred sites, but of

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ *LANDMARKS CLUB FORCES REVIEW NOTABLE WORK.: Worthy Labors Now in ... Los Angeles Times (1886-1922)*; Dec 3, 1916; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times, 118.

promoting the *Spanish Imaginary* in plays, histories, and architecture. One building complex that utilized Mission Revival Style Architecture was Sherman Institute, later known as Sherman Indian High School. The cornerstone for the school was placed on July 19, 1901 with congratulations, as reported in the *Los Angeles Herald*, “received from President McKinley . . . Albert K. Smiley, and R.H. Pratt of the Carlisle Indian school...”⁹² The school, which is still located in Riverside originally comprised forty acres of rich and fertile soil upon the south side of Magnolia avenue, one of the finest drives [streets] in the world. Here the twelve buildings will stand. With this is a ten-acre plot for a vegetable garden. A mile and a half below the property is located a tract of 100 acres for farming and fruit purposes. The water supply is unfailing . . . The abundance of cheap water was one of the most important factors in determining the location of the school here in Riverside.⁹³

Albert K. Smiley, who was previously discussed, also influenced the location of Sherman, reported the *Los Angeles Herald*:

A.K. Smiley of Redlands, whose summer home at Lake Mohawk, N.Y., has been headquarters for the Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Indian, is a warm friend of Sherman Institute. His advice is valued in government affairs; and, finding that the location in Riverside was preferable

⁹² Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXVIII, Number 292, 19 July 1901.

⁹³ Ibid.

to any other offered, he threw his influence in the balance in favor of Riverside.⁹⁴

Smiley was influential in Sherman being located in Riverside, but he was also instrumental in the creation of the Boarding School policy.

Another advocate for Sherman was Frank Miller of the Mission Inn – both of which were constructed using Mission Revival Style Architecture. According to a recent UCR Today news article,

Sherman Institute enrolled its first students on Sept. 9, 1902, a decade after its predecessor, the Perris Indian School, was founded in an agricultural region south of Riverside. Harwood Hall, Sherman's first superintendent, lobbied to move the school from rural Perris to the larger community of Riverside, where entrepreneur Frank Miller wanted Indian students to work at his Glenwood Inn, later renamed the Mission Inn.⁹⁵

Miller had decided on the Mission Revival style architecture through suggestions by his architect, Arthur Benton who had worked on Mission restorations. Having seen the architectural style at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition with his family and also at Mission San Juan Capistrano also inspired Miller. The architecture of the inn's Monastery is fashioned much like Carmel Mission of Monterey, where

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Bettye Miller, *New Book Recounts History of Sherman Institute* *Historians connected to UC Riverside co-author the first collection of images and voices focused on an off-reservation Indian boarding school*, UCR Today, November 29, 2012.

Father Serra is buried, and the buttresses are made to resemble those of Mission San Gabriel.⁹⁶ Nathan Gonzales wrote, “The origins of this Indian school cannot be understood without assessing the motives of Frank Miller. More than anyone else, Miller merits credit for the decision to locate the school in Riverside.”⁹⁷ Miller’s work on bringing the Indian school to Riverside was successful and he would help plan a ceremony for the laying of the school’s cornerstone. Keller relates how Frank Miller took on “the planning of the cornerstone ceremony”⁹⁸ and “assumed full responsibility for sending the invitations out.”⁹⁹ As part of the ceremony for the founding of the Indian boarding school in Riverside, Miller celebrated by having “commemorative volumes of Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona* printed for select guests of the ceremony, his way of thanking them for their support of the school...”¹⁰⁰ Miller understood the importance of *Ramona* to the idea of California and the promotion of the *Spanish Imaginary*. Miller wrote in a letter to Henry Huntington in 1899, “I am especially anxious to secure the location of this building in Riverside [Sherman Indian School], as it will mean a great deal to tourist business. The Helen

⁹⁶ Klotz, 19.

⁹⁷ Gonzales, 194.

⁹⁸ Jean A. Keller, *Typhoid Fever Deaths at Sherman Institute, 1904*, in Clifford E Trafzer, and Diane Weiner. 2001. *Medicine ways: disease, health, and survival among Native Americans*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Hunt Jackson 'Ramona' story, every other tourist has read, and a great many people drive over to the Perris School, a distance of about thirty-two miles, round trip."

Once the school was built, two structures would be named after the main characters in the book, Ramona House and Alessandro Lodge. Sherman, with its founding, began as a location romanticized through architecture, its cornerstone ceremony, and the naming of buildings. In order to promote tourism Miller ensured that *Ramona* was connected to the Sherman Institute.

The Political Ploy to Bring Sherman to Riverside

Miller ever involved in politics in Riverside was instrumental in many projects in the city. For example, beyond Sherman Indian School, Miller advocated for the Citrus Experiment Station to be located in Riverside. In 1890 Riverside and Pomona were both vying for the Experiment Station. In an article in the *Los Angeles Herald*, it was reported that Miller called the *Herald* and "asked that the position of Riverside in relation to the experimental station be stated . . . They say Riverside is ready to furnish all the funds to establish a station without any aid."¹⁰¹ Eventually Riverside was successful in bringing the Experimental Station to Riverside in 1907, originally located at Mount Rubidoux. In 1917 it was moved into a Mission Revival Style building, and laid the foundation for the University of California, Riverside – this original building currently houses the A. Gary Anderson Graduate School of

¹⁰¹ Los Angeles Herald, Volume 34, Number 64, 16 June 1890.

Management. A local Riverside historian explained that Miller helped with many projects that benefited Riverside:

The first of these was the victory in the fight for county division, where the political influence he secured was the factor which gave ultimate success, and made Riverside the seat of a splendid country. The same influence was powerful in securing the location in the city of the fine government Indian school – the Sherman Institute – with the expenditure of large government funds here, the beautifying of the Arlington section and a large increase in the city’s population. So it was in obtaining the large appropriation for the government building now in the process of erection on Orange Street. Riverside citizens must in simple justice admit that political influences have been excellently used to her advantage.¹⁰²

Tom Patterson wrote, “By 1900, Miller’s was probably the most influential voice in Riverside in matters of city planning and design as well as in politics. Presumably Sherman’s Mission Revival Style was his idea.”¹⁰³ He was Riverside’s original gentrifier. Miller’s political motivation had a brief interest in gaining an elected position, but most of his influence would be behind the scenes. Patterson deemed

¹⁰² Elmer Wallace Holmes. 1912. *History of Riverside County, California: with biographical sketches of the leading men and women of the county who have been identified with its growth and development from the early days to the present.* Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 389.

¹⁰³ Tom Patterson. 1971. *A colony for California: Riverside's first hundred years.* Riverside, Calif: Press-Enterprise Company, 240.

Miller, “the town’s most influential backstage political man...”¹⁰⁴ For example, in order to bring the Indian school to Riverside, Miller pursued supporting a U.S. Senator’s campaign for election. In the 1900 election, Miller supported State Senator Bulla from Los Angeles in the race. In a letter dated January 11, 1899 Miller wrote to George Ocheltree, an active Republican in Riverside, “You are without doubt aware” of the effort to “secure the location of the Indian School” in Riverside.¹⁰⁵ Miller also stated that Ocheltree was surely aware of the government’s intention to remove the Perris Indian School and “establish one large school at the new site that will accommodate all of the Indian Children of the Pacific Coast.”¹⁰⁶ In his letter, Miller does not show compassion for the Indian children or argue the need for education. Instead, he insists that, “Such an institution cannot help but be of inestimable value to the city that secures its location, as it will require an expenditure of at least a quarter of a million dollars for the erection of buildings, and a yearly trade of at least \$50,000 to the community in which it is located.”¹⁰⁷ The reason for the letter was to urge Ocheltree in helping secure a candidate for the U.S. Senate that would back the plan to locate the school in Riverside: “the influence of the Senator from California will have much more to do with the location of the institution in our community

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Original Letter reprinted in Gonzales – Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian. 199-200.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

than any other we could obtain, and we know that securing of the school means very much more to us than does the question of which of the Honorable gentlemen now seeking the position shall be elected..."¹⁰⁸ Miller from his letter can be understood as having little loyalty to a specific candidate, but much more interest in backing a candidate that would help secure the appropriations for an Indian school in Riverside. In Miller's recommendation of a candidate he suggested the support of the "Hon. Senator Bulla of Los Angeles, and we believe that the sentiment of the community will endorse your action."¹⁰⁹

Miller was unsuccessful in his pursuit of a Senate appointment that would back his interest in an appropriation for the Indian School to be placed in Riverside. Bulla quit the race and Thomas Bard was elected according to Gonzales, "after discussions in Congress had already begun for the appropriation of funds for an Indian school."¹¹⁰ The importance of this, as Gonzales agrees, "is the great amount of time, energy and money spent by Frank Miller on his campaign to get elected a senator who would support locating a new Indian school in Riverside."¹¹¹ Moreover, it shows the importance to Miller and others of increasing the view of Riverside as a significant and prominent city in order to enhance its economy. The *Los Angeles*

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Gonzales, 201.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

Herald reported in 1900 that Riverside was an ideal place for the school, “Riverside offers opportunities and advantages that a more isolated community cannot possess. Then, too, it presents the example of an orderly and law abiding community, free from influence of saloons, and, to a remarkable degree, from the criminal element; it reveals to a high degree the value of industry in practical farming and horticulture; it is an object lesson in comfortable homes and educated people.”¹¹² This quote exemplifies the Riverside that Miller wanted to portray and was part of the reason he so desired Riverside to have the Indian school – it would help promote tourism and grow the economy of the city. Despite his setback, Miller continued to push for the relocation of the Indian school from Perris to Riverside. He contacted Congressmen James C. Needham and Loren Fletcher and sought their support of an appropriation. Gonzales wrote of the circumstances, “Perhaps coincidentally, Fletcher represented the district in which Charles Loring lived. Loring was a longtime friend of Miller, supporter of Riverside, and financial backer of the Loring Opera House in Riverside.” After contacting the congressmen, Miller had reports sent to the Commissioner of Indian affairs detailing the need to move the school from Perris. The major concern for the Perris School was lack of water for agricultural purposes.

Harwood Hall the Superintendent of the School wrote in his annual report

¹¹² Los Angeles Herald, Number 45, 15 November 1900.

that a “full measure of success can not be attained where nothing can be grown.”¹¹³

Reporting in October of 1899, the *Los Angeles Herald* reported, “When the government was first introduced to locate the school on the present site it was promised plenty of free water for all purposes, but in the past two dry seasons this promise could not be kept, owing to the shortage of water, and the consequence has been that the school authorities have found it impossible to grow any crops...”¹¹⁴

The need to move the school was well known and Richard Pratt spoke out for the need stating, “proper locations can be found in the vicinity of Redlands, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, Pasadena or San Diego.”¹¹⁵ Finally it was reported on January 07, 1900 that Congressman Needham “appeared before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House and urged that an item appropriating \$100,000 be placed in the Indian appropriations bill soon to be reported to Congress to establish a new Indian school in Southern California.” The same article reported “The Indian Department will undoubtedly locate the school at Riverside, as the Commissioner is known to be in favor of this place as a site for the same.”¹¹⁶ With this, the move to Riverside would happen, but Miller wanted the move to be viewed as if it was not a “Riverside proposition,” but a “department move.” Harwood Hall, sent to

¹¹³ Gonzales, 204.

¹¹⁴ Los Angeles Herald, Number 18, 18 October 1899.

¹¹⁵ Gonzales, 205.

¹¹⁶ San Francisco Call, Volume 87, Number 38, 7 January 1900.

Washington would provide the details of the need for the move and the appropriation of funds. Miller stated, “He has followed my plan from start to finish...”¹¹⁷ Miller to some degree had manipulated Hall, and the move of the school from Perris to Riverside would be a great benefit for Miller; he could use it not only to grow Riverside and increase tourism, but he also owned shares in the Riverside Water Company, from which the school would buy water. Likewise, Miller owned shares of the Riverside electric railroad, which had a stop close to the school and near his hotel. Patterson wrote that the location of the school “next to his streetcar company’s Chemawa Park was probably no accident.”¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Frank Miller and Alice Richardson, his sister and manager of the hotel, owned the land that was sold to the government for the School – the 40 acres on Magnolia. More disturbing, however, is Miller’s ability to profit off the school’s location twice. In its first location, in Perris, California, a local developer group, the Riverside Tract, helped secure land for the school. Maurice Hodgen in his book, *Master of the Mission Inn*, reported “the Riverside Tract stepped in to give the eighty-acre location in Perris to the federal government. Miller bought into the Riverside Tract and also invested in the Perris water company.”¹¹⁹ It was from this company that the Government had been reassured that there would be plenty of water for the school. Whether there

¹¹⁷ Gonzales, 205.

¹¹⁸ Patterson, 240.

¹¹⁹ Hogden, 100.

was enough water for the school in Perris or not is a question I do not have enough information to answer. My speculation is that the means to provide water to the school was available, but that the lack of water explanation was merely a pretense to move the school to the more desirable location of Riverside.

Chemawa Park

Chemawa Park was named after Chemawa Indian School in Oregon. The school opened in 1880 and was named after a band of the Kalapuya tribe of the Willamette Valley. Chemawa was the second Indian Boarding School to be opened and is currently the oldest continuously operating Indian Boarding School in the United States. It is not by coincidence that Sherman Indian School would be located next to Chemawa Park. "On one side the grounds of the institute adjoin the beautiful park which the Riverside electric rail way is making a strong attraction," reported the *Los Angeles Herald*.¹²⁰ In an article from 1903 the *Herald* reported that "Frank A. Miller, manager of the Chemawa park, has sent J.E. Funk down the coast as far as Panama in search of rare tropical birds and animals for the park and his hotel..."¹²¹ Chemawa Park was described by Tom Patterson in the following manner:

"Chemawa Park was on its way toward becoming a social institution on a popular as well as a prestige level. It was owned by the newly electrified Riverside and

¹²⁰ Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXIX, Number 297, 27 July 1902.

¹²¹ Los Angeles Herald, Number 113, 25 January 1903.

Arlington street railway, one of the many such parks by which street car companies encouraged Sunday business.”¹²² Patterson explained that the park had an “ornamental rock entrance gate” that “opened the way to such attractions as an amusement park, a small zoo and, briefly, a fairgrounds.”¹²³ The park also had grounds for football and baseball (where the Sherman team played), and the “Polo Club leased space for private use and setup a clubhouse, grandstand, and the intermission custom of tea drinking. The street car brought spectators who did not necessarily enter the tea drinking area.”¹²⁴

A sixth-grader, Marian Dunbar, writing to a column in the *Los Angeles Herald* about what made her city great stated, “Many tourists come to Riverside...” One of the things tourists could visit, according to Marian, was the Indian School. “The Sherman institute is where they teach the Indians how to do all kinds of Work. The boys are taught to do all kinds of manual work. The girls are taught how to sew, cook and many other useful things.” Another sixth-grader, Anita Reynolds wrote, “Sherman institute is where they have about 700 Indians. The boys learn manual work and the girls learn cooking and sewing. Adjoining Sherman is a park, called Chemawa Park. It has a large menagerie and polo grounds, which are considered the

¹²² Patterson, 223.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

best on the coast.”¹²⁵ Tourists could take the electric railway to visit both the zoo at Chemawa Park, and go next door to see the human zoo, Sherman Indian School.

As a tourist destination, Sherman Indian School functioned similarly to the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair Columbian Exposition. The school as site of tourism, much like the World’s Fair, reinforced and illustrated for the Western gaze, the dominance of white supremacy. The images of Indians being educated strengthened the notion of colonialism being beneficial for the Native in their ascent to civilization and white life.¹²⁶ The Fair had also included a model Indian school run by the Indian Bureau headed by Thomas J. Morgan. According to L. G. Moses, “Groups of Indian students drawn from reservation boarding schools in the western United States would visit Chicago at intervals throughout the run of the fair.”¹²⁷ Once in Chicago, “Each group would remain a week or two, becoming part of the exhibit and, in their leisure time, seeing the sights.”¹²⁸ According to Morgan, the school represented “only the civilized and becoming civilized side of Indian life...”¹²⁹ Using Indian

¹²⁵ Los Angeles Herald, Volume 36, Number 234, 23 May 1909.

¹²⁶ Most scholars writing about multiculturalism and the ascendancy of white-life or whiteness, (such as Dylan Rodriguez, Denise de Silva, and Rey Chow) have placed this logic largely in the post-civil rights era. My research has indicated that this is not a new logic limited to the post-civil rights.

¹²⁷ L.G. Moses. “Indians on the Midway: Wild West Shows and the Indian Bureau at World’s Fairs, 1893-1904.” *South Dakota History* 21 (Fall 1991). 212.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ As quoted by Moses, 212.

bodies for white tourism showcasing Indigenous ascent to civilization reinforced ideas of white supremacy, and many fairs used representations of Indian ascension for capitalist purposes.¹³⁰

In a 1919 advertisement for the Pacific Electric Railway, a tourist could, for \$3.50, travel from Los Angeles to Riverside and see the “greatest orange-growing section in the world.” It was also advertised,

At Riverside the car passes down famous Magnolia Avenue, giving a comprehensive view of Mount Rubidoux crowned by the Junipero Serra cross, to Sherman Indian School. After being conducted through the school, the party returns to the Mission Inn, where ample time is given for a tour of inspection of this unique hostelry, accompanied by the Guide Lecture. The parent navel orange trees are seen on this trip.¹³¹

This advertisement, and others like it, portrays both the Mission Inn and Sherman Indian School as sites of tourist consumption. In a February 11, 1903 article the *Los Angeles Herald* reported about an event and reception at Sherman, “the grounds and buildings were visited by hundreds of visitors. It was especially attractive to the crowds of tourists here. The afternoon was devoted to visiting the classrooms and buildings to see how the Indian youth are cared for and educated.”¹³² It also reported that both the school band, and the mandolin and guitar club provided

¹³⁰ Moses, “Indians on the Midway.”

¹³¹ Los Angeles Herald, Number 243, 12 August 1919.

¹³² Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXX, Number 129, 11 February 1903.

entertainment for the white visitors. Amongst those present were Congressman-elect M.J. Daniels and Albert K. Smiley.

A Gendered Education

Tourists often wandered the halls of Sherman and were encouraged to visit. At the school they encountered a gendered system of separation between male and female students. The boarding school's gendered structure was a continuation of the patriarchal logic of the Mission. Although the Boarding School was not the same institution as the Mission, many of the same logics were employed including the enforcement and reproduction of patriarchy. In the Mission, Indians were separated by gender, with unwed women and girls locked up in the *monjerio*. At the Boarding school, Indian children were also separated by a gender binary, as Diana Meyers Bahr in *The Students of Sherman Indian School* wrote, "Superintendent Hall maintained separate spheres at Sherman with minimal contact between male and female students. Indeed, there was a demarcation line down the center of the campus, with boys walking on one side and girls on the other, no talking allowed."¹³³ In an article from 1902, the *Los Angeles Herald* explained the gendered work boys and girl would be instructed in. The boys would be provided "practical training in carpentry, cabinet making, blacksmithing and other trades. The farm will give practice, under competent instructors, in every branch of agriculture . . . stock

¹³³ Diana Meyers Bahr. 2013. *The students of Sherman Indian School: education and native identity since 1892*, 28.

raising and dairying will be carried on.”¹³⁴ These were the same trades male Indians were taught one hundred years earlier in the Mission. This same article also explained, “All of the girls will be taught to do housework and to sew. The art of housekeeping – with all that the word implies – will be included in their instruction. Lacemaking, dressmaking, fine needlework and basketry will be taught.”¹³⁵ These again are some of the same lessons taught at the Mission. It is ironic that Sherman taught Indians to make baskets, California Indian women had traditionally made some of the world’s greatest baskets since time immemorial.

In “Learning Gender,” a chapter in *Boarding School Blues*, Katrina A. Paxton wrote, “Female students at Sherman Institute faced an educational system that included, among other goals, gender assimilation.”¹³⁶ She explained that between 1902 and 1925, “the faulty, administration and staff” of the school “engaged in gendered cultural assimilation of the female body, interfusing major academic instruction, vocational training and private social programs.”¹³⁷ She also noted, “Two influential organizations that many female students encountered at Sherman Institute were the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) and the outing

¹³⁴ Los Angeles Herald, Volume XXIX, Number 297, 27 July 1902.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, 175.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 176.

system.”¹³⁸ The outing program at Sherman was designed to teach Indians the Protestant work ethic. The Indian boarding schools often functioned, according to Kevin Whalen, as “employment agencies, sending young Indian people to perform dangerous, physically demanding tasks at discount wages.”¹³⁹ The jobs Indians labored at through the outing system were gendered with Indian girls working in white homes. Young girls, between ten and twelve, often worked as “nurses,” or nannies, for younger white children.¹⁴⁰ Whalen explained the outing system in his article, “Labored Learning: The Outing System at Sherman Institute 1902-1930”:

During its early years at Sherman Institute, the outing program functioned as a haphazard employment agency. Young women from Sherman worked steadily and with one family throughout the course of the summer, returning to school by the start of September. A select few students lived and worked in the outing program all year. Following the year-round outing template set by Pratt, Hall required these students to attend at least eighty days of classes at the nearest public school. Rather than being paid for their work, year-round outing students attended class during the week and worked for room and board on the weekends. All student-laborers—male and female, year-round

¹³⁸ Ibid, 175.

¹³⁹ Kevin Whalen. 2012. "Labored Learning: The Outing System at Sherman Institute, 1902-1930". *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*. 36 (1), 152.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 154.

and seasonal—had the cost of meals deducted from their final paychecks.¹⁴¹ While girls at Sherman were working in the homes of white families, boys were sent to work on the farms and ranches in the Riverside area.

According to Whalen, “Hall,” the school Superintendent, “led local families and businesses to believe that Sherman Institute would function as an employment agency. Correspondence between Hall and the recipients of student labor often read more like exchanges between a salesman and a buyer than communication by a concerned father figure ensuring proper care for his charges from surrogate parents.”¹⁴² The previously discussed Citrus Industry and the growth of Riverside due to the production of Oranges was helped by Indian children enrolled at Sherman. In 1913 for example, 93% of the employers utilizing male student workers from Sherman were in need of unskilled agricultural laborers.¹⁴³ Students, as laborers, were exploited on many levels. If they worked in the outing system, their room and board was taken out of their pay, while the school continued to collect fees for these same students from the government.¹⁴⁴ Whalen argued that many Indian students “floated through years of vocation-oriented educational curricula

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 155.

¹⁴² *Ibid*.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 161.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 161.

without absorbing any information that might be useful after leaving school.”¹⁴⁵

Students placed on ranches often lived off site and faced poor living conditions.

Moreover, students were paid less than their fellow non-student laborers, worked long hours, were provided few academic skills and had normative gender ideals enforced on their bodies through academics, Christianity and labor.

Conclusion

The *Spanish Imaginary* produced an idea of California - an idea that reflected colonial beliefs of the Mission and its project to civilize and Christianize California Indians. This Chapter has argued that through the architecture of both the Mission Inn and Sherman Indian School, settlers were able to directly reproduce the idea of the Mission. Although the institutions were not identical, time and space separated them from the original, they reproduced the Mission and its logic of white supremacy and Native inferiority. The hegemonic discourse of the era about Indians strongly reflected this. California Governor Gillett in 1909 spoke at the Mission Inn about the benefit of the Missions to California Indians through the Padres “unselfish work of charity and a desire to be helpful to the helpless and friendless...” He stated that the Padre’s devotion stands as “constant inspiration to all those who have carried on the later work of progress.” At the same event, Senator Flint stated he had studied the “subjects of the Indians of California, to learn what is being done for their good.” To this he stated that the Missions provide “an example to our problems

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 168.

of handling the Indians...” Elaborating his point he argued, “Even today, were it not for the foundation laid by the old Mission Fathers the burden which has been taken up by our government would be far heavier than it is.”¹⁴⁶ The burden spoken of was the federal policy of Indian assimilation resulting in the boarding school. This policy can find its roots at the conferences held at Albert Smiley’s Lake Mohonk Resort and his organization, the Friends of the Indian. Richard Henry Pratt and Senator Henry L. Dawes were key figures in attendance, having influence over Federal policy. Those involved exacted deep impacts on tribal nations. These policies are viewed negatively today, yet during their implementation, these policies were liberal and intended to help Indian ascension into civilization. The Boarding School was an institution created in order to help the Indian, yet as I detailed in this Chapter the intention to assist was also a genocidal project meant to eradicate Indian ways of life. The Indian education policy implemented throughout the United States and in California, even prior to the signing of its treaty with Mexico, was a through-line of war to prison to school – a prison to school pipeline. This significant reorientation of the school-to-prison pipeline is an important example exposing education as inseparable from the logics of imprisonment or warfare for some communities. In providing a critique of the school-to-prison pipeline, researchers can provide a similarly historical analysis of the nefarious uses of education inculcating communities of color into the assimilative project of education.

The architecture used in the construction of the Sherman Indian Boarding

¹⁴⁶ The Morning Mission and Riverside Enterprise, October 13, 1909.

School was not chosen randomly, but had important meaning. The Mission Revival Style was a reproduction of the architecture used by the Mission system, constructed using slave and/or prison labor. The choice to use Mission Revival Style Architecture in Riverside was one meant to connect Riverside to the Spanish colonial project of civilization – and its institutionalization of Indian genocide. The history of Frank Miller’s involvement highlights the intersections of capitalism and conquest. The history of the boarding school also provides the intersection of these two logics with the addition of gender as a tool to promote patriarchy – illustrating the interconnectedness of the founding of Sherman to the California Missions.

CHAPTER SIX:

Playing and Praying: California Missions and Anti-Missions

The story of Junipero Serra and the Missions for dramatic purposes has been lying around since 1833, at least, for anybody to grab. But no one grabbed it until I did so in 1912. Now it is mine.

- John S. McGroarty to Charles F. Lummis, 1916

We want the true story told ... how our ancestors were enslaved. They didn't want to leave their villages. The atrocities that happened at these missions are unbelievable. And then for them to award sainthood to the architect of the mission system is just unfathomable.

-Caroline Ward Holland, 2015

The Origins of a Play

In March 1909, only months before President Taft visited Riverside and Frank Miller's Mission Inn, Miller offered \$1,000.00 for a drama to be written about the mission era. *The Los Angeles Herald* reported that the play would dramatize "the warp and woof of the time when the mission fathers were dotting the landscape of California with the buildings which now are crumbling to ruin."¹ The newspaper explained that the drama "would include Franciscan friars and natives of the tribes of Indians who attended services in the missions of Southern California."² On the same page of the *Los Angeles Herald* advertising Miller's passion play and his offer of money for a writer, another article described a "sacred city" found in the San Jacinto mountains and explained that it "must have been erected by a much more intelligent

¹ "Riverside Notes," *Los Angeles Herald*, Volume 36, Number 177, 27 March 1909.

² *Ibid.*

race than the other tribes of Indians which inhabited Southern California in the early days before the white men came.”³ It’s unclear what this find was or its exact location, but it is clear that Anglo notions of the history of the Missions and discourse surrounding Indians and racial origins congealed and produced what I have named, the *Spanish Imaginary*. These two articles from 1909 and the history of the theatrical production of the Mission era exemplify the view of Native peoples as subordinate and reinforce white supremacist logics of dominance.

According to Frank Miller biographer, Maurice Hodgen, “Miller wanted a dramatic play for the inn, something he later called the Oberammergau of America,” as a theatrical representation of the Missions.⁴ Oberammergau, a municipality of Bavaria, Germany has hosted a play every ten years since 1634 depicting “Jesus’s passion” – the short period of Jesus’s life concluding with his resurrection following his execution by crucifixion.⁵ The play lasts for five hours with a three-hour intermission for dinner.⁶ In 2010, the last time the play was produced, it was staged

³ “Sacred City Proves to be not Mystical,” Los Angeles Herald, Volume 36, Number 177, 27 March 1909.

⁴ Maurice Hodgen, 2013. *Master of the Mission Inn: Frank A. Miller a Life*. Ashburton Publishing, South Carolina, 211.

⁵ Oberammergau-passion. Play webpage. Accessed January 03, 2016. <http://www.oberammergau-passion.com/en-us/home/home.html>

⁶ Ibid.

102 separate times.⁷ Miller had produced nativity plays at the Mission Inn and included children from the Sherman Indian School filling roles in its production. He had even put together his own play about the missions with himself as the role of Junípero Serra. The *Mission Play* would be a combination of a Christian/Civilization narrative and a history of California's Missions and the demise of the Indian and Californio. The *Mission Play* flourished beyond a local unprofessional production, and required its own playhouse. It showcased the passion of Junípero Serra, as Saint, who brought Christianity and whiteness to California – "God's white glory"⁸ and in the Play Serra would give himself up for sacrifice to lay the foundations for those who replaced the Spanish: the Americans. "The Indians have been robbed of their lands, their homes, their happiness--- BUT THEY HAVE KEPT THE FAITH," the Play stated.⁹ Further it presented an era of crumbling Missions from which the Indian and the Californio alike were left without their mission institutions: "There are now authorities over the Missions. They may appear at any moment and drive us both away."¹⁰ The Play romanticized a past, a time in which Indians and Californios lived. A past when, "There never was a brighter journey in all the world. The Missions

⁷ Passion Play 2010, Obermmergau webpage. Accessed January 03, 2016. <http://pilatushaus.de/index.php?id=190>

⁸ John Steven McGroarty. 1911. *The mission play; a pageant play in three acts*. [Place of publication not identified]: John S. McGroarty.

⁹ *Ibid*, 59.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

were then in their glory and they stood only one days ride apart--- twenty of them in all from San Diego's harbor of the Sun to Sonoma in the Valley of the Seven Moons” it declared.¹¹

In his book, *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture*, Kenneth Marcus explained that Miller wanted California to have its own version of Oberammergau after having seen it performed in Germany. Marcus noted that Miller had first approached Dr. Henry Van Dyke, Chair of Princeton University’s English Department and authority on pageantry to write the play. Van Dyke had encouraged him to find someone familiar with California, and Miller next approached the Chancellor of Stanford University, Dr. David Star Jordan, who recommended John Steven McGroarty.

Hodgen wrote in *Master of the Mission Inn*, that John McGroarty, lawyer, editor, writer and columnist for the *Los Angeles Times* had contracted with Miller for the writing of a script by October 1, 1909.¹² In 1911, John McGroarty published *California: Its History and Romance*. McGroarty, similarly to Frank Miller shared a passion for California history and viewed the Mission era as a time to be romanticized. In his book, McGroarty lists five “miracles of achievement” in California – four more miracles than the Catholic Church recognizes Junípero Serra performed. The first miracle according to McGroarty was, "The building of the chain

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Hodgen, 211.

of twenty-one Franciscan Missions in an uncivilized land, resulting in the regeneration of the Indians of California from heathen barbarism to Christianity and the arts of peace."¹³ According to Hogden, McGroarty "dawdled" on the manuscript, "Miller Waited. Eight months later Miller bypassed McGroarty to contract a New York impresario, Gustav Froleman, to produce the Oberammergau of America for the courtyard of the [Mission] inn, with six hundred Indians provided as actors playing principal roles in the California mission story."¹⁴ Indians from the surrounding community and principally Sherman Institute had been exploited as entertainment for white audiences in Riverside since its founding ceremony. Miller's courting of Froleman put McGroarty into action, who had been given time off by the *Los Angeles Times* to write the play.

Harrison Gray Otis, "the General," headed the *Los Angeles Times* and took control of the city's business organizations. He was so named due to his military service and his reputation in being a difficult man.¹⁵ McGroarty received permission from "the General" to take time off at the *Los Angeles Times* and in 1911 according to *Musical Metropolis*, Miller "set aside a room for McGroarty at the Mission Inn so that

¹³ John Steven McGroarty. 1911. *California; its history and romance*. Los Angeles: Grafton Pub. Co.

¹⁴ Hogden. 211.

¹⁵ Kenneth H. Marcus. 2004. *Musical metropolis: Los Angeles and the creation of a music culture, 1880-1940*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 97.

he might write in peace.”¹⁶ After two months, McGroarty had finished the play, inspired by the desert landscape with mountain views, surrounded by orange groves and Frank Miller’s mission themed hotel.

In his important book, *City of Quartz*, Mike Davis explained how General Otis, with his son-in-law Harry Chandler, “set out to sell Los Angeles...”¹⁷ A contingent of “the great transcontinental railroads (the regions largest land owners), a syndicate of developers, bankers, and transport magnates...” conspired to develop southern California leading to, “an unprecedented mass migration of retired farmers, small-town dentists, wealthy spinsters, tubercular schoolteachers, petty stock speculators, Iowa lawyers...” and they transferred “their savings and small fortunes into Southern California real estate.”¹⁸ McGroarty’s writing of California history and its interpellation of Native peoples as subject to white supremacy was only accomplished through a simultaneous capitalist agenda, a selling of California as both physical space and as a spatial idea.

The Origins of a Prayer

Caroline Ward Holland’s grandmother told her not to bring flowers to her grave when she came to visit. Holland explained what her Nana had told her, “don’t

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Mike Davis. 1990. *City of quartz: excavating the future in Los Angeles*. London: Verso, 25.

¹⁸ Ibid.

bring me flowers when I'm dead. Buy yourself a pair of shoes, you're gonna need them."¹⁹ Holland, a tribal member of the Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians said, "I took that with me my whole life, I'm 50 years old, and that's what I think she meant."²⁰ Her grandmother meant it in a literal sense, "Buy yourself a pair of shoes, you're gonna need them, because I know you're gonna do this. Today, I don't have to think about that ever again. I know this is exactly what she meant," Holland said.²¹

Caroline and her son Kagen followed in the footsteps of their California Indian ancestors. "Wherever their villages were, that's what they were forced to do: walk to the Missions" she explained.

We want our ancestors to know that we understand their suffering. And we're going to voice it, so people will know that it wasn't a posh life with the Catholics feeding you, and protecting you. No, it was a horrible existence for them. It's really heart-wrenching, it's sickening, you know.²²

The mother and son began a 780-mile pilgrimage to all of the 21 missions in Alta California. Walking each mile to honor and pray for the ancestors as a direct action in opposition to the Canonization of Junípero Serra in 2015. Holland explained the

¹⁹ Walk For the Ancestors, Accessed April 20, 2016, <http://walkfortheancestors.org/about/>

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

purpose of her and her son's walk, "They [the ancestors] were people just like we are. We want to feel what they went through, and try to let everyone else know what really happened. It's almost like, bringing them to life through what we're doing..."²³ To begin such a long walk was courageous. However, it was more than a walk; it was a prayer, a journey for the ancestors. It was an assertion of California Indian survivance and resistance - a rejection of sainthood for Junípero Serra, his legacy and the *Spanish Imaginary* produced from his corpse entombed at Mission San Carlos Borroméo del Rio Carmelo. Gerald Vizenor articulates survivance in the context of continued literary traditions. I understand it to be the embodiment of resistance to settler colonial institutions with the possibilities of intra-Indigenous collaboration and the continuance of traditional Indigenous self-determining practices functioning outside of the state.²⁴ Caroline and Kagen's walk was survivance, and they asked for permission as they entered each tribal people's territory recognizing the people of the land whether they have federal recognition or not.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See Kēhaulani Vaughn's forthcoming dissertation, "*Decolonial Possibilities: The Politics of California Indian and Native Hawaiian Relations*," University of California, Riverside. N.d.

Power and Settler Colonialism enacted through the Spanish Imaginary

In McGroarty's book, *California: Its History and Romance*, his five "miracles" not only includes the Missions, but also commercial and industrial progress. He summarily describes many of the settler-colonial processes in California that affected both California Indians and the environment:

(1) The building of the chain of twenty-one Franciscan Missions in an uncivilized land, resulting in the regeneration of the Indians of California from heathen barbarism to Christianity and the arts of peace; (2) the building of the Central Pacific railroad across the Sierra Nevada mountains; (3) the reclamation of the deserts by irrigation; (4) the re-building of the city of San Francisco after its destruction by earthquake and fire in 1906; (5) the Owens river aqueduct.²⁵

Each of McGroarty's "miracles" could be written about in-depth to understand them in a Native Studies context. Without the adequate space in this dissertation, I will merely quickly comment that it is noteworthy his choice of using the term "regeneration," and his use of reclaiming the deserts through irrigation. It is also telling that he selected examples of human progress over nature. These terms explain McGroarty's opinion and position concerning California's Indian people, in need of Christianity, and American (white settler) ownership claims and reclaiming of, and over, the land of California.

²⁵ McGroarty.

The discourse of the *Spanish Imaginary* romanticizes the Mission era while simultaneously erasing the Native and replacing them with the settler. Studies that use or constructed the *Spanish Imaginary*, such as McGroarty's *California* and the *Mission Play*, focus their attention on the Spanish and frequently place Junípero Serra as a leading figure. These narratives erase Native peoples as important to history and relegate them to an imaginary past. As a result, the settler replaces Native people, in physicality and in discourse, through centering and normatively connecting the non-Native to land. Settler Colonialism as articulated by Patrick Wolfe, is not an event but the process of eliminating the Native from the land to be replaced by the settler.²⁶

In short, elimination refers to more than the summary liquidation of Indigenous people, though it includes that. In its positive aspect, the logic of elimination marks a return whereby the native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society. It is both as complex social formation and as continuity through time that I term settler colonization a structure rather than an event...²⁷

The multiple violences of settler colonialism can be understood as a form of *slow violence* as expressed by Rob Nixon in which the elimination of the Native is not easily seen through a decisive event. Settler colonialism's work towards elimination

²⁶ Patrick Wolfe. 2006. "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native". *Journal of Genocide Research*. 8 (4).

²⁷ *Ibid*, 390.

is often gradual and has far ranging effects over time. Nixon's theoretical positioning of slow violence includes the boundaries of time and space:

Attritional catastrophes that overspill clear boundaries in time and space are marked above all by displacements - temporal, geographical, rhetorical, and technological displacements that simplify violence and underestimate, in advance and in retrospect, the human and environmental costs. Such displacements smooth the way for amnesia, as places are rendered irretrievable to those who once inhabited them, places that ordinarily pass unmourned in the corporate media.²⁸

I am utilizing settler colonialism as expressed above and simplified, as Audra Simpson notes, "predicated on a territorial possession of some, and thus, a dispossession of others."²⁹ Wolfe noted, "Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element."³⁰ The histories and events of settler colonialism can have varied effects. What is irreducible to these varying historical trajectories is the importance of land. Settlers and their descendants, benefitting from indigenous dispossession, arrived in California as permanent migrants.³¹ Settler colonialism,

²⁸ Rob Nixon. 2011. *Slow violence and the environmentalism of the poor*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 7.

²⁹ Audra Simpson. 2011. "Settlement's Secret". *Cultural Anthropology*. 26 (2): 205-217.

³⁰ Wolfe, 388.

³¹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books, 70.

argued Tuck and Yang in *Decolonization is not a Metaphor*, “is different from other forms of colonialism in that settlers come with the intention of making a new home on the land, a homemaking that insists on settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain.”³² California Indians have been repeatedly dispossessed, first of land followed by attempts to eradicate them physically and culturally. And finally, the *Spanish Imaginary* was an attempt at dispossessing them of history – replacing their history with an imaginary constructed to reimagine California as Charles Lummis described it, “Plymouth Rock was a state of mind. So were the California Missions.”³³ California became a land inherited by the Americans from the Spanish conquistadors and Catholic friars; a land that could be imagined, was imaginable, and the settler could imagine themselves within; a land that could be imagined and transformed from a “desert wasteland” to a modern metropolis.³⁴ California became the home of Hollywood, and imagined itself once more.

Settler colonialism is also the management of, as Tuck and Ree write, “those who have been made killable, once and future ghosts - those that had been destroyed, but also those that are generated in every generation.”³⁵ The settler

³² Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. “Decolonization is not a Metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, Vol1, No 1*, 5.

³³ Charles Lummis. 1893. *The Spanish pioneers*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 302.

³⁴ The settler has constructed it as a desert wasteland. I do not see it as such and disagree with this view of the land.

³⁵ Eve Tuck, & C. Ree (forthcoming). A Glossary of haunting. In S. Holman-Jones, T. Adams & C. Ellis (Eds), *Handbook of Autoethnography*. SAGE Publications. 642.

exists as part of the management process haunted with a guilt that never arrives.³⁶ There is an impossibility of guilt, of forgiveness, and a refusal of responsibility, because what happened in the past, the settler rationalizes, is not their fault even while they benefit from theft, deceit, genocide, rape and desecration. Those issues are always understood as existing in the past, as the discourse that constructs “the Indian” only allows Native people, in the settler’s understanding, to exist in the past. Tuck and Ree explain that settler colonialism is, “an ongoing horror made invisible by its persistence...”³⁷ They further explain that settler colonial relations are comprised of “the inventive settler, whose memory becomes history, and whose ideology becomes reason.”³⁸ The *Spanish Imaginary* facilitated a construction of settler memory and history that continues to haunt the present through the relentless remembering and reminding that remains unappeased by “settler moves to innocence,”³⁹ or as Janet Mawhinney explained and quoted by Tuck and Ree, “strategies to remove involvement in and culpability for systems of domination.”⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibid, 642.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid, 642, and Eve and Tuck, *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor*, pg. 9. And Mawhinney, J. 1998. 'Giving up the ghost': Disrupting the (re)production of white privilege in anti-racist pedagogy and organizational change. Masters Thesis, Ontario Institutue for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/tape15/PQDD_0008/MQ33991.pdf

⁴⁰ Mawhinney, 17.

This is most clearly seen in the settler arguments detailed above. The settler understands their existence on Native land as being unrelated to the structures of settler colonialism and dispossession because they either weren't alive when critical events occurred, they are merely individuals who are not responsible for the actions of others, or because they themselves are members of oppressed communities and therefore understand themselves as separated from the structures of settler colonialism – this is its own move to innocence.

Settlers have also long argued, as Helen Hunt Jackson presents in *Glimpses of California and the Missions*, first published in 1883, that if they hadn't taken Indian land, someone else would have. Jackson citing a report from special agent John G. Ames, wrote about a white settler who had moved onto San Pasqual land in the 1880s. The settler felt bad for the situation the Indians were then in, "But", he said, 'if I had not done it, somebody else would...' ⁴¹ This is an argument settlers continue to use to explain past aggressions and land dispossession – somebody else would have if it wasn't the Spanish – somebody else would have if it wasn't the English, the French, or the Americans. What is missing from this argument is responsibility that would provide possibility for forgiveness and healing.

California has been continuously imagined since its naming by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo in his 16th-century romance novel *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (The Adventures of Esplandián). In his novel, Montalvo described a fictional island,

⁴¹ Helen Hunt Jackson. 1903. *Glimpses of California and the missions*. Boston: Little, Brown, 128.

named California, populated with beautiful black women warriors:

Know that on the right hand from the Indies exists an island called *California* very close to a side of the Earthly Paradise; and it was populated by black women, without any man existing there, because they lived in the way of the Amazons. They had beautiful and robust bodies, and were brave and very strong. Their island was the strongest of the World, with its cliffs and rocky shores. Their weapons were golden and so were the harnesses of the wild beasts that they were accustomed to taming so that they could be ridden, because there was no other metal in the island than gold.⁴²

Montalvo, it is theorized created the name California based on the Spanish word *califa*, whose etymological origins are from the Arabic word *khalifa*, خليفة – leader, steward, head of state in a caliphate.⁴³ It is also theorized that the Spanish believed that California was an island, and thus named it after the island from Montalvo's book. In *The Literature of California: Writings from the Golden State*, editor Jack

⁴² Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo (1526) [1496]. *Las sergas de Esplandián* [*The Adventures of Esplandián*] (in Spanish). "Sabed que ala diestra mano de las Indias ouo una Isla llamada California mucho llegada ala parte del paraiso terrenal la qual sue poblada de mugeres negras sin que algun uaro entre ellas ouiesse: que casi como las amazonas ..." (The first mention of "California" occurs on the unnumbered page after page CVIII, in the right column.) <https://books.google.com/books?id=ZWcBYnKWya0C&printsec=frontcover&hl=en#v=onepage&q&f=false>

⁴³ See: Edward Everett Hale (March 1864), "The Queen of California", *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (77), pp. 265–279. George Davidson, *Origin and Meaning of the Name California* (1910). Ruth Putnam (1917). Herbert Ingram Priestley. ed. California: the name. Berkeley: University of California. Polk, Dora Beale (1995). *The Island of California: A History of the Myth*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

Hicks explained the legacy of *Las Sergas de Esplandián*,

it tells us California is an island. It tells us it is filled with gold. It also tells us the dream came first. The place came later. His novel was a concoction that actually fed the hopes of the region's earliest explorers. This sequence, the dream preceding the reality, has influenced the life and the ways it has been written about ever since.⁴⁴

California has been an imagined place by the colonizer even before the currents and winds allowed them to stumble upon it. Gerald Haslam in *Many Californias: Literature from the Golden State* noted that "illusion preceded reality and this state has rarely been viewed as conventional or common sense. While 30 million human beings experience real life here every day, California remains at least as much state of mind as state of the union."⁴⁵ Antonia I. Castañeda wrote persuasively, "From the sixteenth century to the present, California's human and physical geography has been part of the mythical, the fabulous, the fantastic, the mysterious, the marvelous, the romantic, and the monstrous of the Western imagination."⁴⁶ The Mamas and The Papas also sang, "California dreamin' on a winter's day" - California as an idea that is warm and the antithesis of being lonely and depressed. California, according

⁴⁴ Jack Hicks, et al. eds. 2000. *The Literature of California: Writings from the Golden State*. Berkeley: UCP. 3.

⁴⁵ Gerald Haslam. 1999. *Many Californias: Literature from the Golden State*. Reno: U of Nevada, 1.

⁴⁶ Antonia I. Castaneda. 2000. "Hispanas and Hispanos in a Mestizo Society". *OAH Magazine of History*. 14 (4), 29.

to Tupac is also a dream where opportunity provides diamonds and guns, “Only in Cali where we riot not rally to live and die.”⁴⁷ It is a place where racial and gang issues persist, but it still remains the “best side” where the famous and the street collide.⁴⁸ California as dream is a recurring theme in a discourse that continuously imagines California as more than place. California is opportunity! It provides these opportunities and dreams on top of the graves of Indigenous peoples – both metaphorically and literally.⁴⁹

While naming can be a powerful form of resistance, as a way to re-imagine self and place, naming has often been a power settler colonizers reserve for themselves. Although many place names in California have retained Native language, for example: Malibu, Cucamonga, and Jurupa – to name but a few, California itself was named by the colonizer. This name stuck, unlike many names the Spanish originally titled places, and has since been applied to the indigenous peoples of these lands – California Indians – both California and Indian are words originally produced and applied to a people by the Spanish. They, the colonizer, used the power of naming to affix both places and people with meaning and social context. Naming not only classifies objects, people, and places, but also produces

⁴⁷ 2PAC, 1995, *California Love*. Death row Records, L.A. California.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ The graves of California Indians are susceptible to desecration. Even in death, we are not safe from their metal blades. Known and unknown burial sites are disturbed in constructing everything from homes to shopping malls to roads to parking lots to gardens.

exclusion through a creation of knowledge and meaning in the process and negotiation of a naming and renaming - in the case of indigenous lands and peoples. This process can also be understood as part of a genocidal continuum produced through settler colonialism. Linda Tuhiwai Smith stated, "By 'naming the world' people name their realities. For communities there are realities which can only be found in the indigenous language..."⁵⁰ Removing those realities changes and disrupts Native relationships to place - central to their spatial spiritual worldviews - part of the continued violence of settler colonialism.

Naming changes the worlds of Native peoples, affecting how they understand place and geography. It creates exclusion and borders that hadn't existed prior to colonialism and affixes place with new meanings. Jacques Derrida suggested that language inscribes the world with difference through its classifications.⁵¹ Language use, is thus, an act of "arche-violence,"⁵² separation and division⁵³ - the loss of, as Derrida explained, "a self-presence which has never been given but only dreamed of and always already split, repeated, incapable of appearing to itself except in its own

⁵⁰ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 157-158.

⁵¹ Cheryl Armstrong and Sheryl I. Fontaine. 1989. *The Power of Naming: Names that Create and Define the Discipline*. Writing Program Administration, v13 n1-2, 9.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

disappearance.”⁵⁴ This naming of place and people produced a particular subjectivity and violence, bounded by space and predetermined by the structures of power and knowledge.

Power, however, is not all encompassing. Although the Spanish colonial regime used their power to name people and place, and the settler in California repeatedly re-imagines California as place, Indigenous peoples continue to exert free will and retain the possibility of resistance and agency.⁵⁵ According to Monir Birouk, “for Foucault power is always constitutive of resistance...”⁵⁶ This resistance and agency, on the part of California Indians, can be seen in the archive of Spanish colonial documents and in contemporary California Indian actions, such as Caroline and Kagen Ward’s *Walk for the Ancestors*. Monir Birouk explained, “for Foucault, the body is not a mere site for the play of the dominant structures of power and knowledge; it functions also as a site of resistance.”⁵⁷ California Indians resist the use of power and knowledge (discourse), through the colonial naming of both themselves and their lands, and resultant violent histories and imaginations. Their resistance is embodied, even if at times unacknowledged and unrecognized by the

⁵⁴ Jacques Derrida. 1976: *Of Grammatology*. Gayatri Spivak trans Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 112.

⁵⁵ Monir Birouk. 2013. *Speaking through Death in Tony Morrison’s Beloved and Jean Rhys’s Wide Saragasso Sea*, *Criterion: A Journal of Literary Criticism* Volume 6, Issue 1,116.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

settler because their very futurity goes unrecognized. Several tribes have resisted the colonial names forced onto them through missionization. For example, Caroline and Kagen's tribe, the Fernandeano, have made a decision to re-use the name Tataviam, meaning, "people facing the sun," as a representation of self and Nation. Other tribes such as the Juaneño have relied on a village site to rename themselves: Acjachemen – the people from the village Acjachema – the village Mission San Juan Capistrano attempted to replace. Acjachema also originates from creation stories and signifies the place where the people slept piled together. This renaming of tribe and self is an acknowledgment of sovereignty and recognition outside of the state, beyond colonialism.⁵⁸

Michelle Foucault writing in, and about, *Power* recognized that power, in all forms, as currently applied is unoriginal, as their mechanisms have already existed in other societies. Power he argued, "applies itself to immediate everyday life categorizes [names] the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him that he must recognize and

⁵⁸ The demands for sovereignty and self determination by un-recognized tribes are sometimes in concert with movement to gain federal recognition. Under the current conditions of settler colonialism and capitalism, with millions of non-Natives living in southern California, the choice to exist completely outside of the state is one Tribes aren't willing to demand. At the very least, they want representation with the California Native American Heritage Commission, and to have laws such as S.B. 18, CEQA, and A.B. 52 apply to their lands in order to protect them from further destruction. Existing completely outside of the state does not provide protections given the current conditions – the post-apocalypse, as I have explained elsewhere.

others have to recognize in him.”⁵⁹ Through naming, the colonizer wielded power and produced a set of power relations that continue to both inform the settler about California Indians, and produced a Native understanding of themselves within the power relations between themselves and the settler. These power relations were affected by the discourse created through the *Spanish Imaginary*, wherein “The Indian,” as identity, is ascribed a meaning of past presence – an imaginary, a haunting. For Foucault, power and its exercise “is not simply a relationship between ‘partners,’ individual or collective; it is a way in which some act on others.”⁶⁰ He further stated, “Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action, even though, of course it is inscribed in a field of sparse available possibilities underpinned by permanent structures.”⁶¹ By the nineteenth century the colonized indigenous people were subjected to and governed by institutionalized systems and social relations. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explained, “These relations were gendered, hierarchical and supported by rules, some explicit and others masked or hidden.”⁶² The structural power relationships, for California Indians, to the settler and to the state, were formed through colonialism and settler colonialism, including naming, dispossessions, and historical imaginations produced without Native

⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, and James D. Faubion. 2000. *Power*. New York: New Press, 331.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 340.

⁶¹ *Ibid*.

⁶² Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 26.

permission. Power wielded without consent also results in resistance. However, “power” as examined by Foucault and others is not real power. Instead these theorizations of power are merely examinations of discipline, discourse, dominance and consumption. Real power is represented by nature and Mother Earth.

The Spanish Imaginary – Origins

California was re-imagined by American settlers in California during the late 19th and early 20th century and cast as having a romantic history amongst other imaginations. However, their imaginary constructs were fueled not merely as a “move to innocence,” as discussed above, but as a capitalist, money making invention to drive tourism and increase settlement. It was an imaginative marketing scheme, as all advertising should be. The *Spanish Imaginary* was, and continues to be, a settler colonial project of managing settler guilt and a capitalist tool promoting further settler dispossessions of Native land and possibility.

Helen Hunt Jackson first wrote about Indians in newspaper and magazine editorials between 1879 and 1881,⁶³ resulting in her book, the first published under

⁶³ Jackson had not taken up political issues up to this point. She was not active with the suffrage movement nor had she been actively in support of abolition. She had previously travelled to California and her responses to the Indians had included words such as “loathsome,” “abject,” and “hideous.” Her work on Indian issues was doing something she had been critical of women doing – “having a hobby,” as she wrote in a letter. She had sent copies of *A Century of Dishonor* to every member of Congress at her own expense. Although it had taken her most of her life to become political, her dedication to policy reform and better treatment of Indians was unequalled from a white American.

her own name, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings With Some of the Indian Tribes* (1881). The focus of *A Century of Dishonor* was the government's double-dealings with tribes such as the Ute, Cheyenne, Nez Perce, Delaware, Cherokee, Sioux, and the Ponca – whose stories of injustice first inspired her interest in tribal issues. Jackson's involvement in the Indian reform movement began in 1879 following her attendance at a Boston lecture by Ponca chief Standing Bear.⁶⁴ In *Helen Hunt Jackson and her Indian Reform Legacy*, Valerie Mathes wrote, "From the day she first saw the dignified sixty-year-old Ponca chief whose gentle face was 'stamped with unutterable sadness' until her death in 1885, she 'became what . . . [she] said a thousand times was the most odious thing in life, a woman with a hobby.'"⁶⁵ Writing to a former abolitionist Jackson explained, "I think I feel as you must have felt in the old abolition days. I cannot think of anything else from morning to night."⁶⁶ Although she only briefly mentioned California Indians in the first edition of *A Century of Dishonor*, her courageous book project provided an important critique of U.S. governance and its dishonest "dealings" with Tribal nations. For example, she argued, tribes have a "right of occupancy" that was recognized through discovery and only vulnerable through the sale of land or further conquest. She examined instances where the government through coercion

⁶⁴ Valerie Sherer Mathes. 1990. *Helen Hunt Jackson and her Indian reform legacy*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 21.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 21. Mathes quotes a letter written by Jackson.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*.

stole lands from tribal nations. In her arguments, she explicitly upheld the doctrine of discovery, as applicable international law, and called those who questioned this doctrine guilty of “feeble sentimentalism,”⁶⁷ while also, in strong committed language called out the United States for its repeated treaty violations. Jackson stated,

The history of the United States Government’s repeated violations of faith with the Indians thus convicts us, as a nation, not only of having outraged the principles of justice, which are the basis of international law; and of having laid ourselves open to the accusations of both cruelty and perfidy; but of having made ourselves liable to all punishments which follow upon such sins – to arbitrary punishment at the hands of any civilized nation who might see fit to call us to account, and to that more certain natural punishment which, sooner or later, as surely comes from evil-doing as harvests come from sown seed.⁶⁸

In *A Century of Dishonor*, Jackson was unaware that California Indians had signed treaties with the United States, treaties that went un-ratified by Congress. “These Indians have no treaties with the Government...” she wrote. In her short section on California she clumsily wrote about Mission Indians as having lived “under the

⁶⁷ Helen Hunt Jackson, Henry Benjamin Whipple, and Julius H. Seelye. 1881. *A century of dishonor: a sketch of the United States government's dealings with some of the Indian tribes*. New York: Harper & Bros, 32.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 70-71.

Catholic Missions,” and the “Coahuilas” and “others” occupying the eastern portions of the state and explained that they “supported themselves” through “working for white settlers, or by hunting, fishing, begging, and stealing...”⁶⁹ The structures California Indians lived under were later more effectively researched by Jackson and resulted in her important fictional novel, *Ramona*, published in 1884. In a second edition to *A Century of Dishonor*, Jackson included an extensive appendix entitled “Report on the Condition and Needs of The Mission Indians of California.”⁷⁰ Jackson with Abbott Kinney⁷¹, conducted this report as special agents to the Commission of Indian Affairs, completed in 1883, directly contributing to her novel, *Ramona* – and little action on the part of the US government to respect the sovereignty of California

⁶⁹ Ibid, 996.

⁷⁰ Helen Jackson, and Abbott Kinney. 1883. “Report on the Condition and Needs of The Mission Indians of California.” Washington D.C. From the following quote one can get a sense of their writing and its dedication to help the Indian while simultaneously promoting U.S. hegemony and power structures: “Our government received by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo a legacy of a singularly helpless race in a singularly anomalous position. It would have been very difficult, even at the outset, to devise practicable methods of dealing justly with these people, and preserving to them their rights. But with every year of our neglect the difficulties have increased and the wrongs have been multiplied, until now it is, humanly speaking, impossible to render to them full measure of justice. All that is left in our power is to make them some atonement... That drunkenness, gambling, and other immoralities are sadly prevalent among them, remain honest and virtuous under conditions which make practically null and void for them, most of the motives which keep white men honest and virtuous.”

⁷¹ Abbott Kinney was a real estate developer, best known for his development of Venice, California – the “Venice of America.” He bought land in the Santa Monica Canyon, and attempted to develop it as well. He ended up selling the land to Collis P. Huntington. It is questionable how a real estate developer would also have true sympathy for Indigenous people being pushed off their lands.

Indians or honor the 18 treaties already signed by Tribes and Indian Agents in 1851. This failure was not a fault of Jackson's, but a direct result of the structure of colonialism reliant on Native erasure and dispossession. Jackson sought to show the dispossession of California Indians, secluded on reservations where they struggled to survive without adequate supplies and food.⁷² She argued, "a more pitiable sight has not been seen on earth than the spectacle of this great body of helpless, dependent creatures, suddenly deprived of their teachers and protectors" following the close of the missions.⁷³ Although her intentions were important, to provide support for the tribes of California, she nonetheless continued to tell a liberal version of the missions as being a constructive and protective force in the lives of California Indians. This idea of the missions persisted in her novel *Ramona*, in which she contrasted the view of Spanish colonialism and the Padres' love of the Indians with that of American colonialism, which she viewed as a constant taking from them including by the Indian agents who had been charged with protecting them.

Jackson's well-intentioned plans to assist California Indians resulted in supporting the creation of the *Spanish Imaginary*, and the nostalgia of the Mission past. Writing to Antonio and Mariana Coronel in 1883, she described her plans to write *Ramona*, "I am going to write a novel, which will be set forth some Indian experiences in a way to move people's hearts. People will read a novel when they

⁷² Clifford E. Trafzer. 2000. *As long as the grass shall grow and rivers flow: a history of Native Americans*. Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 198-199.

⁷³ Jackson, *Glimpses of California and the Missions*, 76-77.

will not read serious books.”⁷⁴ She intended to tell the history of dispossession through the medium of a novel and have the locations of Temecula and San Pascual, with their recent dispossessions, centered in her story. She described the novel, unwritten yet, to her editor Thomas Bailey Aldrich: “My story is all planned; in fact, it is so thought out it is practically half written: it is chiefly Indians – but the scene is in Southern California, and the Mexican life will enter in largely. I hope it will be a telling book: - and will reach people who would not read my *Century of Dishonor*.”⁷⁵ She further explained in another letter that she was working on a novel “which I hope will do something for the Indian cause...” In the novel she explained that there would be so much about “Mexican life,” “before they suspect anything Indian” they would keep reading. “If I can do one hundredth part for the Indians that Mrs. Stowe did for the Negro...” in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* she stated, “I will be thankful.”⁷⁶

Once it was finished she wrote, “I do not dare to think I have written a second *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* – but I do think I have written a story for the Indian cause.”⁷⁷ Clear in her strategy, she wrote that she “had tried to attack the people’s conscience

⁷⁴ Helen Hunt Jackson, and Valerie Sherer Mathes. 1998. *The Indian reform letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879-1885*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Letter dated: Nov. 8. 1883.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* Letter dated: Nov. 24, 1883.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Letter dated: Jan. 1. 1884.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Letter dated: April 2, 1884.

directly in a *Century of Dishonor*," but she "had sugared my pill" in *Ramona*.⁷⁸ Its first publishing would be in a journal, the *Christian Union* as a serial over the course of six months, afterwards it would then be published as a novel. Nearly nine months after its initial publication, Jackson was already frustrated with its reviews and readership. She remarked, "I fear the story has been too interesting, as a story - : so few of the critics have been impressed by anything in it, so much by its literary excellence..."⁷⁹ Further she responded by writing, "I am positively sick of hearing that 'the flight of Ramona & Alesandro is an idyl' - & no word of the Temecula ejection. - I do not know what to do next."⁸⁰ Jackson had hoped to write a children's book next elucidating the same issues and having the ability to reach the youth while they were still young to complicate their educations about Indians. However, she got sick while in Los Angeles and passed away from cancer a little over a year after *Ramona's* initial publishing. "From my death bed I send you message of heartfelt thanks for what you have already done for the Indians. I ask you to read my *Century of Dishonor*. I am dying happier for the belief I have that it is your hand that is destined to strike the first steady blow toward lifting this burden of infamy from our country and righting the wrongs of the Indian race," she wrote in

⁷⁸ Josephine Pollit, 1930. *Emily Dickenson: The human Background of Her Poetry*. New York, 269; as cited in Andrew F. Rolle, 1965. "Introduction to the Torchbook Edition of *Ramona*." New York, xix.

⁷⁹ Jackson and Mathes. Letter dated: Jan 13, 1885.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

one of her final letters addressed to President Grover Cleveland. Jackson's California dream, her white savior fantasy, would be left unaccomplished in life and death.

Ramona having more than three hundred English-language printings and several film versions also inspired an annual play held in Hemet, California since 1923. The novel centers a story she heard while she was in California. She had been told about a young Spanish girl from a wealthy family who had eloped with an Indian herder. In the real incident, they were caught, the Indian was flogged and the woman was married to an acceptable partner – a Spanish man.⁸¹ She combined this love story, and made it a tragedy, with another story she and Abbott Kinney had written in their report. In "Exhibit C" of the report they detailed the 1883 death of a young Cahuilla man in San Jacinto who had been killed by a white rancher, Sam Temple, for the theft of a horse.⁸² Juan Diego had taken Temple's horse but left his own. Temple shot Juan Diego, who possibly had a mental disturbance, four times but was not charged with murder.⁸³ The *Los Angeles Times* in an article from 1924⁸⁴ stated, "The killing of Juan Diego by Sam Temple is a matter of record in the justice court of San Jacinto . . . Temple, the transcript of the testimony at the trial reveals,

⁸¹ Ruth Odell. 1939. *Helen Hunt Jackson (H.H.)*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 187.

⁸² Helen Jackson, and Abbott Kinney, 19.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ PLAN RAMONA PAGEANT: People of San Jacinto-Hemet Valley to Produce ... *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*; Apr 1, 1924; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. 12.

was acquitted on a charge of justifiable homicide . . . he shot in self-defense.”

Goodman wrote that Sam Temple “bludgeoned and possibly killed two Chinese railroad workers with a pickhandle in 1882 during the grading of Box Springs Canyon.”⁸⁵ Temple was also not found guilty of these crimes. The woman, the title character, was named Ramona and the Cahuilla Indian, Juan Diego, would be named Alessandro.⁸⁶ Jackson avoided charges of miscegenation and interracial love in her novel, between Ramona and Alessandro, through creating a complicated and mixed genealogy for Ramona - Scottish and Indian but raised by a Spanish family. With Ramona being half Indian, Jackson avoided the controversy of miscegenation, objectionable to a 19th century audience.

Ramona, the novel, set off a firestorm of intrigue to know more about the real Ramona, where the events took place, and a bit of an obsession for fans to find the “real” house where the events took place. They completely missed the point of the novel that Jackson had intended. Her tragic love story and its romantic histories and locations were all the audience had focused on. It created, what some have called, Ramona-mania. While the intrigue of *Ramona* has faded with time, we can see the influence of Jackson’s books on the California landscape: towns, streets, schools, restaurants, and even an expressway (Ramona Expressway), are named after her.

⁸⁵ Goodman, 58. Citing the *Riverside Press and Horticulturalist*, 1882 in Lawton, 1987, 30.

⁸⁶ Alessandro was an unlikely name for a California Indian to have. It is an Italian version of the Spanish name Alejandro. However, a more appropriate name during that time for a California Indian might have been Antonio.

Alessandro also has his name used similarly. Jackson, through her novel, had a great impact on southern California – perhaps not the impact she could have guessed. Her characters never really existed; pieces of their stories were real but they were not. And yet, almost everyone in Southern California still knows their names. The mythology produced by *Ramona* is that of the Spanish Fantasy Past and its romance, and what I have called its legacy, the *Spanish Imaginary*. Not only did the novel assist in creating an idea of California within the state, it also developed that idea for people across the Nation. The idea of California developed and increased a tourist market. Kevin Starr wrote that "no other act of symbolic expression affected the imagination of nineteenth century Southern California so forcibly" and that the "spell" of Jackson's novel formed the "basis of a public myth which conferred romance upon a new American region."⁸⁷

In a 2009 article for the *Los Angeles Times*, Christopher Reynolds provided a contemporary travel tour of the lasting effects of Ramona-mania. With a touch of sarcasm he wrote, "If you want a glimpse of how 'reality' programming worked around here before there was television or you want to know why your dentist's office looks like Father Junípero Serra's headquarters or you just want to peek at the strange and shallow roots of tourist culture in Southern California, then come with

⁸⁷ Kevin Starr. 1985. *Inventing the dream: California through the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 55.

me on a tour of Ramonaland.”⁸⁸ Reynolds highlighted places in Ventura, Riverside and San Diego Counties where remnants of the fictional Ramona and Helen Hunt Jackson’s novel can still be found. In Ventura County he visited Rancho Camulos, the house that arguably was the real house; the one the novel was based on. I say arguably, because other tourist spots have claimed that they were the “real” houses; the idea of “real” is an absurd concept when *Ramona* is a fictional novel, but nonetheless locations in the book inspired tourism and created a market for all things Ramona. In the literature devoted to the real house of *Ramona*, Michelle Chihara in “The promise of one Such House’: Ramona, Real Estate, and the Romance of Speculation” wrote,

Ramona-mania, as expressed by hundreds upon hundreds of tourists, was always house fixated. Ramona fans tended to express their passion through an urge to possess or be possessed by place, either by taking pieces of “The Home of Ramona” or by feeling the spirit of “Ramona Country.” Once the Estudillo house in San Diego was identified as Ramona’s “Marriage Place,” a caretaker took to selling off bits of the structure as souvenirs. At one point a mob of three hundred people stepped off a train from Santa Barbara to visit Ramona’s ostensible home and stole all the oranges on the trees there. Upon visiting the “Home,” another visitor wrote, “The feelings which obsessed me were indescribably intense. I knew the name and life of every character

⁸⁸ Christopher Reynolds. January 11, 2009. “On the Trail of ‘Ramona’ in California,” Los Angeles Times. Accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.latimes.com/travel/la-trw-ramona11-2009jan11-story.html>

mentioned in the 'Ramona' story, and they lived again in the dreamy fancy that possessed me.”⁸⁹

As the myth of Ramona developed, Rancho Camulos became the focal point of tourism.⁹⁰ Jackson visited the Rancho in 1882, the home of Antonio del Valle and his family, but only stayed for a couple of hours. Reynolds in his *Los Angeles Times* article wrote, “Besides the courtyard, veranda and chapel, all of which remain, you get a broad view of the cradling hills, and if you can find your way to the enormous California black walnut tree that was planted in 1870 or so, you can marvel at the gnarled branches reaching skyward like tentacles from the Earth.”⁹¹ The Southern Pacific Railroad made a stop for the Rancho, and the Del Valle family began selling their oranges with the “Home of Ramona” brand. The house also served as the set for the D.W. Griffith film “Ramona,” starring Mary Pickford. Although the Del Valle family sold the property, Rancho Camulos continues to be a tourist stop with Ramona memorabilia, small museum and gift shop.

Another location that is arguably the home of Ramona is Rancho Guajome in San Diego County. Reynolds wrote of Guajome, “When ‘Ramona’ first came out, the Coutts family complained that the Moreno mother and son in the book were twisted

⁸⁹ Michelle Chihara, 'The promise of one such house': Ramona, real estate, and the romance of speculation. *Studies in American Fiction* (41:2) [Fall 2014] , p.225-249,293-294.

⁹⁰ Dydia DeLyser. 2005. *Ramona memories: tourism and the shaping of Southern California*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

⁹¹ Reynolds, *Los Angeles Times*.

versions of themselves. But a revenue opportunity is a revenue opportunity. The Coutts family soon started pitching its book connection, wooing tourists in cooperation with the nearby Santa Fe Railway.”⁹² Although the Camulos house is structurally more similar to the house in the book, Guajome is closer to other major locations in the book: Mission San Luis Rey, Temecula and San Diego. Due to location, Rancho Guajome is considered the “real” location of the story while Camulos is the “real” house – the two combined for the novel. Rancho Guajome is now part of San Diego County Parks and continues to be available for tourists – although few visit now compared to times past.⁹³

The woman who the Character of Ramona was possibly based on, the wife of Juan Diego, was named Ramona Lubo. Tourists would visit her as well and she sold baskets and other objects to them including images of herself. She would charge the tourists for pictures of her or to be taken with her. Tourists were often disappointed in the “real” Ramona and wrote about her in derogatory terms. Dydia Delyser in *Ramona Memories* wrote that tourists and reporters did not “see it as clever on Lubo’s part to supplement her income by her notoriety; rather to them it made her opportunistic.”⁹⁴ This despite the conditions she lived in, as a reporter for the San Diego union explained demeaningly in 1898, “Ramona rests gracefully on the finest

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ DeLyser, 129.

tables in the most gorgeous homes of the land, but Ramona [Lubo] would rather sit on the ground in a scant calico dress of the unwashed pattern and sip frijoles and cheap coffee.”⁹⁵ As reported by the *Riverside Morning Enterprise* in 1899, “Her home is a poor, wretched, wooden shanty, looking more like a large-sized dilapidated dry goods box than a human habitation...”⁹⁶ These were the very conditions that prompted Jackson to write *Ramona*, but her audience did not recognize the purpose of the novel and viewed Ramona Lubo as a desperate excuse for the romantic widow Ramona, whom they could take photos of crying at the grave of her dead husband. Her descriptions were in the pejorative for Indian females, as a “squaw.” Furthermore, her body was ridiculed as being “squat, plump, shapeless.” She was further compared to a “coarse and vulgar animal.” Her features and face expressing “neither fine feelings, refinement, culture (not even rude Indian culture) nor morality.”⁹⁷ She was subjected to ridicule for not being the character from a fictional novel, who had been written to represent a youth of characteristically Western beauty, not a middle-aged Indian woman who had not grown up with privilege like her fictional counterpart. As part of the tourist trade, postcards depicting the “real” Ramona were sold. Even in death, she was made susceptible to the gaze of the

⁹⁵ Ibid, 128.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 129.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

tourist. Tourists, taking with them souvenirs, had chipped at Ramona and Juan Diego's graves on the Cahuilla Reservation. Headstones had been erected over their graves memorializing the fictional characters rather than the actual people buried there. Juan Diego's tombstone displayed the name Alessandro despite his never having had the ability to hear that name, as Sam Temple had killed him prior to Jackson's novel having been written.

The Mission Play

Two plays dominate the history of the *Spanish Imaginary*: the *Mission Play* and the *Ramona Pageant*. Based on McGroarty's work, the *Mission Play* became the nation's most popular theatrical production prior to World War II.⁹⁸ Its production beginning in Riverside with the influence of Frank A. Miller, would find a home in San Gabriel, next to the Mission. On April 14, 1912, just two days before the *Mission Play* was set to open, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, "The theater is practically completed, and there is nothing in it which is not of mission suggestiveness. The decorations, pictures on the walls, external form of the theater, and even its cloister garden and guarding wall suggest the form of the fortress-church community center promoted by the militant priests who flourish in the days of Cabrillo."⁹⁹ Although

⁹⁸ William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the remaking of its Mexican Past*, University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2004, 55.

⁹⁹ MISSION PLAY LOOMS CLOSE.: PREMIER TWO WEEKS FROM MONDAY EVENING; *Los Angeles Times* (1886-1922); Apr 14, 1912; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. II9.

providing the incorrect timeline of the setting of the Mission, in the time of Cabrillo, the Mission narrative portrayed by the structure supported the mythology of the Spanish past, and not only the contents of the play. The structure, with the façade of a mission built in Mission Revival Style Architecture, and decorated as such told as much of a story of the Mission era as the play. It provided a discourse of romance and of civilization, as opposed to the cruel reality of the institution. At the center of the play was, of course, Junípero Serra. The same article from the *Los Angeles Times* wrote that Serra was, “the mighty pioneer of religion and civilization on the West Coast.”¹⁰⁰ In *Whitewashed Adobe*, William Deverell wrote, “Were it not for the *Titanic* disaster, it is likely that Los Angeles newspapers would have devoted more space to . . . this Los Angeles happening...” the opening of the *Mission Play*. The opening, according to the *Times*, created profound public interest.¹⁰¹

On April 29, 1912 the *Mission Play* “entered the hearts and minds of Southern Californians for the first time. It was by all accounts a virtuoso performance. The audience shouted and cheered . . . laughed and wept,” wrote Deverell¹⁰² Writing about the *Mission Play*, the *Los Angeles Times* said of the drama’s plot in 1912, it “has been taken almost literally from the history of California.”¹⁰³ According to Deverell,

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Deverell, citation #3.

¹⁰² Ibid, 208.

¹⁰³ *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1912. As cited in Deverell, 209.

“Before long, that qualifying ‘almost’ would be excised from public perceptions of the play.” He further related that the distinction between the play and history, “would be erased” and the “regional culture would canonize the play as Southern California history itself, come back to life exactly where all assumed it had begun, under the stars of the San Gabriel Mission, the ancient engine of civilization.”¹⁰⁴

In *Whitewashed Adobe*, Deverell provided a historical sketch of the creation of the *Mission Play*, connecting McGroarty and his work writing for the magazine *West Coast*, with Charles Lummis and his magazine *Out West*.¹⁰⁵ Lummis would briefly write for McGroarty’s *West Coast* and the publisher that owned the journal also published McGroarty’s *California: Its History and Romance*. Deverell wrote:

Writing *The Mission Play* was, of course, only the first step toward making theatrical history. Even though Frank Miller had backed away from the play before its debut, for reasons that are unclear, McGroarty had the support and the experience to make his play into a public relations event, an experience. In this he rested upon the example of such phenomena as Helen Hunt Jackson’s novel *Ramona* and *La Fiesta de Los Angeles*, both of which had connected profoundly with a narrow regional perception of the past. But it would be inaccurate to call *The Mission Play* a mere imitation of previous theatrical or literary productions. McGroarty organized *The Mission Play*

¹⁰⁴ Deverell, 209.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 213.

Association, which borrowed money and issued stock in the venture. Then, acting as producer and director, he worked to raise additional money, build a playhouse, and put on the play.¹⁰⁶

Twenty years after the first performance, McGroarty wrote a piece for the *Los Angeles Times* reminiscing about his inspiration for the Play and its popularity. He stated, the “germ of the Mission Play was planted in me as a boy...” in his “native Pennsylvania.”¹⁰⁷ He read in a newspaper article about the California Missions a story of priests visiting San Luis Rey, ringing the bells, and “the descendants of the exiled neophytes heard the call and came trooping to the fallen rafters that had once sheltered their dusky forefathers.”¹⁰⁸ After reading the article, McGroarty said he saved his pennies for a trip to California to visit all of the missions, “from San Diego to Sonoma.”¹⁰⁹ He saved “every scrap of paper and every book” he could find printed about the Missions, and years later set to tell that history through the medium of a play.¹¹⁰ With nervous anticipation on its opening night and \$50,000 in debt, McGroarty greeted “a throng of the most notable people of California” including

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 235.

¹⁰⁷ MISSION PLAY HISTORY TOLD: Author of Famous Story of Friars and Indians Tells How It... MCGROARTY, JOHN STEVEN. *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*; Feb 1, 1931; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. B11.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Bishop Conaty, Robert J. Berdette and “Don Carlos Lummis.”¹¹¹

The play was very successful, having as Deverell wrote, a run of ten weeks, “thus shattering the American theater record.”¹¹² It had great reviews from theater critics and employed a well-known director formerly of the Philadelphia Historical Pageant. Even the renowned W.E.B. Du Bois, for example, praised McGroarty for his work. As quoted in Deverell’s *Whitewashed Adobe*, Du Bois wrote McGroarty saying he had a “beautiful experience witnessing” the play and he would “not soon forget it.”¹¹³ As the star of the show, Junípero Serra was shown with selflessness and piety. The opening scene is set in 1769 on the coast of San Diego with the baptizing of an Indian and ends after secularization with a cry from Señora Yorba, “the dream is done... gone to return no more. The dear and lovely dream that was bright and fair.”¹¹⁴ Her final lines display the racial ordering brought by the Spanish that McGroarty capitalized on, and the *Spanish Imaginary* cohered with:

The Cross and the Faith-- Oh yes, this is true, indeed. Time can break a wall,
vandal hands can tear down the shelter of a roof, but neither time nor vandal
hands can uproot the Cross of Christ or kill the Faith which the Wanderer
spoke to men upon the dusty roads of Galilee. Still is the triumph yours, O

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Deverell, 216.

¹¹³ Ibid, 228.

¹¹⁴ McGroarty, *The Mission Play*, 64.

Christ. Still is yours the victory, O brown robed son of Saint Francis who made the darkness of the heathen land to shine with God's white glory, whose sandaled feet have left behind them the blossom of the rose in desert sands. Night and the gloom of night is upon thee, beloved San Juan, but the Cross shall forever linger with its living light above thy fallen towers, and again a Cross on every hill on the green road to Monterey.¹¹⁵

The line where Señora Yorba declares that the “heathen land” shines with “God’s white glory” is an unambiguous white supremacist line. It doesn’t shine with white light, which would be a little less clear; it shines with “white glory” instead. The project of the *Spanish Imaginary*, which is exemplified by the play, displayed white supremacy through Native erasure and submission to Christianity that McGroarty proclaimed to be impossible to “uproot.” One of the purposes in constructing the *Spanish Imaginary* was to allow Americans to connect, or “root,” themselves into the land and the history of California. It was a tool to connect their history of frontier progress and expansion with that of the Spanish in California.

Act I of the *Mission Play* began in 1769 with the beginning of California history – as stated elsewhere, historians have often begun telling California history with the arrival of the Spanish – whether Cabrillo or Serra. The first lines of the play similarly display the normative view of Indians as being heathens in need of Christian salvation: “And, furthermore, I believe that Don Gaspar de Portola, the Gobernador, and all his men are dead-- killed by those damnable, treacherous,

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 64-65.

sneaking Indians of California.”¹¹⁶ One of the soldiers in the play, Miguel, asked why they were in California: “Senor Corporal, what black curse from heaven was it that brought us to this benighted land of California anyway?” The Corporal answered, “We came, sir, as you well know, to Christianize the heathen Indians and to bring them into the fold of the true faith.” In response Miguel stated, “Well, I say then, that it is time wasted. We have seen the California Indians who shoot cowardly arrows at us and steal everything they can lay hands on. They are not fit to be Christians.” Corporal Jose in rebuttal argued, “But wait until you see what Father Junipero shall do with the Indians. Father Junipero works miracles.” In response to the Corporal’s appreciation of Serra, Miguel responded:

He can work no miracles here. The Indians of California are beyond the power of miracles. If you were to pour holy water or any other kind of water on a California Indian, he would jump out of his skin. The task is too great even for Father Junipero.¹¹⁷

A few lines later Miguel stated, “Forgive me, Padre mio. Father Junipero is a Saint and I reverence him.”¹¹⁸ At its outset, the *Mission Play* demonstrated for its audience

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 4.

Several lines later, McGroarty had the Corporal tell one of his men, “you lazy Catalonian dogs! You are no better than muleteers.” The reference to muleteers is anti-Black. Although ambiguous, the term was used to denote a black or mullato who would have often worked as a person who drove the mules. The etymology of mullato originates with mule – the offspring of a horse and a donkey.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 7.

the importance of Junípero Serra and his ability to perform miracles. It is a wonder that it took over 100 years from the first performance of the play for Serra to be canonized when he was displayed as a Saint through such an important media that millions viewed uncritically as California history.¹¹⁹

Act I ends with Junípero Serra baptizing an Indian baby in San Diego, the first in Alta California. Act II begins with Junípero Serra readying to say Mass at Mission Carmel fifteen years after the end of the first Act. Ubaldo, the first Indian to be baptized now grown, arrived late for the Mass and was chastised by the soldiers. Within this conversation Pedro presented Serra as a priest who sacrificed himself for his cause:

And he has no sooner returned here to Carmelo than he walked to San Francisco and back again. There are now nine Missions, and in this last journey Father Junipero visited them all on foot. No one can induce him to ride on mule back, let alone in a carretta He is indeed, a true Franciscan.¹²⁰

The play continues with reports from each of the missions and their progress.

Father Ammurria conveyed the improvements made at Mission San Juan

Capistrano:

Four hundred Christian Indians are now sheltered and fed and taught at our Mission; and our crops are wonderful. San Juan Capistrano is a place of

¹¹⁹ In McGoarty's *Los Angeles Times* article from 1931, he stated that two million people had viewed the Mission Play.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 29.

plenty. Our Indians are very gentle and quick to learn. We are about to build the finest church in California which the Indians themselves will build.¹²¹

Unlike most stories of the Mission era, the *Mission Play* at least had the Indians construct the buildings. Much of what was written during the rise of the *Spanish Imaginary* erases Indian workers within the Mission.

The play took an interesting turn from here and introduced the Commandante of Mission San Francisco, who had ridden to Carmel because Father Palou had taken with him a half Spanish half Indian girl, named Anita, and her Indian lover. One of the disputes referenced is between the military and the Church over control of the Indians. Palou responded, “she is... half Indian, and were she only one-tenth Indian, I would still have authority over her. You cannot have Anita.”¹²² The Commandante wished to have Anita as his personal servant – a veiled reference to him having complete control over her labor and body. Later Serra tells the Commandante: “If you shall but touch this pure young creature with your foul, polluting hands, upon you shall I hurl the curse of the church! The flesh shall shrivel from your bones; disease shall eat at your vitals; the sight shall fade from your eyes! You shall sit a shunned and leprous beggar, shivering on the King's Highway, an outcast, suffering the tortures of the damned!” Serra responded to the Commandante’s demands and stated that the taking of an Indian woman was

¹²¹ Ibid, 34.

¹²² Ibid, 41.

against the rules - that Indian girls belonged in the women's quarters at the Missions (monjerio) or if she was married, with her husband.¹²³ Serra refused to allow the Commandante to take the girl with him and instead Serra married her to her lover and freed her from the imprisonment of both the monjerio and the Commandante.¹²⁴

Act II ends with a fiesta and Serra proclaiming that he will soon say "farewell." Act III begins in 1844 in San Juan Capistrano with Ubaldo as the old caretaker of the Mission, and Anita and her husband Pablo singing "*La Golondrina*" – the swallow. Ubaldo discussed the end of the Mission era, and the land being haunted by the ghosts of the dead: "The ghosts of those who once were here in life-- the dead who sleep by day in this quiet churchyard, but walk the whole night long in these sad, deserted places."¹²⁵ The elder Señora Yorba entered the scene; she and Ubaldo discussed and were sentimental about when the Priests were in control of the Missions. She reminisced about her trips to Mission San Juan Capistrano with

¹²³ This displays the logic of heteropatriarchy. Women should be controlled and locked up in the monjerio. The only way to escape would be through marriage.

¹²⁴ This not only displays the interconnectedness of heteropatriarchy and the colonial project during the Spanish period, but also the normative American perspective and a brief inclusion of a love story that McGroarty had been pressured to include. The love story, however, was minimal as compared to Ramona. The purpose of the *Mission Play* was in telling a version of CA history that had Serra as the main protagonist. After his death, California is in ruins. The Mexicans had destroyed the dream, but the Americans with their heritage of protestant labor could take up where the Spanish dream had faded.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 55.

her father, El Colonel Dominguez, and her trip to all of the Missions. Act III ends with Señora Yorba and Ubaldo reminiscing about San Juan Capistrano, its demise and theirs.¹²⁶

Deverell in his endnotes stated, “McGroarty would later rewrite Act III so that the play closed with a more exuberant call for contemporary mission restoration.”¹²⁷ The play showcased an end to both Californios and Indians. Natives would remain in the past and not as living peoples while Californios would become Mexicans according to the dominant culture. The Indians who had survived were seen as remnants of the primitive who it still may be possible to educate, and reform movements were contemporarily busy doing just that. The antagonists in the *Mission Play* are the Mexicans who allowed the secularization of the Missions. It was their fault that the Missions were crumbling ruins, and it was now the Americans’ responsibility to reconstruct them and take up the civilizing project begun under Spain which had diminished during Mexican occupation. This is explicitly seen in dialogue presented by Señora Yorba to Ubaldo at the end of Act III:

¹²⁶ In the early years of the *Mission Play*, Lucretia del Valle, played the role of Señora Yorba. She was a descendant of the del Valles who had owned Rancho Camulos, the house that Helen Hunt Jackson had used as the setting for much of her novel *Ramona*. To read more about del Valle’s role in the Mission Play and how she was made part of the spectacle, connecting the Spanish rancho past to the play, read:, Chelsea K. Vaughn “The Joining of Historical Pageantry and the Spanish Fantasy Past: The Meeting of Señora Josefa Yorba and Lucretia del Valle.” *The Journal of San Diego History* 57 (2011): 213-235.

¹²⁷ Deverell, 314.

Surely when the Americanos are building their great cities and their tireless hands are making California the wonder of the world, so also will they think, sometime of the holy places where priests toiled and builded too – so well.

Though we shall not see it, Ubaldo – neither you nor I – maybe, in God’s good time, the Mission bells will ring again their old sweet music . . . Maybe so, Ubaldo – maybe so. Oh! The Mission restored – and again a cross on every hill on the green road to Monterey!¹²⁸

The Mexican population drastically increased after 1900, and exceedingly enlarged after 1910 and the Mexican Revolution. The antagonists of the *Mission Play* coincided with the increased Mexican population and anti-Mexican sentiment by Anglo Americans. The ending of the *Mission Play* showcased the dispossession of the land by the Americans and an end to both peoples: Indian and Californio (Mexicans). The *Ramona Pageant* went farther by showing the Californios leaving California, heading south into Mexico.

The Ramona Pageant

Deverell discussed an idea that would have had alternating nights for *The Mission Play* and *Hiawatha*, “The Mission Play’s Indians...could do double duty, first as Native Californians, next as Indians of the East Coast.” He further stated that

¹²⁸ “Program of the Mission Play” as quoted in Chelsea K. Vaughn, “The Joining of Historical Pageantry and the Spanish Fantasy Past: The Meeting of Señora Josefa Yorba and Lucretia del Valle,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 57 (2011), 213-235, 218.

“[t]here is no indication that the playhouse staged such a pairing, nor any indication how the Indian actors felt about the ‘Indian is an Indian’ casting.”¹²⁹ One of the pieces missing is who these actors were. Were they California Indians? Were they diasporic Indians? Or were they simply whites in redface?

The Ramona Pageant, on the other hand, has a long and known tradition of supporting redface in its production of the *Spanish Imaginary*. On April 1, 1924 the *Los Angeles Times* reported, “The citizens of Hemet and San Jacinto are anxious to preserve the beautiful story which belongs to them...”¹³⁰ It also reported that the play would be held “In a lovely amphitheater...The audience seat themselves on the side of a steep hill ... Between the audience and the players a little stream runs and the sides of the bowl are covered with ferns and wild flowers.”¹³¹ The newspaper stated that the only change to the bowl would be the construction of a house, representing one side of Rancho Camulos. The actors, as has been tradition since, “will be acted out by the people of the Hemet – San Jacinto Valley with well-known professional players appearing in the title roles.”¹³² The Hemet-San Jacinto Valley was greatly affected by the *Ramona Pageant* and its yearly production of the *Spanish*

¹²⁹ Ibid, 243.

¹³⁰ PLAN RAMONA PAGEANT: People of San Jacinto-Hemet Valley to Produce ... *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*; Apr 1, 1924; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. 12

¹³¹ Ibid. There is unfortunately no longer a stream that flows through the Ramona Bowl.

¹³² Ibid.

Imaginary. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* displayed buildings that took on both Mission Revival Style architecture and Pueblo style.¹³³ These building included the San Jacinto High School in Mission Style, attended by students from the Soboba Indian Reservation, and the Soboba Theater, Hotel Alessandro, Hemet Women’s Club, and Soboba Hot Springs – all with Pueblo style architecture.¹³⁴ Another article in the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the cast also included “ensembles of Indian dancers from the Soboba and Cahuilla reservations.”¹³⁵ In 1925 it was reported that Indians from these two reservations were being “trained to play the parts of sheep shearers and herdsmen in the spectacle, which will be a faithful portrayal of the days of the dons in California.”¹³⁶ The real spectacle was the inclusion of Ramona Lubo’s three-month old granddaughter who was present for the audience in 1925, continuing the tradition of Ramona-mania and its effects on actual Indian people.¹³⁷

¹³³ PLAN RAMONA PAGEANT: People of San Jacinto-Hemet Valley to Produce ... *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*; Apr 1, 1924; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. 12.

¹³⁴ Most of these buildings no longer stand, but there are remnants of the Pueblo style on San Jacinto’s Main Street.

¹³⁵ PLAN RAMONA PAGEANT: People of San Jacinto-Hemet Valley to Produce ... *Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File)*; Apr 1, 1924; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. 12.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Ramona Lubo’s son, Condino Hopkins, was then a policeman on the Martinez reservation as reported by the *Los Angeles Times*.

The first actor to perform the role of Alessandro was Victor Jory, a Canadian born American actor best known for his roles as Injun Joe in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1938) and Jonas Wilkerson, the slave plantation overseer in *Gone With the Wind* (1939). A long standing tradition in the valley cast junior high school students to fill a role called “Rock Indians” who hid behind rocks to surprise the audience when cued. One of the most dangerous effects of both the *Ramona Pageant* and the *Mission Play* was the performance of Native stereotypes and their historical representations. Michelle Raheja in *Reservation Reelism*, although specifically writing about film her analysis carries over onto the stage, wrote that films “served as pedagogy and knowledge production for spectators.”¹³⁸ Similar to film, both the *Mission Play* and the *Ramona Pageant* are as Raheja argued, “rooted in uncritical, problematic racial ideologies that reflect unexamined notions of Native American culture on the part of the director and on the part of North American society as a whole.”¹³⁹ As quoted by Raheja, Rayna Green wrote, “one of the oldest and most pervasive forms of American cultural expression, indeed one of the oldest forms of affinity with American culture at the national level, is a ‘performance’ I call ‘playing Indian.’”¹⁴⁰ The “playing Indian” in both the *Mission Play* and *Ramona* showcased a

¹³⁸ Michelle H. Raheja. 2010. *Reservation reelism: redfacing, visual sovereignty, and representations of Native Americans in film*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Michelle H. Raheja. “*Will making movies do the sheep any good?*” *The afterlife of Native American images*.” In: Helen Gilbert, and Charlotte Gleghorn. 2014. *Recasting commodity and spectacle in the indigenous Americas*. 25. Rayna Green, 1988, 30.

political and cultural perspective, from which “the Indian” of California is set in the past as a people forever disappearing. Their representations, and there are few representations of California Indians in any form of media, are largely as primitive people in comparison with a “modern” society in which space is not available for them. Assimilate or die is the message! And the two most visible representations of California Indians during the 20th century both killed off Indians instead of allowing them to survive. The most dramatic scene in the *Ramona Pageant* is the death of the leading man, Alessandro, who after being shot by a white cowboy falls off a large rock. In the end, the cowboys always win. Or at least until Native peoples can control their own representations.

Praying at San Juan Capistrano

It was a Sunday, a day of prayer for the Christian community. San Juan Capistrano has held more than its share of Catholic Masses since 1776 when the Mission was founded for the second time. The land has also been part of Acjachemen ceremonies since time immemorial. Yet, there have been fewer of these indigenous ceremonies since the coming of the colonizer. November 1, 2015 marked the 240th anniversary since the first founding, which was put on hold in 1775 when the Kumeyaay fought back, burned down Mission San Diego and ceremonially killed Father Luís Jayme. It was appropriately on the anniversary of the uprising at San Diego that Caroline Ward Holland and her son Kagen would walk into San Juan Capistrano to honor the ancestors who were enslaved there.

“Before we can do any kind of reconciliation,” Caroline said, “we need to have someone admit to an injury. It was an ugly time for our people.” Kagen added, “They go to extraordinary lengths to sanitize the history.”¹⁴¹ Caroline explained, “We have had so much support from all the tribes. They have joined us at each mission and led the blessing.”¹⁴² At Mission San Juan Capistrano they were met by members of the Acjachemen community who led a prayer on the Mission grounds within the ruins of the great stone church. On the walk in they passed by a huge banner of Junípero Serra that honored him as Saint. Adelia Sandoval and Jacque Nuñez led the day’s prayer and discussion of the Mission and Serra. The group of about 50 came out to honor and support Caroline and Kagen on their journey. Standing within the walls of the old Church, the gatherers joined in a circle. Adelia Sandoval stated,

Our ancestors put these rocks together with their own hands. The reason why I like standing right here, is because this wall has our Acjachemen medicine in it. As our ancestors were building the wall, they placed in it these shells, and crystals, and obsidian—their own medicine. Today, we can touch these walls, we can feel these shells, and know that our ancestors touched them too. It is a precious gift that they gave us.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Fred Swegles, “On a mission: Woman, son walking 800 miles to all 21 California landmarks to protest Serra canonization.” Orange County Register. November 03, 2015. <http://www.ocregister.com/articles/mission-690284-native-ancestors.html>

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Walk For the Ancestors. Accessed March 03, 2016. <http://walkfortheancestors.org/2015/11/san-juan-capistrano/>

Before they moved on, each was asked to touch the walls to remember the ancestors, and to take notice of the shells that had been placed there as well – a possible defiance of Catholicism and a continuation of traditional practices.

The history at San Juan Capistrano and its grounds provide a distorted version of history for tourist consumption with “a dizzying array of mission-themed tourist shops. ‘First there was Mission San Juan Capistrano,’ an Acjachemen friend wryly remarked to us,” wrote Caroline and Kagen on their blog. “Then there was Disneyland.”¹⁴⁴ The gathering, they wrote, was not a happy one but “by the time we left the mission, we felt truly uplifted and inspired.”¹⁴⁵ Adelia continued, welcoming people in the Acjachemen language and thanking everyone for their presence:

Today is a very spiritual time, because we’re here with our sister from the north of us: Caroline and her son Kagen, who had a moment of inspiration from the divine, from the great spirit, to do something that meant something very powerful. And as California Mission Indians, sometimes we feel very powerless. We feel like we don’t have any voice, or we don’t have any strength. But Caroline felt something come from within her, and said, I’m going to do something. I’m going to take action.¹⁴⁶

As the discussion continued Caroline reflected on the deeply disturbing stories that

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

were shared with her by other California Indian people at the previous Missions they had stopped at.

There's no excuses for what happened to our people at these missions.

Excuses are worse than lies. It's very disheartening to think that they still won't even acknowledge what happened— especially with the missions being tourist attractions today. They're not that, for us.¹⁴⁷

The Missions are sacred places for the tribes – where the ancestors were imprisoned and where their graves are located. Caroline argued, “We are human beings! We bleed, we have jobs, and brothers and sisters and daughters. Their Doctrine of Discovery still says that we are not, that they were the first human beings here in this area.” Furthermore, Caroline stated, “Now, our villages are their prime real estate. And we have nothing.”¹⁴⁸

Jacque Nuñez responding to the canonization and the purpose of the Walk stated,

Was I for canonization? No. Did I want to say horrible things? No, that's not my nature. But I knew this: I wanted the Diocese to come to each one of us and say: What your people experienced wasn't OK. And it wasn't right. And we ask, by God, looking at all of us, we're sorry that that happened. And we will promise it will never happen again. I wanted to hear those words. But no

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

one came. We just want our story to be told. We want you to acknowledge our story full of pain. And, know that there should be something done. We are California Indians that have nothing, unless we're a casino tribe, and we're not. So, all we have is the beauty of what God gave us. [In facing these things,] I ask that all of us lead our lives in a way that when we take a step, it is a step of healing, and not hurting.¹⁴⁹

In their blog, Caroline and Kagen wrote, "Adelia Sandoval stepped forward to introduce a traditional Acjachemen song." Adelia stated, "It's a time of the harvest, so we're going to sing our harvest song for you, as a gift." Furthermore she said, "also, it's medicine. In the spring time we plant seeds of prayers, and now, in this time we harvest what we planted."¹⁵⁰ Following the songs of prayer, the group walked to the cemetery near Serra's Chapel – the last remaining original Church Serra performed Mass at. Caroline and Kagen led the group in a Tataviam tobacco blessing and asked others to share. The blog reported the following words I shared that day:

"I just wanted to share some brief history about why being here, today, is so significant," Charles said. He explained that Mission San Juan Capistrano was first founded in 1775. "But they had a little problem. Mission San Diego was sacked a couple days after the founding. [Indigenous people] burned down

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

the mission, and killed the priest, Father Jayme. It was a ceremonial killing.” Fearing their tenuous grip on California could be lost, the missionaries buried the San Juan Capistrano mission bells in the ground and fled with an escort of soldiers back to the San Diego Presidio in an effort to re-assert control. One year later, Junipero Serra returned with a contingent of soldiers to unbury the bells and re-found San Juan Capistrano mission on November 1st (the same calendar day as our gathering.) “I’ve been reading Junipero Serra’s writings from that time,” Charles said. “He was saddened by the fact that they had to leave San Juan Capistrano. Then two years later in 1778, he writes about the Acjachemen rising up, and conspiring to burn down the mission. So, we’ve had a long tradition of resisting the mission. Resisting the canonization of Serra is just another part of that. We haven’t stopped resisting. Even if we’ve become Catholic, even if we go to church. we’re still resisting the effects that it had on our ancestors. What we’re doing here is also part of that resistance—we’re spreading these knowledges, these truths, and talking about how we can heal from this, how we can move forward. How can we prevent what has happened to us in the past from happening again to our future generations?¹⁵¹

I shared these words to help us honor the ancestors and for us to think about our future generations. Corine Fairbanks of the Southern California chapter of the American Indian Movement similarly stated, “Remember that some day we’re all

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

going to be ancestors, too. And our ancestors prayed for us to be here. And so, you're walking prayers. We're walking prayers." Continuing Corine offered, "And you know what, I hope my children will be walking prayers for what's going to come next. And I thank all of you for taking the time to be here, where you could have been doing something else."¹⁵²

At the end of the gathering at San Juan Capistrano, Jacque Nuñez asked everyone to "get close and gather around Caroline and her sons." Jacque explained that an Acjachemen elder "used to lead many ceremonies like this one. He said that our people need to come together, and we need to touch one another."¹⁵³ She instructed everyone to gather close and place their hands on one another's shoulders, as a traditional healing song was sung and the group began singing in unison. "We are not done here, in a lot of ways," Adelia Sandoval said in closing.

And perhaps, for some of us, this is a beginning. A beginning of really looking inside, and seeing what's really going on. And what is it that we can do next? Because there is always something that we can do next. We can be inspired, and we can continue on. But don't let it fall to the ground and do nothing with this day. Do something with this day. Especially, teach your children. Because that is the most important thing, for they are our future. Let us all go out and speak words of strength and healing. Let's all go forth with loving action. And

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

whatever comes from this time together that we have had, may it be multiplied a thousand-fold.¹⁵⁴

Conclusion

The *Spanish Imaginary*, designed by Anglo Americans, was an illusory tool to increase tourism and migration of Whites to California. It was established during the late 19th and early 20th century, and was deeply ingrained in the development of the city of Riverside. This growth was marked by an economy based on agriculture, specifically navel oranges and the larger citrus industry. The *Spanish Imaginary* was further discernable in Riverside through the construction of Mission Revival Style architecture, namely the Mission Inn and Sherman Institute. This same era is marked as a liberal era of Indian policy. The Indian reform movement, which was strongly advocated by the framers of the General Allotment Act and the Boarding School, was a liberal movement meant to help the Indians. It was informed by protestant reformers who sought to Americanize Indians, turn them into individualist farmers and enforce Victorian models of womanhood.

Helen Hunt Jackson was one such reformer who came to California and was affected by the lived conditions of southern California Indians – Mission Indians. She was intent on reporting to the government the condition of the Mission Indians and advocated for measures to be taken to aid them with resources and education. The final years of her life were spent dedicated to raising California Indian's lived

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

conditions. Her book, *A Century of Dishonor*, was unsuccessful in generating the attention she desired. Changing strategy to bring attention to California Indian issues, Jackson turned to the popularized media of her day, the fictional novel. She believed *Ramona* would have a larger readership and become more instrumental in creating change than her previously published call for government intervention to the Indian problem in California. She wrote *Ramona* specifically for this purpose; unfortunately the novel, although well received and read in masse, did not have the effect she had desired. Instead, *Ramona* generated a large tourist industry in California and aided in the production of the *Spanish Imaginary* wherein Anglo California invested itself in the fabrication of it being an extension of Spanish colonialism. A distinct example of the *Spanish Imaginary* was the *Mission Play*, which sought to connect Anglo California to that of the Spanish civilizing Mission project through the arts. Simultaneously the *Mission Play* had a direct call for preserving and re-constructing the then crumbling missions as sites for tourist consumption of the Spanish civilizing project, connecting an American protestant ideal of white supremacy and manifest destiny. The Indian and their lived condition was secondary to the romance of the Mission and Rancho eras to the reader of *Ramona*, the tourist, the real estate developer, and the plays and pageants devoted to displaying the *Spanish Imaginary* – a romantic history for cannibalistic consumption exemplified by *Ramona*-mania.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

Conclusions: Kuuyam, Ending the Spanish Imaginary

On September 23, 2015, the day Junípero Serra was canonized, black paint was poured onto a statue of Serra at Mission Carmel. This was the first of at least four vandalisms that occurred in response to the canonization of Serra in the Monterey Bay area. Days after Pope Francis announced Serra as Saint, his statue and Spanish gravesites were vandalized at Carmel Mission. Green paint was splashed throughout the cemetery and the basilica. "Saint of Genocide" was also scrawled onto a headstone. The *Los Angeles Times* reported on September 28, 2015 that the vandalism was being investigated as a hate crime because as Carmel police sergeant Luke Powell stated, those responsible "specifically [targeted] the headstones of people of European descent, and not Native American descent."¹ On October 16, it was reported that a similar incident took place at the Presidio in Monterey where a granite statue of Saint Serra was decapitated. In November, another Serra statue was vandalized at Mission Santa Cruz. Red paint was splattered on the wooden front door to the Mission church and a wall had graffiti sprayed with the message, "Serra St. of Genocide." In April of 2016 the head of the statue from the Monterey Presidio was found during low tide off the coast, nearly across the street from where the statue stood. Perhaps those responsible were sending it back to Spain? It is

¹ Kate Linthicum, "Shock after Junipero Serra statue vandalized days after sainthood declared," *Los Angeles Times*. September 28, 2015.
<http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-junipero-serra-vandalized-20150927-story.html>

remarkable that vandalism of memorials to colonizers would be considered “hate crimes” while the statues themselves are not considered representations of past hate crimes or celebrations of offenses that resulted in the deaths of thousands of California Indians.

While it is unknown who is responsible for the vandalism, it is clear from their messages and targets that they were motivated by and in response to the canonization and its celebration of genocide. The *Spanish Imaginary* is represented in the placement of the statues and memorials, such as the ones on Mount Rubidoux, to Spanish colonialism. Can these acts of vandalism be read as continued Native agency and resistance? Perhaps, but not knowing who the vandals were it is difficult to make that assumption. However, the stories of the guerilla theater trial of Junípero Serra, the several panel discussions and presentations that occurred prior to and after the canonization, the Walk for the Ancestors, tribal resolutions and countless letters pleading that the Vatican not canonize Father Junípero Serra all attest to the continued resilience of California Indian peoples.

Not all of the Indians of California were opposed to the canonization, and in many ways it was controversial despite my hesitancy to call it such – with the majority opposed and some in support of Serra becoming a Saint. From my perspective, Serra’s canonization in and of itself is not controversial. His involvement in the missionization of California Indians and the Missions’ objectives were genocidal. It should not be upsetting to call it what it was. The facts of the mission speak for themselves – the mission was largely unsuccessful in converting

California Indians and having them become the majority population of California, extending the Spanish empire in North America. California Indians died at too high rates for this to be possible, and their deaths were caused by the institutionalization of slavery and the incarceration of women in the *monjerio*. Disease was responsible for high rates of premature death in colonial California, and the increased rates of infection were the results of the Mission as colonial institution. The Mission, much like the boarding school, was created in order to destroy Native ways of life, eradicate Native religion, languages, governance, and relationships to land. This in itself is genocidal; it was planned and intentional, despite whether they anticipated large numbers of the Indigenous peoples to die or not. However, I argue that they knew Native peoples would die. How could they not? There was a precedence of Indigenous peoples dying of disease everywhere Europeans had gone in the Americas. Yet, they continued to colonize Native worlds.

What is controversial, and requires further discussion within California Indian communities, is the depth of colonialism and internal colonization that California Indians have been subjected to, wherein some of us can be celebratory of a system that destroyed our worlds. Instead of being upset and revolted by the worldwide celebration of Serra's involvement in our destruction, some of us praise the Mission and Serra for bringing Catholicism. By believing that the Church brought God's word to us, we simultaneously devalue our pre-contact worldviews and assess our ancestors as Godless. Yet, some California Indians who received criticism for meeting with Pope Francis during the time of the canonization did so because they

felt that the Pope could provide support for their tribe, while others have been misled to believe that Serra had actually created a bill of rights. I have argued against there being any evidence, from Serra's own letters, of a "bill of rights" in Chapter Two. The discourse of the *Spanish Imaginary* has also influenced many California Indians to not fully know our own histories, but instead see our cultures, our histories and ourselves as not equal to that of Europeans. Furthermore, it has affected our abilities to see ourselves as authentically Indian, and even the most knowledgeable cultural practitioners can fall into the habit of talking about our peoples and cultures in the past tense. The controversy is not in whether Serra should be a Saint, but the controversy lies in our understanding and responses to the effects of colonialism, its legacies and the continued destruction to our homelands. What should our reactions be to the continued colonial structures? How do we respond in the current moment given the conditions of settler colonialism and rampant capitalism? Serra as Saint may have been inevitable, why should we be surprised that the Vatican would celebrate an evangelizer such as Serra, when it continues to promote evangelism and missionary work throughout the world? His canonization was not controversial from this point of view, and Serra's intent is inarguable. Even the Pope found cause to apologize for the Church's share of colonial violence. However, an apology is empty and changes nothing when it is coupled with simultaneously celebrating genocide produced by the Church.

The racial project of California, beginning with the Spanish and continuing through the Mexican and American periods, is based on Native exclusion and

whiteness as property. Whiteness dominated an era of multiculturalism, where people of color as settlers, had opportunity to become socially mobile through property ownership. As people increased their social positions during the Mission and Rancho periods, their race also increased towards whiteness. Times have changed, and the racial construct of whiteness functions more obscurely than it did during the Spanish and Mexican periods, yet structures of multicultural white supremacy have increased the ability for people of color to inherit the role of settler and has become an important project in the post civil rights era.² Instead of being guests on Native land, as oppressed people, they have increasingly been promised and offered positions of power and wealth continuing the structures of white supremacy obscured through their phenotype. White supremacy has functioned to reproduce itself and its logics through people of color. Settler colonialism, being a project initiated by white supremacy, has intended to erase, displace and replace the Native. This is the history of the frontier. However the Native within these conditions also provide stories of resistance. Whether they rise up and kill the

² Dylan Rodriguez provided discussion of multicultural white supremacy in his book *Forced Passages*: “This identification marks the ‘multiculturalization’ of white supremacy, a paradigm shift that offers promise for the global project of the ‘white civilian’ ontology.” Furthermore Rodriguez posits that this is an “ongoing and complex relation of hierarchy, discipline, power, and violence that has come to oversee the current and increasingly incorporative ‘multicultural’ modalities of white supremacy, wherein ‘people of color’ are selectively and incrementally solicited, rewarded, and absorbed into the operative functionings of white-supremacist institutions (e.g., the military, police, and school) and discourses (e.g., patriotism). This multicultural turn is effectively the neoliberal and neoconservative assimilationism of a post- apartheid state and civil regime.” Dylan Rodriguez. 2006. *Forced passages: imprisoned radical intellectuals and the U.S. prison regime*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

mission priests (Father Jayme in San Diego, how are you doing?), or they make jokes about their ability to survive the apocalypse, because you have to laugh a little at the absurdity of the whole thing, resistance has been continuous.

Decolonization is the re-centering of Native peoples, their ways of life and a return of land to Native governance. It is a renewal of Peoplehood, the interconnectedness of sacred history, ceremonial cycle, language and place.³ The renewal of Native ways of life is what separates others in the various decolonization movements from indigenous peoples pursuit of freedom from colonization. Perhaps the term decolonization, which has been over used as a metaphor, is not the correct term for Indigenous peoples? It does not contain the power or the meaning that it should. The vast majority of people who commonly utilize this term have depleted its usefulness. Instead of meaning decolonization, they instead mean the related term: anti-colonial. The two are relational, yet their central governing features are distinct. Decolonization, as stated previously, re-centers the people whose lands were colonized. Anti-colonial is comparatively motivated to end the reproduction of colonialism in whatever form it takes. This function, however, often obscures a relationality with the original colonial project on Native peoples and lands as a consequence of settler colonialism and Native erasure. I have had to, on numerous

³ Tom Holm, J. Diane Pearson, and, Ben Chavis. *Wicazo Sa Review*. "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies." Spring 2003. Robert K. Thomas, 'The Tap-Roots of Peoplehood', in Daphne J. Anderson (ed.), *Getting to the Heart of the Matter: Collected Letters and Papers*, Vancouver, Native Ministries Consortium, 1990, 25–32.

occasions, explain the differences in these two concepts and the contrasting uses of decolonization. I have been met with both gratitude and anger for taking a stance on the central importance of decolonization being Native peoples and land – but that is the impact of settler colonialism, wherein Native peoples continued presence can be unsettling.

In this dissertation I have re-named the legacy of Carey McWilliams' Spanish Fantasy Past, as the *Spanish Imaginary*. My intervention in the historiography of California is important in that I have linked past, present and future through the importance of land and Native continuance outside of normative discursive regimes. I have also described the problem of romanticizing Spanish colonialism, researched the development of the *Spanish Imaginary* and noted how it has changed over time, investigated mainstream solutions, and provided a decolonized, Indigenous perspective of the problem including California Mission Indian responses to the canonization of Junípero Serra. As I finish writing my dissertation and attempt to find a place of closure to end my historical analysis of the Mission and the *Spanish Imaginary*, including Native responses, the future remains unclear. However, my hope persists in that, 1. The colonial project will be better understood as having genocidal consequences that continue to effect Native communities; 2. The settler will know that Indians continue to be living peoples, and they will further acknowledge that the histories written and taught about colonialism have never gone uncontested and; 3. Native resistance will continue in its various forms including creative contention, moving towards decolonization.

Thus far I have presented multiculturalism as a product of white supremacy, as a project to incorporate people of color into the system, an ascendancy of white-life, without making substantial change to that system. This is easily seen in policing, where there are far more police of color than ever, and yet the justice system remains as a rigged system – in which White people are not policed, prosecuted or sentenced in an equal manner to people of color. Yet, the possibilities also remain for multicultural rebellion: organizing against the system and envisioning a future beyond. Many slaves in the United States escaped their imprisonment by joining with local Indigenous communities. Whites who fled military duty during colonial campaigns similarly escaped to live with the Indians. Furthermore, there were white women who had been taken as captives by Indians who became part of Native communities and did not desire returning to their settler values. Indigenous populations also formed alliances with other Tribal Nations, and even former colonists in California, Mexicans and Californios, had dialogue with Native leaders when the Americans took control militarily and legislatively. The possibilities of Indigenous Nations defeating the colonial armies remained a possibility well into the 19th century. Their defeat was not inevitable. They were strong international actors, and much of the “loss” was not through military campaigns, it was through negotiations to avoid warfare, and the creation of peace and friendship treaties that were never honored by the colonial governments, and subsequent federal Indian law and policy. Even where formal treaties never existed similar systems of coercive deception did. If Tribes had seen Blacks, for example, as potential allies and if larger

numbers of enslaved Blacks had similarly viewed tribes as accomplices, both during the period of formal racial chattel slavery and during reconstruction, our histories could have been altered.

The possibilities of moving beyond the current structures of white supremacy remain through people of color and white allies organizing and making the choice and effort to work with Indigenous communities, even through disagreements. Any form of governance, or organizing principal (even if that means intentionally unorganized, the commons, or anarchism), on our lands that doesn't acknowledge, at the very least, that this is Indian land is enacting settler colonialism, an original white supremacist project that has become increasingly multicultural. The beginning of an alternative to settler colonialism exists: through the forming of relationships not formed through the state or white supremacy. An alternative to acting as a settler colonizer begins with an acknowledgement of one's positionality as a settler, even if you are from an oppressed community. Academics debate whether Black people as former slaves, for example, are settlers. Is settler colonialism a binary between settler and native? Several academics have approached this question, but no one I am aware of has conducted a sustained study and asked Native people or Tribal Nations how they understand oppressed communities living on their lands. Settler Colonial Studies and many academics in Native and Ethnic Studies have failed to re-center Indigenous communities when studying and theorizing settler colonialism – particularly around this issue of a settler binary. If we are struggling towards decolonization, the point of view of

Native people should be important in approaching an answer to, “who is a settler.” Or, “how does one embody settler colonialism?” Would it not make sense that the Tribal Nations would need to have their voices heard in this conversation? I have not conducted a survey, but I would manage to guess, as a Native of California, that most California Indians would view non-Native people, indeterminate of skin color, as not being from here and therefore view them as settlers. Yet, relationships exist between communities, and have for a long time. These relationships add complexity to the question of whether it is a binary or not. It can be argued that a definitive answer to this question is unimportant. More consequential is how does the non-Native interact, if at all, with the local tribal community?

Defining who the settler is, can be better approached through Indigenous perspectives, place/space and relationship, rather than through Western theory. I argue that settlers can be Guests, and not act as colonizers. In the Tongva language, the word for guests is Kuuyam. Residents of Tongva land can be Kuuyam, and not act as colonizers. They can be welcome guests, and not looked at by the Native community as colonizers– no matter their skin color, histories, or origins. Kuuyam can disrupt settler colonialism. It can support bringing balance back to the environment, re-centering Indigenous peoples, and in decolonial efforts. Within this relationship between Kuuyam and Tongva as hosts, both will have to put in work to maintain relationships. This is not an easy alternative; it will take effort.

Forming relationships has always been an Indigenous method to easing and avoiding confrontation and violence. Relationships form responsibility and protocol.

Kuuyam is a relationship that contains the responsibility to not overstep your bounds and a need to show respect to your hosts. You are careful in not doing something in a big way and disturbing the host's home. For example, you should not take their resources, and you should seek permission. It includes prior and informed consent. Kuuyam is the very beginning of forming stronger relationships.

Unfortunately most people living on Native land do not want to take this first step to form relationships with the original owners of the land they live on, or they do not know how. As a consequence, they do not follow the protocol of prior and informed consent; instead they act with their own best interests in mind, as cannibals. One of the explanations of why settlers act in this way in California can be traced back to the discourse of the *Spanish Imaginary*, in which Native peoples were seen as disappeared, and therefore replaceable. The *Spanish Imaginary* is a construct; it is an idea and a discourse that can be disrupted through the concept of Kuuyam: a first step in returning balance to our lands.

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