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From Mission to Metropolis: Cupeño Indian Women in Los Angeles. By Diana Meyers Bahr.

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textured relationship to classical, canonical poetry's forms and nuances. He has a strong regional attachment to the way people and places in the corner of the earth that produced him articulate themselves into the world of sight, sound, and feeling. He has a delicious curiosity for the way the world works and names itself, whether at the level of seedy pop cultural icons, political institutions, geological phenomena, or personal and individual ambition. And he has a cunning awareness of the twists and turns of his contemporaries in American Indian poetry.

His demanding work has paid off nicely in a volume that can expand its readers' notions of whatever subject his imagination and pen touch.

*Robert Allen Warrior*  
Stanford University

**From Mission to Metropolis: Cupeño Indian Women in Los Angeles.** By Diana Meyers Bahr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993. 184 pages.

According to anthropologist John Davis, "the way knowledge is made affects knowledge itself—its shape and its content—and knowledge in turn affects decisions, some part of our explanation of how social groups came to be as they are must be concerned with how people come to know the past" ("History and the People without Europe," in *Other Histories*, 1992). In her treatise, Diana Meyers Bahr combines anthropological and ethnohistorical data in order to explain the ways in which three generations of females from a Cupeño family experience and express cultural change. By providing textual snapshots of the behaviors and perceptions of a mother, daughter, and granddaughter who live together in Los Angeles, California, Meyers Bahr offers readers a portrait of how these women continuously negotiate their personal and collective ethnicity(ies) in an urban setting.

Meyers Bahr focuses her attention on the ways in which the narrators—Anna, Patricia, and Tracie Dawn (pseudonyms)—manifest distinct, yet overlapping forms of Cupeño *mentalité*. Taking her cue from historian Jacques LeGoff (Jacques LeGoff and Pierre Nora, *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, 1983), Meyers Bahr asserts that each member of the Dawn family employs mental images of Cupeño and California Indian cultural

styles; past and current mental and social models affect their roles and identities. Through the intergenerational transmission of particular Cupeño "core values," these women create their own ethnicity: a recipe of Cupeño, urban Pan-Indian, familial, and idiosyncratic ideas and behaviors.

All of these women were raised in Los Angeles. However, the eldest, Anna, born in 1926, links herself most closely with the history and culture of her Cupeño mother and grandparents. These people maintained close ties to the lands and communities surrounding the aboriginal Cupeño homeland of Kupa (Warner's Springs) and to Pala Reservation, where many Cupeño were forcibly relocated by federal authorities in 1903. Patricia, whose father was Irish-American, cites social, cultural, and political ties to an urban American Indian identity. In contrast, Tracie, whose father is of Italian-American heritage, seems to create a familial identity—a reinterpreted construction of her grandmother's mental visions of the past. To illustrate this diversity, Meyers Bahr organizes her book into several sections: Cupeño history; "Perceptions of the Family and Individuality"; "Beneficence"; and "The Metaphysical Realm."

Meyers Bahr's synopsis of Cupeño history contributes to our understanding of Anna's perceptions of her family history; indeed, this section of the book expands on the all-too-limited published information on Cupeño social and political history. Of particular interest is the description of Cupeño interactions with Mexican and American/Anglo intruders to their territories and of the Cupeño removal to Pala, a village forty miles from Kupa. This data would have been supported by the inclusion of oral histories of current Pala residents whose parents participated in these events. Meyers Bahr chose instead to refocus our attention on the urban migration of the Dawn family to Los Angeles in 1920. Seeking employment opportunities, Anna's mother and grandmother at times pushed their way through discriminatory hiring and unfair housing practices in order to establish an urban "homeland." It is to this urban American Indian environment that Anna, Patricia, and Tracie belong.

Because she is particularly interested in the impact of collective ethnic symbols on contemporary negotiations of ethnicity, Meyers Bahr includes a description of Cupeño worldview and morality for some historical perspective. However, she relies heavily on anthropological interpretations of Cupeño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla concepts and practices, rather than on interviews with other

Cupeño or on the narratives by Faye and Nolasquez (*Mulu' Wetam: The First People, Cupeño Oral History*, 1973) that retell Cupeño creation stories and other myths/histories. This exclusion limits the ability of the reader to interpret/comprehend the core values demonstrated by the Dawn family as those particular to its members, to the Cupeño, or to Southern California at large. The reader must assume that respect for the aged, as well as productivity, generosity, and humility, are Cupeño traits. Since Meyers Bahr only vaguely defines the term *ethnicity*, the reader must also make the leap to interpret these values as part of an ethnic makeup.

There are several other statements concerning Cupeño history that are confusing and vague. For example, Cupeño territorial boundaries are said to include Temecula (p. 27); this area is considered by Luiseño and anthropologists alike to be a part of the Luiseño homeland. It is also unclear why Anna's mother was born at Mesa Grande, a Kumeyaay Reservation, or why, when homesick, Anna's grandfather would visit Lake Elsinore, again part of Luiseño aboriginal lands. The inclusion of maps and/or extended interviews might clarify these matters.

Throughout the rest of the book, Meyers Bahr and Anna, Patricia, and Tracie Dawn report the ways in which various cultural styles are tacitly and overtly created and pursued. Discussions about ideal versus actual family and individual actions aid in the understanding of the passage—and sometimes the renegotiation—of valued behaviors. Of utmost importance to these women is the idea of beneficence. Through acts of goodness, especially to other American Indians or to the aged deemed to be in need, these women establish a surrogate collectivity/kinship with other individuals in Los Angeles. Acts of reciprocity and generosity are not unique to the Cupeño, Luiseño, or Kumeyaay; nevertheless, the discourse and actions of the Dawns illustrate moral lessons embedded in Cupeño creation tales and ceremonial events. Clearly, the Dawn women activate past cultural knowledge in order to perform their selected roles.

Meyers Bahr's writing on the metaphysical realm is quite provocative and worthwhile. In this particular chapter, it becomes clear that social ties of identity shape and are shaped by an individual's historical and social distance to cultural knowledge. Anna accesses specific Cupeño religious beings and manipulates spiritual power. In contrast, Tracie envisions herself as a Catholic but also interacts with family spiritual guides. She participates in family religious rituals but claims to be unable to activate histori-

cally shared metaphysical powers. The personal and collective histories that influence Tracie's worldview enable her to internalize and interpret cultural models and redefine their use in creation of her own history and ethnicity: a California Indian tied to her grandmother's line.

The stories of the Dawn women allow readers to comprehend how specific cultural models persist and transform over time; these narratives also explore how such mental recipes motivate social actors and their attenuating identities. Certain questions remain: What do the Dawn women know of being Cupeño? Are they creating an urban Cupeño ethnicity? To whom does this collectivity belong? These inquiries can be answered only through additional interviews with other rural and urban-based Cupeño individuals.

*From Mission to Metropolis* should be read as a companion book with other articles and books on ethnicity and Southern California Indian history and anthropology. On its own, this piece serves as a much-needed document on ideologies and behaviors of urban American Indian women.

*Diane Weiner*

**Grand Endeavors of American Indian Photography.** By Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Lynn Luskey. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993. 176 pages. \$39.95 cloth.

Chapter 1 of this book, entitled "Early Grand Endeavors," implies that the first serious photographic documentation of Native American peoples, undertaken just after the Civil War, grew organically out of earlier forms of visual depiction. These processes included painting and drawing, as practiced by George Catlin, Seth Eastman and others. In one sense—that each form of representation was employed for purposes of documentation of Indians—this is incontestably true. Yet it is also misleading, and I will pick up on this later because it relates to a pattern of strengths and weaknesses in the book as a whole.

The chapter concludes with a short but interesting introduction to the efforts of the wealthy Englishman William Blackmore—rightly described as a "shadowy figure" (p. 21)—to build a comprehensive photographic record of Native American cultures, using pictures by the likes of Alexander Gardner and William