UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN MARCOS

Unconditional Love: Honoring Our Ancestors' Experiences and Legacy at St. Boniface Indian Industrial School

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

in

Educational Leadership

by

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2022

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University of California San Diego

California State University, San Marcos

2022

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to….

All of the Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School survivors and Honuukvetam who deserve to have their stories told, and to their descendants who carry and continue the intergenerational healing resulting from the legacy of these institutions.

My co-researchers, Mary Jeanette Gonzales and Theresa Jean Stewart-Ambo, for guiding me and holding my hand, so I didn't walk this journey alone.

My Mama (Dolores Aguila Stewart), Grandma (Carmelita Gonzales Aguila), and Aunties (Yolanda, Rose Ann, and Delia) who showed me – and continue to demonstrate – the resilience and strength of Tongva and Payómkawish women.

To my dad, for your love of family histories and the second (correct) history lessons, they became the foundation for my love of history and the fuel for (re)storying existing narratives.

EPIGRAPH

It takes one generation to destroy a tradition and three generations to bring it back.

Kate Anderson, Potawatomi
IFI Dream Tank
May 3, 2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIA: Bureau of Indian Affairs

BIE: Bureau of Indian Education

IBPOC: Indigenous, Black, and People of Color

BCIM: Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions

DOI: Department of the Interior

CDIB: Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood

CIRM: Critical Indian Research Methodology

CPC: Cultural Preservation Coordinator

CSULB: California State University, Long Beach

CTHC: California Truth and Healing Council

FIBSI: Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative

FPSM: Family Preservation Services Manager

FYIS: Fort Yuma Indian School

ICA: Indian Civilization Act

MSA: Mexican Secularization Act

NAHM: Native American Heritage Month

NCAI: National Congress of American Indians

SAIIS: Saint Anthony's Indian Industrial School

SBIIS: Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School

TANF: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families

THCIBSP: Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies

UC: University of California

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

PREFACE

According to creation stories, we didn't migrate to *Tovaangar*.
Creator sang and danced us into existence!
Giving us life so we may care for our four-legged brothers and sisters,
Tend to our flora kin, watch over the sacred waters, and protect Tovaangar.
Together we are the original stewards of this land.
Creator asked us to tend and protect this land. And so, we remained in our homelands.

First, the Spanish Crown invaded our shores.
Bringing diseases and Christianity.
Soldiers and padres enslaved us to build their everlasting symbols—the missions.
They removed us from our homelands,
Enacting violence if we returned home.
Christianity, diseases, violence, and genocide decimated our numbers.
But Creator asked us to tend and protect this land. And so, we remained in our homelands.

Next came Mexico.
Carrying false promises to return the land and waters.
Instead, they claimed them as their own.
Politicians divided the land and water into *ranchos*.
Like the Spanish, Mexico's people forced us to work on our ancestral lands.
They devastated her with their cattle,
They diverted our waters to harness it for their foreign crops.
But Creator asked us to tend and protect this land. And so, we remained in our homelands.

Finally, the United States laid claim to our land.
They placed bounties on our heads,
Settlers sought riches in the form of gold and natural resources.
They took our children—forcing them into colonial education institutions.
Anthropologists and linguists documented our so-called *extinction*.
Agents of the government signed treaties with us but never ratified them,
The United States took our most fertile land—Coastal California.
We hid in plain sight because claiming our indigeneity was a death sentence.
But Creator asked us to tend and protect this land. And so, we remained in our homelands.

Spain, Mexico, and the United States tried to exterminate us.
They failed!
Creator asked us to tend and protect this land.
They sang and danced us into existence!
Giving us life so we may care for our four-legged brothers and sisters,
Tend to our flora kin, watch over the sacred waters, and protect Tovaangar.
Together we are the original stewards of this land.
And so, we will always remain in our homelands.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout my academic career, I have learned the importance of offering words of appreciation to those who have provided me with assistance throughout my educational journey. Emerging scholars should offer heartfelt words of gratefulness to family, friends, colleagues, mentors, faculty, and institutions that have helped them navigate the often hostile and isolating place we call academia. For me, expressions of gratitude have become more critical in recent years. Over the last six years—through the loss of close family members and especially during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic—I have learned that we never know exactly how much time we have with loved ones. Our loved ones must understand and receive gratitude for how they contributed to our work and life—regardless of how minuscule they may think their contribution might have been. Many of them have moved mountains so that we—members of academia—can hold this space and share our stories.

First and foremost, I would like to thank UC San Diego's Graduate Division for providing me with funding for my doctoral education through the *Tribal Membership Initiative* (TMI) *Fellowship*. The TMI Fellowship recognizes the unique political status of Native American graduate students as citizens of their respective state and federally recognized Tribal Nations and the responsibilities that UC San Diego has—as recipients of federal and state funding—to honor political arrangements that include an education. Without funding from UC San Diego's TMI Fellowship, I would have been unable to obtain a doctoral-level education. I am thankful that the university, specifically the Graduate Division, provided financial support throughout my doctoral journey. I would also like to express my gratitude to UC San Diego's Education Studies Department for allowing me to expand my teaching experience as a Teaching Assistant for the *Partners at Learning* (PAL) program for the 2020-21 and 2021-22 academic

years. I am incredibly grateful to Dr. Luz Chung and Dr. Christoforos Mamas for their guidance, mentorship, and faith in me as an educator. I would also like to recognize my co-Teaching Assistant, Patricia Hemans, for helping me transition into my role and reminding me to take time for self-reflection and mindfulness. To the Indigenous Futures Institute (IFI)—specifically Dr. P. Keolu Fox, Dr. K. Wayne Yang, Dr. Manuel Schvartzberg Carrió, and Dr. Theresa Ambo—thank you! IFI provided me a haven on campus to develop my research skills and engage in community-driven research that centers Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing while dreaming of *futures* where Indigenous knowledges take center stage as valid and necessary research methods. I am exceptionally thankful for your mentorship and support and look forward to continuing our work as I enter the next phase of my academic career.

Second, many thanks and gratitude to the faculty and staff at UC San Diego and CSU San Marcos' Joint Degree Program (JDP) in Education Leadership. When I began looking into doctoral programs, I was navigating a period of great turmoil and transition in my life. Unbeknownst to me, the JDP information session was step one in a three-year journey that would open doors for me that I had dreamed of but never thought possible. I approached this program with an unapologetically Indigenous temperament and worldview that I initially feared would need to be put aside to navigate the often-inhospitable halls of academia. However, I was pleasantly surprised to learn that that very temperament and worldview allowed me to engage critically in courses to provide a perspective often silenced in the field of education. Throughout the last three years, I have been fortunate to have JDP faculty encourage and support my views and my desire to co-construct research with my community that centers generations of Indigenous history, wisdom, and resilience. For that, I am exceptionally thankful.

Thank you to my dissertation committee members, Dr. Alan Daly, Dr. Manuel Vargas, and Dr. Xochitl Archey, for your guidance and support. I am fortunate and grateful that you all agreed to join me on this journey and demonstrated immense patience as I worked to create a study considered unorthodox for academia but significant for my community. Dr. Daly, for the last three years, Theresa and I have jokingly and affectionately referred to you as my *day one*, and that title is more fitting than ever. Thank you for being a source of support from day one—literally—beginning at the JDP information session. From the beginning, you knew how unsure I was of the direction I wanted my academic journey to go. I was uncertain about what doctoral degree I wanted to pursue and which university to attend. You took the time to listen to me weigh my options at the end of the information session and encouraged me to choose the path that felt right for me. As my advisor, you have helped me navigate this journey in a way where I have been allowed to be unapologetically and authentically myself. You always took the time to listen to my perspective and vision for my dissertation, asked clarifying questions, understood that my work was for my community and Ancestors, and guided me in learning how to navigate academia while still being true to where I come from and who I am. Dr. Vargas, thank you for your belief in me as a student. I have always been cautious regarding sharing my perspectives as an Indigenous woman. You continually reminded me that my perspective—and the viewpoints of all Indigenous students—are extremely valuable. I learned so much from you about being an effective faculty who is empathetic, thoughtful, and knows how to give the correct dose of tough love when needed while encouraging students always to give their best. I also am incredibly thankful for all of the feedback you gave me in classes and the confidence you've given me regarding my abilities as a scholar. Dr. Archey, thank you for the reminder that it is okay to be vulnerable and to acknowledge the trauma that generations of my people have endured and

overcome. I am so thankful to have had such an incredible team of scholars around me and hope to pay forward all of the time and support you all gave to me to my students.

My dear friends, thank you for the laughter, tears, writing sessions, dinners, coffee dates, and conversations. As an introverted person, creating close friendships has always been a challenge for me. I am incredibly grateful to those who have offered me unconditional friendship and support. There are so many people that I would like to acknowledge and thank, and while I may not recognize or thank you here, know that if you crossed my path in the last three years, you have contributed to my success. I appreciate the time and friendship you have gifted me.

To my JDP cohort mates, Franklin, Jeanene, Rachael, and Carol, thank you for always listening to my perspective on class topics and reminding me that my voice matters. Franklin, thank you for always showing up when I needed support. You have been a fantastic friend. Our daily texts, showing up for my cousin's job talk, encouraging me to hold firm in my boundaries and supporting me when I needed time for myself, checking in with me when I would disappear, texting my sister to make sure I'm well, and the Sprinkles cupcakes during a bit of a meltdown are just a few of the ways that you consistently showed up for me when I needed a friend. I am incredibly thankful to have been on this journey with you and that I had someone who not only engaged in critical discourse with me but also that you always found a way to remind people to invite Indigenous peoples to the table. Jeanene, you have provided me with unconditional love and friendship from the day we met at orientation. I am thankful for our many conversations, your visits with me, and the thoughtful "thinking of you" gifts. I can never thank you enough for your support and guidance as I navigated the job market and made my wildest dream a reality.

To Juan Reynoso and Ivan Rajen, out of all of the people I have been blessed to cross paths with at UC San Diego, you are two of my favorites. Juan, I am so blessed to have you in

my life. I enjoyed getting to know you at work as a colleague, but even more so as a friend. You are a remarkable person with so much unconditional love and compassion. I cannot wait to support you as you navigate your future doctoral journey! Ivan, I am incredibly thankful that we have had so many conversations and gotten away from academic responsibilities over the last three years. I appreciate you putting aside your cat allergies to hang out with me. To my IFI partner, Amy, thank you for all of the Tik Tok videos and memes. I am so thankful for your friendship and support. It has been a joy to get to know you over the last couple of years. I hope our friendship continues growing and we can make those croissants soon.

I must offer my heartfelt appreciation to the most extraordinary hype man on earth, Lucius Martin. Thank you for inviting and allowing me to give the first public talk about my research at the 2021 City of Long Beach's Native American Heritage Month Symposium. You not only networked me and the event in a way that laid the successful trajectory of my job search, but you also followed it up with endless support and encouragement. All while reminding me that the sky is the limit in our dreams for an unapologetically Indigenous future. Thank you for all of your encouragement. I am—and the entire Tongva community are—lucky to have you in my/our corner. To my former boss and dear friend, Zachary Ray, thank you for your continuous support. While our friendship got off to a rocky start, I am appreciative of your faith in me—personally, professionally, and academically. I am tremendously thankful that you *always* find a way to support me and my research by speaking my name in rooms and networking for me before I even have to ask. Your confidence in me has helped me build confidence in myself and taught me that—while I don't need to be the loudest person in a room—I have something important to say, and there are people like you who want to listen. Thank you for *always* encouraging me to push the boundaries and break the barriers set for our

people, keeping me grounded and humble, challenging me to overcome my fears, and reminding me that it is imperative to give the Ancestors back their voice to honor their sacrifices.

To my co-researchers, Jacque Nunez, Theresa Gregor, Sean Milanovich, Dolores Stewart, Yolanda Rubio, and RoseAnna Vidaure, thank you for your stories, strength, and vulnerability. Indian boarding school research is a labor of love for our Ancestors who endured so many hardships and demonstrated unconditional love and sacrifice for us. I am incredibly thankful to each of you for honoring my requests to interview you, for sharing your knowledge with me, and for the vulnerability, it took to discuss traumatic issues. The knowledge you shared with me has further shaped my understanding of what it means to be a California Indian living, attending school, and working in my ancestral homelands. It reinforced the importance of my work, laid a foundation for my future as an educator, and solidified my relationships with our Ancestors and the Land. I am forever in your debt.

Nekaak (dad) and *neyook* (mom), where do I begin to thank you for my blessed life? You provided only unconditional love and support throughout my life, even when I wasn't always worthy. *Nekaak*, thank you for sharing your love of family lineages and history with me, for it instilled within me a desire to challenge, correct, and share all of the misconstrued narratives told. *Neyook*, you are my rock! You have always encouraged me to follow my dreams, no matter how outlandish they may have been. You saw my strength, resilience, tenacity, and potential long before I realized it was there. Thank you for letting me ramble and cry about this journey and for your prayers and endless support. Together, you instilled in me the importance of family, the value of hard work, the tenacity to hold onto my beliefs, and the compassion to honor others' stories.

I also must acknowledge *neyooxo*, *nepee'ech*, *nepiiha'*, and my two *ne'eeshna'*—Mona, Buddy, Angela, Juan, and Todd. Each of you has supported me in unique and much-needed ways. Mona, you have always been one of the people I admire most. Much like Grandma Carmen, I greatly admire your quiet nature's strength, resilience, and patience. Thank you for being a wonderful *neyooxo* and my first role model. Buddy, thank you for being my closest confidante and keeping me grounded. Who knew that all those years of annoying each other would result in a beautiful friendship? You have always lent an ear, provided support, and taught me how to laugh at life—although most of those laughs came from something foolish I said or did. Angela, thank you for being—not only my sister—but my best friend. I am so grateful that you have loved me unconditionally from day one. Your friendship has been a blessing in my life, and I am so thankful for you. Juan, thank you for being the *neoopa'* I always needed and for showing up to our milestones to challenge Theresa, me, and our colleagues. Todd, thank you for letting me stay with you and Theresa at your home during the early days of this journey and for allowing me to take up way more of Theresa's time with you than I probably should.

To my nephews and nieces—Juanito, Emily, Eli, Bryson, and Abby Gabby—you have been and continue to be my motivation in life. Although I often take it too seriously, being an auntie is my favorite role. Through each of you, I have experienced life through fresh sets of eyes and learned not to take life too seriously. Trust me; I was more somber than I am now. The work I do is for all of you; to ensure that you know who we are and where we come from and that you pass on this knowledge to future generations of our family. We come from strong, resilient, and *thriving* people; ***never forget that***!

Lastly, I must acknowledge *nepii'ich*, Theresa Jean "TJ" Stewart-Ambo. We have been on the journey of a lifetime over the last eight years! From sitting two days straight at coffee

shops in Long Beach working on my UCLA application to spending endless hours discussing methodologies so I could write this dissertation, you have encouraged and reminded me that I have more to offer than I realize and that this research is my calling in life. Without your selfless support and unconditional (and sometimes tough) love, I would have never realized I could successfully obtain a doctoral-level education. The last three years have been especially extraordinary—sometimes challenging—as we navigated our Professor-Student relationship. It indeed has been the experience of a lifetime and, as we shared with your students, a phenomenon that few others will experience. While I am sad to be leaving UC San Diego—or at least partly—I am incredibly excited for the next stage in our personal and professional lives, which I know will bring plenty of positive changes for our family and community. You blazed—and continue to create—a path for me and so many other Indigenous students to follow! I am incredibly thankful and blessed to have you as my sister, mentor, professor, research partner, co-writer, critic, and cheerleader. Thank you for sharing your time, wisdom, and experience with me.

‘Aweeshkone xaa! ‘Wiishmenokre!

VITA

EDUCATION

2011	Bachelor of Arts, Psychology; California State Polytechnic University, Pomona
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2017	Book Review Editor, American Indian Culture and Research Journal; University of California, Los Angeles
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SELECTED PUBLICATIONS & PRESENTATIONS

Stewart, K. L., Ramos, J. C., Trujillo, E., Tsosie, R., & Teeter, W. (October 2022). Roundtable on Repatriation of Indigenous Ancestral Remains and Objects from Sites of Mass Violence. *Mass*

Violence and Its Lasting Impact on Indigenous Peoples Conference, USC Center for Advanced Genocide Research, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

Stewart-Ambo, T. J., & **Stewart, K. L.** (2021). From Tovaangar to the University of California, Los Angeles. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, *45*(3).

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Stewart, K. L., & Stewart-Ambo, T. J. (*forthcoming*). Neyooxo pedagogy: Navigating academia through kinship. In S. Masta (Ed.), *Celebrating Survival of Indigenous Culture, Knowledge, and Values in Educational Spaces.*

Stewart, K. L., Ramos, J. C., Trujillo, E., Tsosie, R., & Teeter, W. (October 2022). Roundtable on Repatriation of Indigenous Ancestral Remains and Objects from Sites of Mass Violence. *Mass Violence and Its Lasting Impact on Indigenous Peoples* Conference, USC Center for Advanced Genocide Research, University of Southern California; Los Angeles, California.

Stewart, K. L. (Contributor). (2022, May 9). Indian Boarding Schools: Colonialism through Education (No. 4) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Challenging Colonialism*. Rizzo-Martinez & Stonebloom. https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/challenging-colonialism/id1612580017

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Stewart, K. L. (November 2021). Reflections on the Southern California Indian Boarding School Experience, City of Long Beach Native American Heritage Month Symposium; Long Beach, California.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Educational Leadership
American Indian Studies

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Unconditional Love: Honoring Our Ancestors' Experiences and Legacy at St. Boniface Indian Industrial School

by

Kelly Leah Stewart

Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership

University of California San Diego, 2022
California State University, San Marcos, 2022

Professor Alan J. Daly, Chair

The emergence of the remains of Indigenous youth at residential schools in Canada and the United States has rekindled discourse on the tumultuous and violent history that Indigenous people have with colonial schooling. In California, Indigenous Peoples experienced three separate waves of colonialism by Spain, Mexico, and the U.S., each bringing forth distinctive colonial schooling practices via governments, churches, and settlers. Presently, research on

colonial schooling in the U.S. continues to be dominated by narratives of student and administrators' experiences at federally-run Indian boarding schools across the nation. Furthermore, discourse on Indian education in California fails to view religious doctrine and vocational training introduced to Indigenous peoples at the Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos as colonial schooling. Centering Indigenous narratives, this phenomenological study examined the experiences of Southern California Indians with Indigenous education and colonial schooling from pre-invasion through the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American mission Indian boarding school eras. Through the application of the theoretical frameworks of *settler colonialism* and *Indigenous survivance*, this phenomenological study will utilize archival ethnography and oral histories to examine the legacy of colonial schooling and how Southern California Indians have resisted and refused assimilation into settler colonial society. Study teachings describe the actions that settlers enacted against California Indians and the ways that Native Peoples utilized Ancestral teachings to refuse and reject assimilation. An emerging teaching in this study found that *unconditional love*—from Creator and the Ancestors—was a driving force in California Indian resistance and refusal of colonial norms, and the embracement of Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing.

Keywords: Indigenous education, settler colonial schooling, American Indian education, California Indian education, Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, religious schooling

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

For many Indigenous peoples worldwide, including Southern California Indians, our creation stories, songs, and oral histories—passed down from time immemorial to the present—are the foundation of our education transmission practices. Stories, songs, and oral histories tell us how we came into existence in our homelands and provide guidance for living and being in good relations with the land, water, plants, animals, and one another. The introduction of colonial schooling—learning through religious doctrine, western academics, vocational trades, the violent theft of land, and physical and cultural genocide—by Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers disrupted how Indigenous peoples transmitted traditional knowledge systems to Native[1] youth and adults and complicated our relationships with one another, as well as with the land, water, and our flora and fauna relatives. While research has been conducted on the history of the Spanish missions[2], Mexican ranchos, and American Indian boarding schools (see: Adams, 1988, 1995; E. Castillo, 2015; DeJong, 1993; Hackel, 2017; Hurtado, 1990; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Sandos, 2004; Reyhner & Eder 2004), there remains little research that examines the experiences of Indigenous peoples who attended Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools in Southern California; as well as a limited examination of colonial schooling techniques introduced to California Indians during the mission and rancho eras.

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms California Indian, Native, American Indian, Native American, Indian, and Indigenous interchangeably to refer to the original peoples of what is now the United States. While many Indigenous peoples worldwide prefer to be referred to by their specific Tribal Nation name, Indigenous peoples, scholars, and educators have not agreed on a single term. In addition, I utilize the terms Tribal and Native Nations to refer to sovereign American Indian nations regardless of federal recognition status.

[2] While the term *mission* would be capitalized as a proper noun, I have elected to use a lowercase in all uses to push back on colonial ideas. The Spanish missions were places that forcibly and violently removed Southern California Indians' cultural identity, knowledge and governance, customs, and spirituality through forced conversation to Catholicism and vocational training. Furthermore, the term "Mission Indian" was forced upon us by Spanish missionaries and settlers. By refusing proper noun formatting, I am rejecting colonial dominance over our people and ways of life.

This study aims to extend existing research—via archival documents and oral histories—to analyze California Indian experiences with colonial schooling to include the mission and rancho periods and Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools. The subsequent dissertation discusses how Southern California Indians have continued to enact Indigenous knowledge transmission practices despite forced exposure to three waves of colonization. This study provides historical background on California Indians' educational experiences pre-invasion and throughout colonial history by analyzing existing literature on religious doctrine and vocational trades as a method of *schooling* in the Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos. Furthermore, this study brings oral accounts from mission Indian boarding school survivors via their descendants to the foreground of boarding school research. Likewise, this study answers lingering questions about Catholic-run mission Indian schools to provide healing for survivors and descendants while opening paths for reconciliation with settlers and U.S. schooling systems.

Statement of the Problem

On May 27, 2021, the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc First Nation announced the discovery of approximately 215 remains of Indigenous youth at the former site of Kamloops Indian Residential School in Kamloops, British Columbia, Canada (Dickson & Watson, 2021). The first of several discoveries,[3] this unearthing set off calls—from both First Nations and American Indian peoples—for the Canadian and United States governments to investigate *all* former and current Indian residential[4] school sites (Clark, 2021; Corona, 2021; Dickson & Watson, 2021; Manning, 2021; Nelson, 2021). Across both nations, there were approximately 506 residential

[3] Over 5,000 remains of Indigenous youth were discovered at multiple sites in Canada and the United States.
[4] Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms residential and boarding interchangeably in reference to schools for First Nations and American Indians in Canada and the United States. While both nations utilize different terminology, many schools for Indigenous youth in Canada and the U.S. have a shared history of forcibly removing Indigenous children from tribal communities to sever their ties to their families, Tribal Nations, and ancestral homelands. These institutions were funded by federal governments and administered via government or religious organizations.

schools—139 in Canada and 397 in the U.S. ("Residential School Locations," 2020; National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, 2020). These institutions—directly overseen by federal governments or outsourced to religious organizations (usually Protestant or Catholic churches)—operated from the 1880s to the 1990s[5], with four schools, under the oversight of and funded by the U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI) Bureau of Indian Education (BIE), remaining in operation[6] as of July 2020 (Office of Congressional and Legislative Affairs, 2019; National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, 2020).

While government-led investigations into Indian boarding schools are in an early stage in the U.S., the discovery of unmarked and unrecorded[7] gravesites is guaranteed and has already begun to emerge. As much information about Indian boarding schools remains concealed from the public, academic scholars, federal and state governments, and Tribal Nations must conduct additional research on this matter. The formation of investigative committees and commissions charged with *truth-telling* indicates that Canada and the U.S. are ready to come to terms with their complicity and complacency in the violent physical and cultural genocide that occurred at Indian boarding schools.

Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative (FIBSI)

Nearly a month following the discovery of human remains at additional former residential school sites in Canada, Debra Anne Haaland (Laguna Pueblo), the first Native American Secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior, announced before the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) during their 2021 mid-year conference, her intention to

[5] Indian boarding schools in the United States operated from the 1870s to 1970s, while Indian residential schools in Canada operated from the 1880s to 1990s.
[6] As of 2022, Sherman High School continues to be one of several boarding schools in operation. The school receives funding from the Bureau of Indian Education, housed under the U.S. Department of the Interior.
[7] The terms *unmarked* and *unrecorded* are used to distinguish between graves that may have been recorded by school administration but were removed over time and graves that were never recorded.

form the *Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative* (FIBSI) (Haaland, 2021; U.S. Department of the Interior, 2021). In her memorandum, Haaland acknowledged that:

> Beginning with the Indian Civilization Act of 1819 and running through the 1960s, the United States enacted laws and implemented policies establishing and supporting Indian boarding schools across the nation. During that time, the purpose of Indian boarding schools was to [*culturally assimilate*] Indigenous children by [*forcibly*] relocating them from their families and communities to distant residential facilities where their American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian identities, languages, and beliefs were to be [*forcibly*] suppressed. (Haaland, 2021)

Through FIBSI, Haaland aimed to conduct a wide-ranging review of the history of federally operated and church-operated government-sponsored Indian boarding schools and Indian education policies in the U.S., as well as investigate potential burial sites not previously identified in existing government or church boarding school records (Haaland, 2021). Specifically examining historical documentation and oral histories, FIBSI examined the "[intergenerational] impact of Indian boarding schools to shed light on the unspoken traumas of the past" (U. S. Department of the Interior, 2021).

The initiative—the first of its kind since the *Meriam Report* of 1928 and the *Kennedy Report* of 1969 (Reyhner & Eder, 2004)—conducted an archival investigation into the history of Indian boarding schools in the United States. The archival research culminated in the release of the *Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report* (Volume 1) in May 2022 (Newland, 2022; U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022). Like the Merriam and Kennedy reports, the FIBSI *Investigative Report* examines the history and conditions of Indian boarding schools that were recipients of government funding (Newland, 2022; U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022). According to a press release by the U.S. Department of Interior:

> The investigation found that the federal Indian boarding school system deployed systematic militarized and identity-alteration methodologies in an attempt to assimilate American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian children through education, including but not limited to renaming Indian children from

> Indian to English names; cutting the hair of Indian children; discouraging or preventing the use of American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian languages, religions and cultural practices; and organizing Indian and Native Hawaiian children into units to perform military drills. Despite assertions to the contrary, the investigation found that the school system largely focused on manual labor and vocational skills that left American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian graduates with employment options often irrelevant to the industrial U.S. economy, further disrupting Tribal economies. (Newland, 2022)

The FIBSI *Investigative Report* reaffirms the findings of the *Merriam* and *Kennedy* reports. The report confirms that the U.S. government purposefully and strategically utilized education—via manual labor and vocational training—to forcibly disrupt and dismantle Indigenous knowledge system practices so that Indigenous youth would assimilate into settler colonial society. While the report does not tell Indigenous Peoples anything that we weren't already fully aware of, it does bring Indian boarding school atrocities to the forefront of present-day colonial society. As many are aware, the U.S. and the rest of the globe are currently experiencing a social justice-oriented climate where governments and settlers must acknowledge and atone for past wrongs. Moreover, the FIBSI *Investigative Report* provides much-needed evidenced-based research for legislation currently awaiting approval in both houses of Congress.

Congressional Legislation: H.R. 5444 and S. 2907

Building off the momentum of FIBSI, two identical acts were introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate. H.R. 5444 and S. 2907—*Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act*—were introduced to both branches of Congress on September 30, 2021, by Representative Sharice Davids (Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin) and Senator Elizabeth Warren (Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act, 2021). The selection of September 30, nearly four months after the Kamloops Residential School discovery, for submitting these bills does not lack significance. Known in Canada as the *National Day of Truth and Remembrance*, September 30 has come to signify a day for honoring

and remembering the residential and boarding school survivors and victims worldwide. The goal of H.R. 5444 and S. 2907 is to form a commission charged with investigating "the impacts and [*ongoing*] effects of the Indian Boarding School Policies" (Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act, 2021). Moreover, the commission will be responsible for developing recommendations:

> On ways to (1) protect unmarked graves and accompanying land protections; (2) support repatriation and identify the tribal nations from which children were taken; and (3) discontinue the removal of American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian children from their families and tribal communities by state social service departments, foster care agencies, and adoption agencies. (Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act, 2021)

Similar to legislation in Canada, H.R. 5444 and S. 2907 offer a path forward in the acknowledgment of the U.S. government and religious organizations—such as the Catholic and Protestant churches—roles in the forced assimilation and cultural destruction of Indigenous communities in the United States (Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act, 2021). Furthermore, by requiring government officials to work with Tribal Nations, this act ensures that the needs and interests are met at every turn of investigations. The involvement of Tribal Nations and boarding school survivors and descendants was demonstrated during hearings for the legislation in June 2022 when the Committee on Indian Affairs collected written testimony from these populations (see: APPENDIX A and APPENDIX B). Tribal Nation involvement must continue as H.R. 5444 and S. 2907 move through legislative channels. After all, *our* voices are the ones that need to be heard when determining what acts of reparation and reconciliation are necessary for holding the federal government and religious organizations accountable for their complacency and complicity.

California Truth and Healing Council (CTHC)

In addition to boarding schools, the California Indian community has demanded—and rightfully so—that the U.S. government take its investigation further. California Indian activists across the state, many of whom are boarding school survivors or descendants[8], have requested that federal, state, and local officials investigate potential undocumented gravesites at the Spanish mission sites (Nelson, 2021). The Spanish missions were where many California Indians first interacted with settlers' violent assimilative and genocidal educational tactics. At the missions, Spanish settlers and Franciscan priests from the Catholic church forcibly and violently enslaved California Indians and indoctrinated them into the Catholic faith while compulsorily exposing Indigenous peoples to colonial vocational trades (Sandos, 2004). As such, they are a part of the colonial legacy that the U.S. inherited from Spain, by way of Mexico, upon California's statehood in 1850 (Madley, 2016), and they *must* be part of FIBSI investigations.

While FIBSI began the investigation into the multifaceted and often antagonistic relationship between the U.S. government and Native Nations, states—such as California—have taken steps to initiate inquiries into the history of the maltreatment of Indigenous peoples (Ramos, 2020). Particularly at the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and federal and mission Indian boarding schools. Two years before Haaland's announcement and investigative report, California's Governor, Gavin Christopher Newsom, took the first steps in acknowledging California's history of genocide against California Indians. On June 18, 2019, through *Executive Order N-15-19* (2019), Newsom acknowledged California's "history of 'violence, maltreatment, and neglect' against Native Americans" (Luna, 2019).

[8] Throughout this dissertation, the term descendants refer to individuals who had one or more family members—immediate or extended—attend an Indian residential school in Canada or an Indian boarding school in the United States.

According to Governor Newsom,

> California must reckon with our dark history. California Native American peoples suffered violence, discrimination, and exploitation sanctioned by [the] state government throughout its history. We can never undo the wrongs [*genocide*] inflicted on the peoples who have lived on this land… since time immemorial, but we [state leaders alongside Native Nations] can work together to build bridges, tell the truth about our past and begin to heal deep wounds. (Luna, 2019)

In addition to the executive order, Newsom also provided an in-person apology to California Tribal Nations and leaders. In his apology, Newsom stated: "It's called a genocide. That's what it was. A genocide. [There's] no other way to describe it… And so, I'm here to say the following: I'm sorry on behalf of the state of California" (Luna, 2019). While Executive Order N-15-19 does not contain the term *genocide*, Newsom's use of the word in his apology acknowledged what California Indians had known all along. Spain, Mexico, California, and the U.S. federal government *all* sanctioned, financed, and took part in decimating California's Indigenous populations and the violent theft of our lands.

Executive Order N-15-19 also put words into action by forming the *California Truth and Healing Council* (CTHC) (Exec. Order No. N-15-19, 2019; Luna, 2019). The purpose of the CTHC is to "bear witness to, record, examine existing documentation of, and receive California Native American narratives [oral histories]… to clarify the historical record… in the spirit of truth and healing" (Exec. Order No. N-15-19, 2019; Office of the Tribal Advisor, 2021). Comprised of "leaders of federally and state-recognized tribes" (Kickingwoman, 2021), the CTHC is responsible for collecting and analyzing data to provide recommendations for how the state can reconcile its genocidal history to offer reparations to California Indians and ensure Native Nations thrive (Kickingwoman, 2021).

Apology from Pope Francis

On July 25, 2022, after months of demands, Pope Francis—head of the Roman Catholic Church—visited Maskwacis, Alberta, Canada, to issue a formal apology to thousands of residential school survivors (Associated Press, 2022; Canadian Press, 2022; George-Kanentiio, 2022; Harlan & Coletta, 2022; Karpenchuk, 2022). In his speech, Pope Francis stated the following:

> Today I am here, in this land that, along with its ancient memories, preserves the scars of still open wounds. I am here because the first step of [*my penitential pilgrimage*] among you is that of again asking forgiveness, of telling you once more that I am deeply sorry. Sorry for the ways in which, regrettably, [*many Christians supported the colonizing mentality of the powers that oppressed the Indigenous Peoples*]. I am sorry. I ask forgiveness, in particular, for the ways in which [*many members of the church and of religious communities*] co-operated, not least through their indifference, in projects of cultural destruction and forced assimilation [*promoted by the governments of that time*], which culminated in the system of residential schools. (Canadian Press, 2022)

While many people view Pope's apology as the first step towards reconciling the Catholic Church's role in the catastrophic history of Indian boarding schools globally, it must be acknowledged that not *all* Indigenous Peoples hold this perspective (George-Kanentiio, 2022).

First, Pope Francis' apology scapegoated the Church's direct role and neglected to mention how they strategically lobbied governments worldwide to fund their mission boarding schools. Instead, the Pope's apology lays the blame on the "many Christians…[and] members of the church" (Canadian Press, 2022) who supported and collaborated in the forced assimilation of Indigenous youth. In laying the blame on individual parishioners, the Catholic Church alleviates itself from the responsibility for its actions. Second, the apology focuses solely on residential schools, neglecting to acknowledge that the church was, in fact, one of the primary colonial powers responsible for the violent and genocidal colonization of Indigenous Peoples in the Americas. Neglecting to acknowledge the Church as a colonizer is particularly relevant to

California Tribal Nations. Many California Indians descend from Ancestors who padres enslaved at the Spanish missions in California. By failing to acknowledge that the Catholic Church was a leading colonial power that deliberately worked with colonial nations globally in their desire to *Christianize* Indigenous Peoples and *save* us, Pope Francis offered a performative apology that lacked authentic remorse nor proposed solutions for healing.

A Call to Action

The emergence of ancestor remains, Newsom's acknowledgment of California's violent genocide against the state's Native peoples, the formation of Haaland's FIBSI and California's CTHC, and legislation introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives (H.R. 5444) and Senate (S. 2907) brings many emotions to the surface for Indigenous Peoples of California, the nation, and worldwide. Ancestors buried and currently forcibly held at former residential schools, missions, rancho sites, and prestigious universities across the country have decided that *now* is the time to *reveal themselves* and have their stories told (Clark, 2021; Corona, 2021; Dang, 2019; Dickson & Watson, 2021; Griner, 2019; Lefebvre, 2020; Manning, 2021; Mello, 2018; Nelson, 2021; Ramos, 2020). It is not surprising that Ancestors have emerged at a time when the U.S. finds itself experiencing demands to acknowledge its role in the continued oppression, marginalization, and indentured servitude of and violent genocide against Indigenous, Black, and People of Color (IBPOC) populations. Furthermore, the recognition of federal and state-sanctioned genocide against California Indians and efforts to reconcile and heal from those traumas affords opportunities for research on topics that—until this point—have been considered too taboo and traumatic for settler[9] society to address.

[9] The terms: colonist, colonizer, settler, European, and Euro-American will be utilized interchangeably to refer to individuals who trace their ancestry to colonial nations (such as the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Russia, and other European countries). Unless a person's lineage can be traced directly to the original peoples of California or other tribes in the U.S., they are considered a settler as they are not Indigenous to this land.

As the descendant of over thirty former Indian boarding school survivors, the discovery of Indigenous remains at former school sites, Newsom's apology, the formation of FIBSI and the CTHC, and the introduction of federal Indian boarding school legislation elicit emotional and intellectual responses. The legacies of the cataclysmic genocide against California Indians and Indian boarding schools' efforts to eliminate Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing impact me, my family, my Tribal Nations, California Indians, and American Indians across the U.S. directly. Native peoples today are the descendants of generations of Indigenous Peoples forced into colonial governments, systems, and institutions. In California, the legacy of our Ancestors' experiences at Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial establishments belongs not only to them but also to descendants living today and the generations to come. Our existence is a testament to the resilience and refusal of Indigenous Peoples to assimilate into settler colonial society and our continued survivance and thrivance. Despite the expansion of the field of American Indian education, additional research is necessary to expand research to discuss the unique educational experiences of California Indians.

The Case for California Indian Education Research

One area in dire need of rigorous academic research revolves around the educational experiences of California Indians at the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and American mission Indian boarding schools. Notably, current research necessitates expanding narratives of how California Indians historically and presently navigate and refuse to assimilate into colonial institutions and governments while maintaining Indigenous knowledge transmission practices. We are the recipients of California's genocidal legacy against the state's original inhabitants and our Ancestors' experiences at the missions, ranchos, and boarding schools. Thus, it is the

responsibility of—and imperative that—California Indian scholars honor our relatives' hardships and sacrifices by stepping forward to conduct this vital research (Swisher, 2017).

Indigenous knowledge transmission practices have historically been—and continue to be—undervalued, ignored, and often erased in and by dominant Euro-American settler society (Grande, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2012). For California Indians and many other Indigenous communities, our knowledge transmission practices are woven from the oral accounts of our Ancestors' hardships and triumphs, bound together by experiences of lost and concealed culture, language, traditions, and perspectives of our past (Stewart, 2018). Comprising knowledge from intertwining generations who overcame adversity through ceaseless resilience, oral narratives tie California Indians to our Ancestors' life experiences, knowledge systems, and—perhaps most importantly—our cultural traditions, kinship networks, and connections to land (Archibald, 2008; Bauer, 2016; Kovach, 2009; Stewart, 2018). Through oral histories, California Indians learn who we are, where we come from, where we are going, and what we once lost—creating an intergenerational legacy of loss (D. Miranda, 2013; Kovach, 2009).

When American Indians encountered European colonists, the ways in which knowledge was transmitted to Native youth drastically changed. Lacking empathy for Indigenous languages, knowledge systems, and leadership methods—which differed from existing European knowledge structures—settlers did not see value in Native knowledge, education, and governing systems (Adams, 1988, 1995; Child, 1998; Colmant et al., 2004; DeJong, 1993; Grande, 2004; Lomawaima, 2014; L. T. Smith, 2012). Colonizers believed their *divine responsibility* was to *civilize* Indigenous Peoples by introducing Christian doctrine and Euro-American schooling methods (Bartlett & Brayboy, 2005; Brayboy & Lomawaima, 2018; Calderon, 2014; Deloria et al., 2018; Lomawaima, 2014). Literature on California Indian *education* during the Spanish

mission, Mexican rancho, and American Indian boarding school periods describe colonial schooling—specifically religious doctrine, western academics, and vocational training—as techniques for elimination and erasure of indigeneity through conversion to Christianity and assimilation into settler colonial society (Adams, 1988, 1995; Bartlett & Brayboy, 2005; Brayboy & Lomawaima, 2018; Calderon, 2014; E. Castillo, 2015; Child, 1998; Colmant et al., 2004; Deloria et al., 2018; DeJong, 1993; Hurtado, 1990; Lomawaima, 2014; McGarry, 1950; Sandos, 2004).

Current research—which frequently centers on federal schools—neglects to investigate how Catholic-run schools predated government institutions in establishing deliberate processes for eliminating Indigenous knowledge systems to disconnect California Indians from traditional knowledge transmission practices and connections to land (E. Castillo, 2015; Hurtado, 1990; McGarry, 1950; Sandos, 2004). Before the establishment of federal Indian boarding schools in Southern California, the Catholic Church was the primary administrator of Indian education in the region through institutions such as Fort Yuma Indian School (FYIS) in Fort Yuma, St. Anthony's Indian Industrial School (SAIIS) in San Diego, and St. Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS) in Banning (Harley, 1999). Moreover, excluding literature by Indigenous scholars, Indian education research continues to center colonial narratives through the prioritization of settler accounts and analysis, perpetuating the erasure of Indigenous voices.

An important yet often overlooked aspect of Indian education remains the boarding school experience in Southern California. Religious and federal Indian boarding schools aimed to eliminate Indigenous knowledge systems and their transmission by exposing Native youth to various colonial schooling techniques (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Regarding Indian education in California, boarding school literature continues to fixate on narratives of Sherman Indian

School.[10] Works such as *The Students of Sherman Indian School* (Bahr, 2014), "Family Matters" (Bauer, 2010), *Education Beyond the Mesas* (Gilbert, 2010), "Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian" (Gonzales, 2002), *Empty Beds* (Keller, 2002), and *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue* (Trafzer & Gilbert, 2012) share the history of Sherman, describing its founding, daily activities, and provide select narratives of former students. Nevertheless, few accounts exist from students of Catholic-run schools in the region, such as Fort Yuma Indian School (Yuma, CA; 1884 to 1900), Saint Anthony's Indian Industrial School (San Diego, CA; 1886 to 1907), and Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School (Banning, CA; 1888 to 1952) (Harley, 1999).

Relatively absent from the larger Indian education narrative, Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School[11] was a Catholic-run mission boarding school formerly located in Banning, California. Established in 1890, SBIIS provided schooling to Southern California Indian youth ages five to thirteen (Stewart, 2018). To date, only three individuals have conducted academic research and written on the institution: R. Bruce Harley (1994; 1999), Tanya Rathbun (2006), and me (Kelly Leah Stewart, Tongva/Luiseño) (Stewart, 2018). Influenced by methods utilized during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school periods, SBIIS amalgamated three forms of colonial schooling. In addition, until 1935, SBIIS was one of three Catholic-operated schools in the region solely admitting youth from local California tribal communities, while Sherman enrolled Native children from across the nation (Harley, 1994, 1999; Rathbun, 2006; Stewart, 2018).

[10] Sherman Indian School, known today as Sherman High School, is a federal Indian boarding school located in Riverside, California. Throughout this document, the school may be referred to as simply Sherman.

[11] At this time, this study and dissertation focus on California Indian education pertaining to Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School. While more research needs to be conducted on Fort Yuma and Saint Anthony's to bring them into the literature on California Indians' experiences with Catholic mission Indian boarding schools, I believe that the research—much like this study—should be conducted by descendants of those institutions.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, this study intended to add to the limited research on Indian education in Southern California by expanding the literature to include an examination of Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School's history and the institution's impacts on California Indians. To date, only three scholars have completed rigorous academic research on SBIIS (Harley, 1994, 1999; Rathbun, 2006; Stewart, 2018). As more archival documentation and oral histories from survivors and descendants have emerged, we can (re)construct a wide-ranging account of the history of SBIIS and the experiences of Southern California Indians at the institution. Through the application of archival ethnography and settler colonial theory, this study (re)constructed the history of colonial schooling at SBIIS.

Second, this study examined how mission Indian school survivors and descendants enacted agency against settler colonial acts of violence and assimilation and how they enacted acts of Indigenous survivance in efforts to refuse assimilation into dominant Euro-American society. Specifically, through the collection of oral histories, I examined how SBIIS survivors and their descendants' enacted aspects of Indigenous survivance as they navigated—and continue to traverse—colonial establishments. As such, the aims of the study are animated by the following research questions:

- What are the oral narratives about California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and colonial schooling in Southern California?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe acts of colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants demonstrate Indigenous survivance and agency?

Contributions and Significance of the Study

This study occurred during a time when Canada and the United States' colonial legacy pertaining to Indian boarding and residential schools was brought to the attention of settler society through the unearthing of human remains of Indigenous youth—exposing their assimilative and abusive approaches to *educating* Indigenous youth have (Clark, 2021; Corona, 2021; Dang, 2019; Dickson & Watson, 2021; Griner, 2019; Lefebvre, 2020; Manning, 2021; Mello, 2018; Nelson, 2021; Ramos, 2020). At the same time, substantial research has been conducted on American Indian education (see: Adams, 1988, 1995; Child, 1998; Bahr, 2014; Bauer, 2010; Brayboy & Lomawaima, 2018; DeJong, 1993; Gilbert, 2010; Gonzales, 2002; Grande, 2004; Keller, 2002; Lomawaima, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2014; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; L. T. Smith, 2012; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Trafzer & Gilbert, 2012; Trafzer et al., 2006), there remains limited research on the history and impacts of Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools, located in Southern California—home to three mission schools: Fort Yuma, Saint Anthony's and Saint Boniface Indian Industrial Schools (Christian, 2019; Harley, 1994, 1999; McNeil, 1990; Rathbun, 2006; Stewart, 2018). These institutions predate the establishment of federal-run boarding schools in the region by nearly a decade, demonstrating that the Catholic Church was the forefather of Indian education in the region.

Much of the existing literature on Indian boarding schools in California centers around federally run institutions, such as Sherman Indian School (Bahr, 2014; Bauer, 2010; Gilbert, 2010; Gonzales, 2002; Keller, 2002; Trafzer & Gilbert, 2012), which primarily focused on providing Indian youth with inadequate education and substantial vocational training. In addition, existing Indian education literature—particularly in California—does not include an overview of colonial schooling techniques introduced to California Indians at the missions and

ranchos. Instead, religious doctrine and vocational training at the Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos are viewed and described as pathways of assimilation and citizenship into colonial societies. The study aimed to contribute to the existing literature on Indian education by examining the history and impacts of colonial schooling con Southern California Indians during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American Indian boarding school eras—specifically Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools.

This research is of particular significance to California Tribal Nations, whose ways of life were significantly affected by the violent colonization and genocide in the state, resulting in the disruption and dismantling of our ways of knowing, being, and doing. Moreover, examining California's Indian education history and impacts offers background and insight into our tumultuous relationship with colonial schooling. It provides vital understanding to educators from all sectors to assist them in teaching about, with, and for California Indian Nations. Furthermore, this study offers evidence-based research detailing the grave impacts of Catholic-run, federally-funded Indian boarding schools in California. Teachings in the study provide policymakers with vital information to assist their efforts to right the wrongs of the past and provide reparations to California Indians for destroying their knowledge systems through colonization and colonial schooling.

Methodology and Methods

This phenomenological study aimed to examine the experiences of Southern California Indians who attended or whose Ancestors attended Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools in the region. This study employed the frameworks of *settler colonialism* and *Indigenous survivance* to examine Southern California Indians' experiences with the education provided by their Ancestors and schooling provided by Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers from time

immemorial to the American boarding school era. This study employed archival ethnography to recount the history of SBIIS and California Indians' experiences at the institution. This narrative weaves Catholic Church records, U.S. government documents, correspondence, newspaper articles, and other archival documents with oral histories from SBIIS survivors and descendants to build a report that provides a holistic description of the institution and its impacts on Southern California Indians. The study also employed oral history data collection and analysis to examine the oral narratives of SBIIS survivors and their descendants. Explicitly, oral histories were utilized to investigate SBIIS survivors' and descendants' perspectives and experiences with colonial schooling and acts of Indigenous survivance in efforts to refuse assimilation into dominant Euro-American society.

Limitations and Delimitations

It is essential to acknowledge the potential limitations of this study. First, an overall limitation is that this study is not generalizable to a broader researcher population. Nonetheless, the lack of generalizability was an intentional aspect of the study design, as it intends to center and highlight an often under-served and -researched population and site, respectively. Southern California Indian experiences and perspectives have been—and continue to be—misconstrued, silenced, and erased from the state's vast history. Furthermore, Southern California Indians have historically and presently—with great intention—been positioned as peoples of the past by Spanish, Mexican, and American governments and settlers in efforts to claim ownership over our lands, waters, and bodies. California Indians have earned—through endless resilience and sacrifice—and deserve to have their stories shared using their own words and ways of knowing, being, and doing. Thus, though potentially a limitation, this research necessitates focusing on Southern California Indian narratives.

Additionally, a limitation of the study is that it focuses on Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools in Southern California and the experiences and relationships that the state's Indigenous Peoples have with Indigenous education and colonial schooling. While the narrow focus may be viewed as a limitation, it is necessary to examine Catholic-run boarding schools as they continue to be absent or glossed over in Indian education literature and directly connect to the larger narrative of the Spanish mission system. Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools, as stated by numerous Church officials, were a continuation of the mission system, bringing mission system policies and practices into the twentieth century. This is particularly critical given the presence of the Spanish missions is not only reflected in the remaining mission structures but is also in the naming of universities within the University of California (UC) system (Stewart-Ambo & Stewart, 2021). Of which, three UCs bear the names of the missions by which they reside and are a reminder to California Indian students of the genocide and violence committed against their Ancestors.

Finally, I must note that I am a member of this study's research population. My connection may be viewed as a limitation in academic research as I may be perceived to maintain a bias that favors the research population. Nevertheless, my intimate connection to SBIIS and my co-researchers is a strength of this work as I recognize the underlying cultural and intergenerational significance of Southern California Indian knowledge and acts of resistance, refusal, and survivance concerning the three waves of colonization experienced by our people. Overall, this study was intentionally designed to highlight the narratives of Southern California Indians concerning intergenerational impacts of colonial schooling. Conversely, elements of the study—such as archival and oral history data collection processes and analysis—conducted with,

by, and for California Indian peoples in a way that highlights our worldviews may be helpful to researchers who wish to conduct similar research with Indigenous communities.

Conclusion

By examining and analyzing existing literature, archival documents, and oral histories, this study adds to the existing literature on Indian education by analyzing Southern California Indian education from time immemorial to the U.S. boarding school period. An analysis of colonial schooling methods introduced to Southern California Indians during the Spanish mission and Mexican rancho eras is missing from the literature. Literature on the Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos views Catholic dogma and Spanish and Mexican vocational trades as ways that assisted California Indians in integrating into Euro-American Christian colonial society rather than as strategic and intentional methods of colonial schooling. This study intends to fill those gaps in the existing literature.

Chapter two overviews the literature on Indian education beginning pre-invasion and during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, American Indian boarding school eras broadly, and California specifically. This chapter examines methods of colonial schooling—religious doctrine and vocational training—utilized by Spanish, Mexican, and United States governments and their representatives to provide instruction to American Indians, specifically California Indian peoples. It is essential to (re)story the narrative on Indian education in California to include Spanish and Mexican systems, as much of the existing literature focuses on schooling techniques utilized in Indian boarding schools during the American period. By *(re)story*, I am referring to the "process for Indigenous peoples [that] entails questioning the imposition of colonial histories on our communities" (Corntassel, 2009, p. 139) through the engagement of acts of truth-telling that to expose falsehoods to (re)write/right/rite the past for a prosperous Indigenous future

(Baldy, 2018; Stewart-Ambo & Stewart, 2021). Chapter three outlines the methodological approach and methods used for data collection and analysis in this two-part phenomenological study. In chapter four, I will review the teachings discovered during the oral history phase of this study. Finally, chapter five will discuss the teachings, implications of the research, and areas for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This literature review aims to critically analyze Southern California Indian experiences through an examination of the methods for education endowed by California Tribal Nations and schooling methods introduced and facilitated by Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. governments and settlers. This review is grounded in a comparison between *Indigenous education* and *colonial schooling*. *Indigenous education* represents the complex systems "designed and honed over millennia by Native societies to enculturate their citizens" (Brayboy & Lomawaima, 2018, p. 84). In other words, Indigenous education is the fusion of intergenerational knowledge collected from time immemorial to the present day. It is the union of our creation stories, songs and dances, oral histories, spiritual practices, and the (re)membering of our Ancestors' experiences with Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. colonization. *Colonial schooling* is "the reculturing and reeducation of American Indians by the secular and religious institutions of colonizing nations Spain, Great Britain, France, and the United States" (Lomawaima, 1999, p. 2). Namely, colonial schooling discredits, disrupts, dismantles, and replaces Indigenous knowledge systems and structures with Euro-American religion, academics, and trades.

Literature Foundations

The following collection of literature consists of empirical studies in the form of peer-reviewed articles, books or book chapters, reports, theses, and dissertations utilizing Google Scholar and JSTOR. Search terminology included: Native American, American Indian, California Indian, mission Indian, Indian and Indigenous education, colonial schooling, vocational trades and training, settler colonialism, Spanish missions, Mexican secularization and ranchos, Indian residential and boarding schools, oral histories and narratives, bird songs, Indigenous knowledge transmission practices, and Indigenous survivance. I combined these key

terms in various ways to produce the most concise results, with searches yielding over 100 resources. With a few exceptions, resources utilized to construct this literature review met the following criteria:

- Research was published within the last sixty years,[12]
- Research by Indigenous scholars was centered,[13]
- Research described methods of Indigenous education or colonial schooling,
- Research discussed or referred to the experiences of California Indians.

Review of Literature

According to Sandy Grande (Quechua), "the history of Indian education is mapped in a variety of ways (e.g., chronologically, thematically) … that reflect the prevailing systems of power" (Grande, 2004, p. 12). Notably, researchers frequently categorize historical periods and events in relation to colonial society's culture, values, and perspectives. To situate California Indian education to reflect the multitude of power systems in play throughout history (i.e., from time immemorial to the ongoing U.S. period), I have divided this literature review into three classifications: 1) Indigenous Education, 2) Settler Colonial Schooling, and 3) Mission Indian Boarding Schools (see: Figure 1). *Indigenous Education* focuses on methods employed by Native Peoples to prepare youth for survival. *Settler Colonial Schooling* provides an overview of colonial schooling by analyzing the processes—religious indoctrination and vocational training—enacted during Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school periods. *Mission Indian Boarding Schools* examines the schooling approaches of the Catholic-

[12] Research on the Spanish mission system, Mexican ranchos, and American Indian boarding schools that provide a comprehensive overview of colonization and methods of colonization often were published beyond 60 years. As such, exceptions to the sixty-year rule were made to ensure an extensive literature review.
[13] Research conducted by Indigenous scholars was centered for this literature review as an overarching theme of this work is to elevate and center the boarding school research done by Indigenous peoples. Many Indigenous boarding school scholars are survivors of boarding schools or descendants of survivors and carry the intergenerational legacy and stories (their own or their relative's) of these institutions.

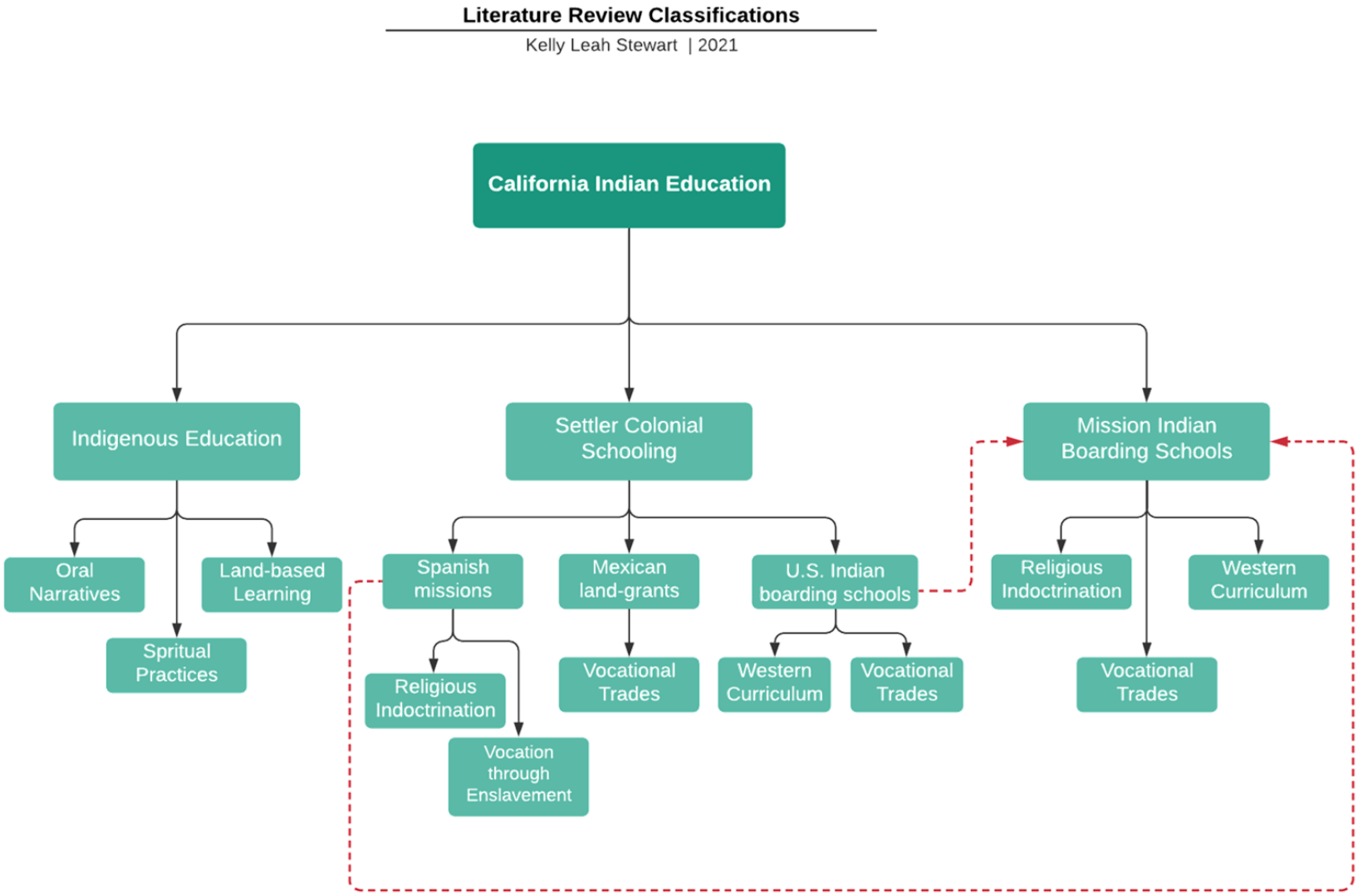


Figure 1: Literature Review Classifications

run mission Indian boarding school Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School.

Each section identifies prominent themes and addresses significant gaps in the existing literature. Moreover, this chapter provides an overview of the theoretical frameworks—settler colonialism and Indigenous survivance. The selected theoretical frameworks guide the entire study (from literature review to methodology). As such, beginning with theory lays the foundation for the study's entirety and the lens through which I reviewed information.

Theoretical Frameworks: Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Survivance

As Indian education history—particularly that of California Indians—is an understudied topic within the broader canon of education and education leadership research, it was crucial to frame this study within theoretical frameworks utilized by Indigenous Peoples and scholars. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), "a theoretical framework is the underlying structure, the scaffolding or frame of your study" (p. 85). This study drew on two theoretical frameworks—settler colonialism and Indigenous survivance—to frame and guide data collection and analysis. Settler colonialism was utilized to structure the literature review and data collection and analysis. Indigenous survivance was used to frame and guide oral histories collected in the study. The following sections overview each theory and discuss how the study operationalized frameworks.

Settler Colonialism

Unlike other Tribal Nations in the U.S., California Indians experienced three distinct waves of colonialism by foreign—Spanish, Mexican, and American[14] (see: Figure 2)—powers. *Colonialism* is "a form of domination—the control by individuals or groups over the territory

[14] The United States is a foreign power as colonizers and settlers who formed the country have origins in European nations.

and/or behavior of other individuals or groups" (Horvath, 1972, p. 46). Each colonial wave brought knowledge systems and societal practices which conflicted with California Indian

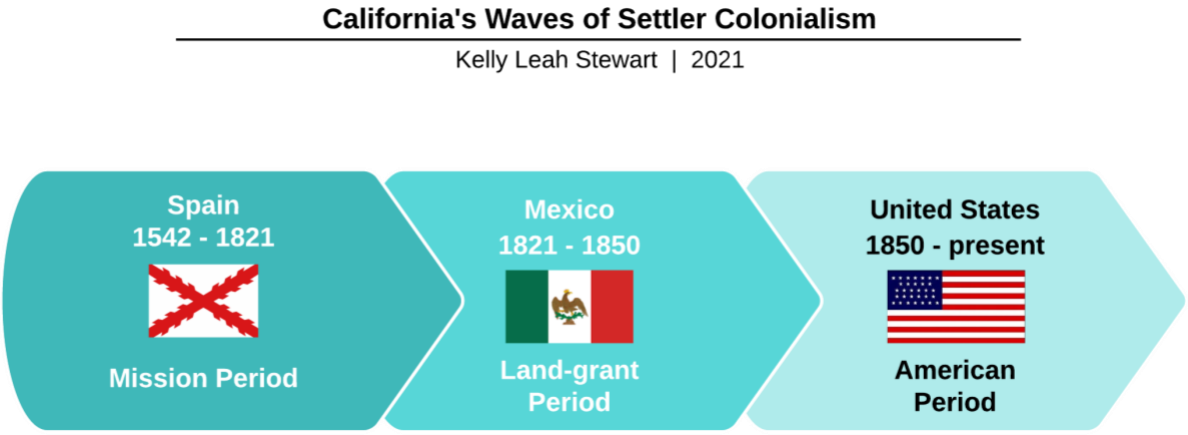


Figure 2: California's Waves of Colonialism

paradigms,[15] ontologies,[16] and epistemologies[17] (S. Wilson, 2008). Moreover, each wave also brought distinct forms of agents—via Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers and organizations—to enforce colonial ideals. Commonly known as *settler colonialism*—"an inclusive, land-centred project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies … with a view of eliminating Indigenous societies" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 393)—settlers utilized régime systems as weapons in their mission of elimination. According to Wolfe (2006), settler colonialism is not a singular event occurring upon settler arrival and occupation. Instead, settler colonialism is an ongoing structure (Glenn, 2015; Saranillio, 2015; Wolfe, 2006).

As seen in Decolonize This Place's (2018) *Settler-Colonialism Framework* (see: Figure 3), settler colonialism operates in two ways, external and internal. *External colonialism* extracts resources from Indigenous lands to benefit colonial nations abroad. In contrast, *internal*

[15] The markers used to identify assumptions/beliefs which research is grounded in, influenced by values.
[16] Theories of existence and/or reality, examines what is true.
[17] The examination of thinking/knowing, examines how we come to know what is true.

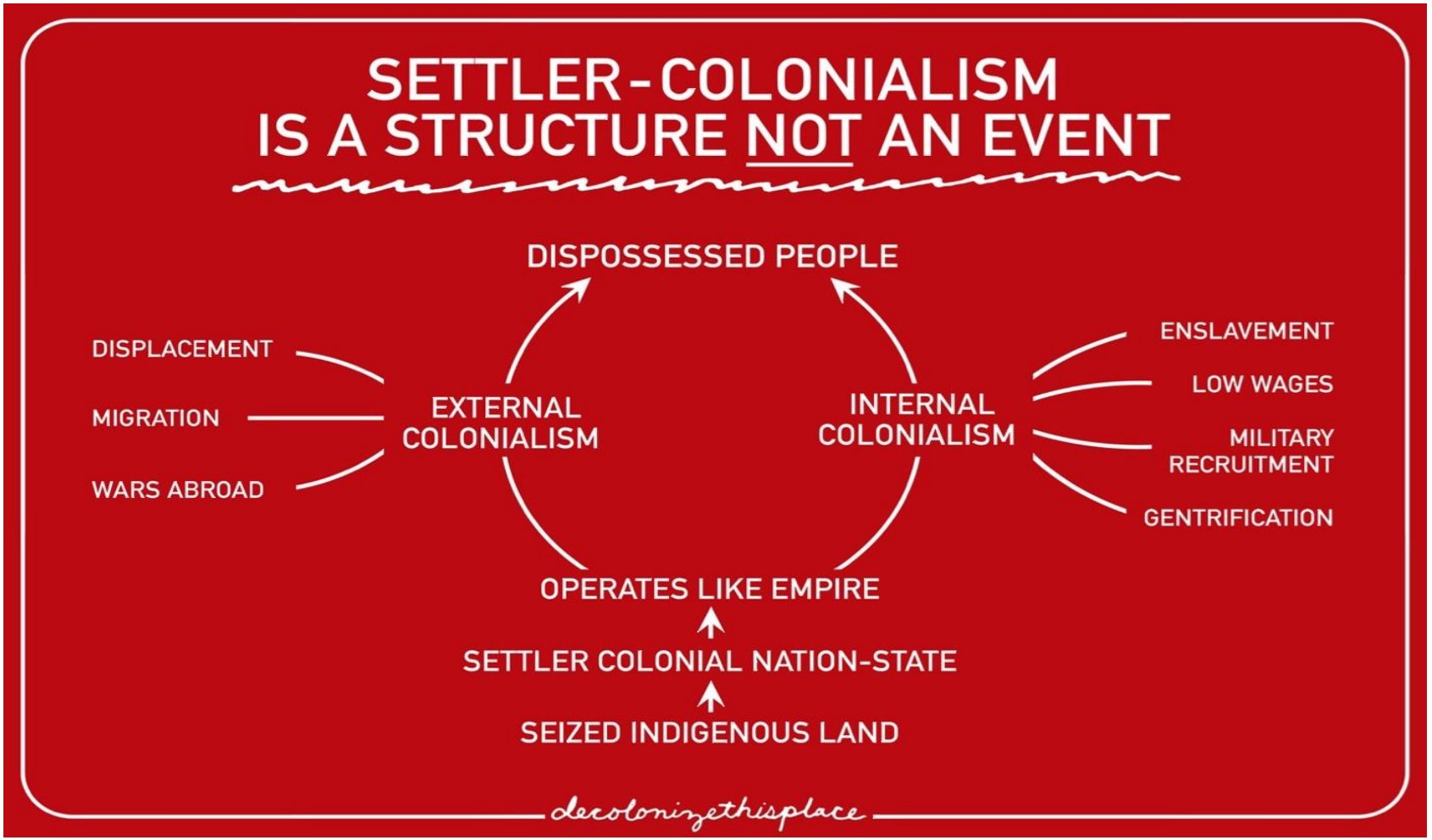


Figure 3: Settler-Colonialism Framework

Note: From Decolonize This Place—Resources, by Decolonize This Place, 2018 (https://decolonizethisplace.org/resources). In the public domain.

colonialism operates under the physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual enslavement and elimination of Indigenous populations so settlers can access Indigenous peoples' land, water, bodies, and resources to build a new nation (Wolfe, 1999, 2006, 2007). Colonialism and settler colonialism are often inaccurately discussed as singular historical events where colonial governments *conquered* and *saved* Indigenous Peoples worldwide. Instead, Wolfe (1999, 2006, 2007) explains that settler colonialism is a continuous structure of connecting systems that operate to appropriate land through the ongoing elimination of Indigenous societies. Systems of colonialism and settler colonialism established hierarchies, such as the *settler-native-slave triad* (la paperson, 2017; Tuck & Yang, 2012), which positioned settlers above Natives and enslaved peoples. In the *triad,* enslaved peoples were viewed as property of settlers—intended to build settler wealth through forced labor, whereas Natives were viewed as peoples to eliminate—so that settlers could gain access to Indigenous lands (la paperson, 2017; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Wolfe, 2006).

Schooling was one system of the settler colonial *logic of elimination* (Wolfe, 2006). Schooling was a mechanism through which colonial nations, Christian churches, and their agents worked to eliminate Indigenous Peoples by way of assimilation into colonial society through religious doctrine, Euro-American academics, and vocational trades (Greer, 2019; la paperson, 2017; Veracini, 2011, 2014; Wolfe, 1999, 2006, 2007). While settler colonialism often centers on settlers, many Indigenous peoples have adopted the framework to interrogate how settlers have historically—and presently—worked to marginalize, eliminate, and erase Indigenous Peoples (Byrd, 2011; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Thus, settler colonialism is an appropriate lens through which to interrogate Spanish, Mexican, and American legislation and policies pertaining to colonial schooling, which operated under the guise of providing Native youth with *education*

when, in reality, it worked to eliminate and erase Indigenous Peoples physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually. Furthermore, the settler colonialism framework allowed for the analysis of actions taken by settlers to eliminate Indigenous peoples in efforts to acquire ownership and possession over Indigenous land through the logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006).

Indigenous Survivance

Many existing narratives on Indian education focus on the hardships that Native youth experienced while attending religious and federal Indian boarding schools in the U.S. (Adams, 1988, 1995; DeJong, 1993; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; Trafzer et al., 2006). While stories of Indigenous hardships and resilience have begun to permeate Indian education literature (Child, 1998; Bahr, 2014; Bauer, 2010; Gilbert, 2010; Gonzales, 2002; Lomawaima, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2014; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006), it is fundamental that we shift the existing narrative to center narratives of survivance. Gerald Vizenor (Chippewa) defines *Indigenous*[18] *survivance* as "an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction" (2008, p. 1). Vizenor (2008, 2009) elaborates further on this theory, stating, "[s]urvivance is an active resistance and repudiation of dominance, obtrusive themes of tragedy, nihilism, and victimry (2008, p. 11). Essentially, Indigenous survivance is Indigenous peoples' refusal to accept the elimination, erasure, and destruction of their ways of knowing, being, and doing. It is the refusal to accept colonial governance and educating standards and the embracement of Indigenous peoples' continued strength, resilience, and survivance. The theory of Indigenous survivance allows Native peoples to center stories of refusal and survivance undertaken in this study.

[18] Taking into consideration that Indigenous peoples worldwide have been deeply impacted by colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling, the term Native has been replaced with Indigenous in efforts to recognize this shared history.

This study aimed to focus on the ways in which California Indians resisted and refused total assimilation into settler colonial society and how they have retained Indigenous knowledge transmission practices despite exposure to three waves of colonization. Vizenor states that "[t]he nature of survivance is unmistakable in [Native] stories, natural reason, remembrance, traditions, and customs and is observable in narrative resistance and personal attributes" (Vizenor, 2008, p. 1). While this refusal and resistance may be viewed as resilience, I believe that the root of this repudiation is Indigenous survivance as "survivance… is the action, condition, quality, and sentiments of the verb *survive* 'to remain alive or in existence,' to outlive, persevere within a suffix of survivancy" (Vizenor, 2008, p. 19) and "goes beyond the mere survival to acknowledge the dynamic and creative nature of Indigenous rhetoric" (Vizenor, 2008, p. 20). California Indians have survived three waves of colonial oppression by continuing our ways of knowing, being, and doing both openly and privately.

Application of Theoretical Frameworks

The settler colonialism and Indigenous survivance frameworks framed this study's data collection and analysis. Settler colonialism was utilized to interrogate archival documentation. As previously discussed, settler colonialism is "an inclusive, land-centred project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies… with a view of eliminating Indigenous societies" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 393). Wolfe's (2006) definition explains that settler colonialism is not simply a singular event occurring upon settler arrival and settlement. Instead, settler colonialism is a permanent and ongoing structure in colonial society. Thus, it was an appropriate lens to interrogate Spanish, Mexican, and American legislation and policies pertaining to colonial schooling practices. In addition, the settler colonialism framework allowed for the analysis of actions taken by settlers—through colonial schooling—to eliminate Indigenous peoples in their

efforts to acquire ownership and possession over Indigenous land through the logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006).

Furthermore, Indigenous survivance was utilized to frame oral history sessions. Existing literature on Indian boarding schools often discusses the inhumane conditions and treatment experienced by Native youth at institutions across the U.S. (Child, 1998; Lomawaima, 1994; Trafzer & Gilbert, 2012; Trafzer et al., 2006). Given the mistreatment of many Native youth in residential schools, their survival and agency is something to be honored and highlighted as it "accentuates the degree to which Indigenous peoples [in this case former boarding school students] and communities have retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity in resisting colonialism" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 146). This study's centering on Indigenous survivance challenges the colonial narrative regarding Indigenous schooling in California while advocating for social justice concerning missing histories of Indian education in the state.

Indigenous Education and Colonial Schooling

For over a century, literature on American Indian education has primarily been conveyed from a *colonial paradigm*. A *colonial paradigm* describes a subconscious and unchallenged set of perspectives or morals about particular practices as measured against settler colonial societal norms (Hipsher, 2008). Ignoring the notion that Indigenous Peoples maintained—and continue to uphold—formal and complex education systems, a majority of existing literature on Indian education begins with the execution of religious and federal schooling in the United States. In California, existing literature centers on the voices of school administrators, staff, and founders; Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. governments and agents; and California state and local leaders (Bahr, 2014; Gonzales, 2002; Harley, 1994, 1999; Keller, 2002; Rathbun, 2006).

In recent years—in movements led by Indigenous scholars—Indian education research has expanded to include narratives of boarding school survivors and descendants, grounding the field in Indigenous paradigms (Bauer, 2010; Child, 1998, 2018; Giago, 2006; Gilbert, 2010; Lara-Cooper, 2017; Lomawaima, 1994; D. Miranda, 2013; Stewart, 2018; Talaugon, 2017). Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) (2001, 2008) defines an *Indigenous paradigm* as an essential belief that *all* knowledge is relational. Fundamentally, knowledge does not belong to individuals. Instead, it belongs to all beings as a gift from Creator. Knowledge is not merely passed from teacher to student but is a series of interactions where knowledge is shared interchangeably. California Indian educational experiences—Indigenous and colonial—are engrained in relationships between Elders[19] and youth, tribes and mission founders/staff, vaqueros and rancho owners, students and churches, school officers and daily activities, and connections to the land and water that missions, ranchos, schools, churches, and settlers illegally occupied.

Indigenous Education

Since time immemorial, Indigenous Peoples have maintained rich and interconnected systems for educating youth.[20] Parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, extended family, and community members are all responsible for educating children through tribal histories (origin histories and influential moments and people), science (being in good relationship with all facets of the natural world), physical well-being and sportsmanship, protocol (i.e., respect for elders), providing for one's family, and spiritual training (DeJong, 1993; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Stewart, 2018, Talaugon, 2017). Indigenous knowledge is transmitted to youth through storytelling and applied learning methods (Trafzer et al., 2006). In essence, the axioms *it takes a*

[19] I have elected to capitalize all instances of the term *Elder* to demonstrate respect for the role that these individuals play in California Indian communities.

[20] Throughout this dissertation I speak about California Indian and Indigenous knowledges utilizing present tense to counter the practice of place Indigenous Peoples and their knowledge systems and structures in the past.

village and *learn by doing* are the epistemologies—the theories of how we attain knowledge or know a belief is true (S. Wilson, 2008)—employed by American Indians in educating youth. Indigenous knowledge systems are transmitted to children to ensure they have the information and skills vital for survival (Reyhner & Eder, 2004).

Indigenous education has traditionally been—and continues to be—transmitted through oral histories, spiritual practices, games, song and dance, and hands-on learning with the natural world. Methods center on teaching Native youth skills required for survival and success and to live in good relations with the world (Lara-Cooper, 2017). Moreover, Indigenous education practices are strictly followed to ensure the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Lomawaima (Mvskoke/Creek Nation) and McCarty (2006) explain that "Native theories and histories are expressed in accounts of creation, which we study as we would study any philosophy or science; they share a status as systems of thought, explanatory theories guiding human decision making over the centuries" (p. 23). Explicitly, Indigenous education theories provide the foundation for a moral and intellectual aptitude for examining relationships with the world, teaching Native Peoples how to critically assess interactions through abilities of observation, organization, explanation, adaptation, and strategizing (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Indigenous education is a multifaceted form of community-based teaching, learning, and research.

In addition, Indigenous education was grounded in relationality. Shawn Wilson (2008) defines *relationality* as the fusion of "relationships… from the past… the present, and… future. [They] form us, our world, our cosmos and our reality. We could not *be* without *being in relationship* with everything … Our reality, our ontology is the relationships" (p. 76). Unambiguously, Indigenous education teaches Native Peoples about our relationships with

others and place. Grounding education in relationships with place (i.e., ancestral homelands and places of origin or spiritual significance) and community inform Native Peoples' understandings of how we came to exist in this world and how to interact with each another appropriately. Unequivocally, it is through connections with community, culture, land, and water that Indigenous knowledge is transmitted.

Similar to Indigenous communities across the continent, education by California Indians was—and continues to be—transmitted to youth through oral histories (e.g., narratives of origin), games (e.g., sportsmanship, science, and mathematics), song and dance (e.g., migration, astronomy, and proper social interactions), basket weaving (e.g., chemistry, botany, and agriculture), and hunting and gathering (e.g., nutrition and providing for others) (Bauer, 2016; D. Miranda, 2013; Tamburro & Tamburro, 2014). Based on the relationality between youth, parents, grandparents, and tribal members, our knowledge transmission practices ensure the transference of knowledge to California Indian youth through intergenerational social interactions (Bauer, 2016; S. Wilson, 2008). Two ways California Indians conveyed and continue to share knowledge include oral narratives and songs.

Oral Narratives. For many Tribal Nations across the U.S. and globally, oral narratives[21] are an essential modality for teaching Indigenous youth about the origins and histories of our people. Comprised of oral histories and traditions, oral narratives are shared via stories and lessons where Elders share intergenerational knowledge with youth (Casper-Denman, 2013; E. Castillo, 2015). Oral narratives provide a (re)telling of a tribe's creation, beliefs, and culture while offering an opportunity for social interaction among family and tribal members—connecting listeners as a network with shared experiences, histories, and values. Thereby

[21] The terms oral narratives, oral histories, oral traditions, and stories will be used interchangeably to refer to the practice of imparting wisdom from one generation to the next through storytelling.

informing the epistemology through which we view the world (Casper-Denman, 2013; E. Castillo, 2015). In addition to imparting histories and knowledge, oral traditions reinforce kinship structures by emphasizing family lineages (Hackel, 2017).

According to Margaret Kovach (Plains Cree and Saulteaux) (2009), oral narratives are commonly delivered in two forms: 1) personal narratives, which describe stories of daily activities and experiences, and 2) teaching stories, which share narratives of creation, traditions, and proper behaviors and processes. Oral stories teach Native Peoples about our place in and with the world, are tribal specific and viewed from a tribe's worldview, grounded in a relationship-based approach, and a collaborative process where storytellers also learn from listeners (Kovach, 2009). Of oral histories and stories, JoAnn Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem) (2008) emphasizes that lessons found in stories are subjective, often reflecting the student's worldview, experience, and values. In addition, teachings delivered via oral histories are not always immediately apparent to students. Instead, lessons emerge when the recipient has gained the knowledge and experience necessary to understand (Archibald, 2008).

As with other Tribal Nations, California Indian oral histories are traditionally passed down from Elders to youth. Native youth are exposed to lessons from Elders regarding creation; ancestral lands and peoples; tribal customs, beliefs, and values; and the importance of relations with family, clan, and tribe, as well as with land, water, plants, and animals (Casper-Denman, 2013). Oral histories provide youth with complex understandings of our existence in relation to places of origin while also providing vital interpretations of the symbolism found in creation stories to ensure we are in good relations with others and the natural world (Archibald, 2008; Casper-Denman, 2013). Without vital knowledge from oral histories and traditions, California Indians would be unable to navigate our roles within our nations and families effectively.

Bird Songs. In addition to oral histories, California Indians utilize songs and dance to transmit tribal histories and knowledge. Traditionally known as bird songs, songs provide California Indians (and other Tribal Nations from Northern Mexico and Arizona) with oral histories via ceremonial and social music and dance. A rattle accompanies bird songs, usually made from a gourd or turtle shell, and—in some instances, coastal tribes use clapper sticks (Jaskoski & Apodaca, 1989). The use of rattles as a musical instrument is unique to California Indians and reflects the diverse ecology of our lands.

Bird songs' history and lasting impact on California Tribal Nations have not been widely explored in academic research. Existing literature by Apodaca and Jaskoski (1989) describes bird songs as "mythological songs that talk about the emergence of … first peoples onto the surface of the earth, [and] their travels around … California" (p. 1). Bird songs are central to California Indian knowledge systems, histories, creation, migration, and ways of knowing, being, and doing (Jaskoski & Apodaca, 1989). Our songs transmit stories of creation to tribes, describing the origins of the original inhabitants of the Southwest and how California Indians migrated from one village to the next.

The limited literature on California Indian oral narratives and bird songs creates difficulty in providing a thorough analysis of California Indian educational methods. Nevertheless, oral histories and songs in Indigenous education continue today. While many present-day California Indian storytellers and bird singers work to educate outsiders about traditional stories and songs through public speaking and documentaries, academic research remains absent. However, perceptions that transmission of bird songs and oral narratives in public venues are invalid environments for education perpetuates the colonial perspective that Indigenous knowledge systems continue to lack value and relevance. This dissertation aimed to challenge this type of

thinking to elevate Indigenous knowledge transmission practices that are often shared in public and communal settings.

Settler Colonial Schooling

The rich and robust systems of Indigenous education are often invisible or ignored by settlers. Perceiving American Indians as uncivilized, unintelligent, and unable to create complex structures or transmit knowledge to youth; settlers have historically—and sometimes presently--viewed Indigenous Peoples as bodies for labor, subjects to research, and obstacles to eliminate in their quest to gain access to and dominion over the land (Lomawaima, 1999; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Literature on colonial schooling discusses how settler knowledge is grounded in Euro-American traditions, values, and histories. This viewpoint deliberately disregards the immense value of Indigenous oral histories and culture, which emphasize the transmission and obtainment of knowledge through family, traditions, and cultural practices (Brayboy & Lomawaima, 2018; Lomawaima, 2014).

Colonial schooling emphasizes knowledge transmitted through books and manual labor and has been greatly influenced by Christian religions (Prucha, 1979; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Functioning under the goal of assimilating Native Peoples into mainstream settler colonial society, Indian boarding school educators provided Native youth with rudimentary levels of knowledge in reading, writing, arithmetic, and music (Adams, 1995; DeJong, 1993; Lomawaima, 1996; Stewart, 2018). Teachers and administrators emphasized the value of vocational trades so American Indian boys and girls could gain employment in low-income fields and oversee their own allotted land bases (Stewart, 2018; Trafzer et al., 2006). As Grande (2004) explains: “Indian education was never… about the desire to ‘civilize’ or even deculturalize a people, but rather… was a project designed to colonize Indian minds as a means of gaining access to Indian labor,

land, and resources" (p. 19). Effectively, colonial schooling disconnected Native peoples from Tribal Nations and ancestral territories in settlers' efforts to gain access to and ownership of Indigenous lands (Grande, 2004; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

The following sections discuss the methods enacted by settlers to assimilate Native Peoples into mainstream Spanish, Mexican, and Euro-American society through colonial schooling while systematically disconnecting Indigenous Peoples from traditional education methods and knowledge systems. First, methods of instruction found within the Spanish missions of California will be examined, focusing on religious and musical education as tools of assimilation and elimination. Second, religious schooling in the U.S. will be presented, highlighting religious instruction primarily overseen by Protestant and Catholic churches, the primary form of education for Native peoples between 1771 and 1878 (DeJong, 1993; Prucha, 1979). Third, a brief discussion on schooling in California during Mexican secularization[22] will be discussed, focusing on the absence of literature. Thereafter, federal Indian boarding schools will be addressed.

The Spanish Missions of California. The arrival of European settlers in western and eastern North America drastically changed the ways American Indians educated youth. As previously mentioned, settlers misguidedly assumed that Native Peoples did not maintain formal schooling systems, governments, and religion and lacked methods of transmitting wisdom and advanced knowledge (Trafzer et al., 2006). Due to their lack of understanding of California Indian education systems and structures, settlers believed that Indigenous peoples needed to be civilized through exposure to settler customs and norms. Education in the missions centered

[22] Mexican secularization is the period when the Spanish missions were divided into Mexican ranchos. Throughout this proposal, the terms secularization and ranchos will be used interchangeably to refer to this time period.

around vocational trades through forced labor, religious conversion (through doctrine and confesionario), and replacement of Indigenous ways of life with Spanish customs.

Vocational Training & Trades. Vocational training was separated by gender (Sepulveda, 2018). Men were assigned vocational trades that offered farming and ranching skills—the primary monetary industry of the missions (Hurtado, 1990). Men were trained explicitly in Spanish vocations, such as learning how to craft furniture (e.g., chairs, tables, cabinets, etc.), which were then placed in mission chapels and residential areas for use by padres and parishioners (E. Castillo, 2015). Likewise, men were introduced to trades of brickmaking, blacksmithing, silversmithing, and leatherwork. Utilizing these trades to create equestrian gear and building material, again—to be used within the missions and with the *gente de razon*[23] in the local community (E. Castillo, 2015; G. E. Miranda, 1988). California Indian men were also introduced to animal husbandry, becoming the only Indians permitted to ride horses as they had become skilled vaqueros (E. Castillo, 2015)—a skill that would later be utilized by California Indians while working on Mexican ranchos. Overall, Native men were exposed to trades that could elevate their status within the Spanish caste system. Meanwhile, California Indian women were exposed to skills Spanish society believed to be *women's work*, such as cooking, cleaning, sewing, weaving, and child-rearing (E. Castillo, 2015; E. D. Castillo, 1994). The separation of work by gender and the elevated status for men that came with being assigned specific trades created a societal hierarchy between California Indian men and women that conflicted with Indigenous relationality and the roles women traditionally held as matrilineal leaders in their families and Tribal Nations (Casper-Denman, 2013; E. D. Castillo, 1994; Hurtado, 1990; Sandos, 2004; Sepulveda, 2018).

[23] California Indians or Spanish citizens who had been baptized and fully assimilated into Catholic Spanish society.

Catholic Doctrine. In addition to training in Spanish vocations, California Indians received schooling through forced induction into the Catholic doctrine. Mission padres were reluctant to introduce California Indians to Spanish reading, writing, and mathematics (E. Castillo, 2015). Padres believed educating neophytes[24] would result in the realization that they (Indians) were free from permanently residing at the missions, as nowhere in the Catholic doctrine did it state residency was required to be *good Catholics* (E. Castillo, 2015). Nevertheless, padres did provide California Indians with enough knowledge of Catholicism to permit them to be baptized in the Church (E. Castillo, 2015). By prioritizing religious schooling, mission padres believed California Indians would become loyal members of Spanish Catholic society, creating an environment where Indians would spend the remainder of their lives within mission lands and in service to the Catholic Church.

Catholic doctrine was presented through catechism, confesionario, and music. Catechism introduced Indians to the *Holy Trinity* (God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit/Ghost) and the *Ten Commandments* (Sandos, 2004). The Catholic Church's belief that only one true God existed conflicted with California Indian values of relationality and our belief all things are equal and connected. Furthermore, the enforcement of the Church's hierarchy can be seen in the restructuring of California Indian households to reflect the Catholic and Spanish social order and caste systems. The hierarchy was applied to Native families by teaching men they were the head of their newly Catholic households, thereby superior to women—who, in turn, were to be subservient to their husbands (Sandos, 2004). This social structure greatly conflicted with California Indians' social order as, prior to invasion, women held positions of power as leaders,

[24] Unbaptized California Indians.

and many California tribes were matriarchal communities (E. D. Castillo, 1994; Sepulveda, 2018).

Confesionario was another tool employed by padres to forcefully disconnect California Indians from traditional ways of life and spirituality. Believing Indigenous spirituality and ways of living to be the work of Satan, mission padres utilized the ten commandments to teach California Indians about the Catholic Church's views of acceptable behaviors. Sandos (2004) explains that the confesionario consisted of mission padres taking Indians through each commandment, providing detailed examples of violations for each decree. Padres would conduct thorough investigations to provoke confessants to admit to engaging in or informing on others' transgressions against the commandments (Sandos, 2004). Through confesionario, padres believed they were teaching Indians the value of accountability to Christian doctrine, the Catholic faith, and Spanish society, thereby altering and disconnecting California Indians from their duty and responsibility to their family, tribes, and Creator.

Music and Church Hymns. In addition to catechism and confesionario, mission padres utilized music as a tool to reinforce Catholic dogma. Music was a central aspect of the Catholic mass, providing padres with an opportunity to use California Indian musicality to learn traditional hymns (Sandos, 2004). Padres believed people with an *undeveloped* musical background could be coached to learn Catholic and Spanish music (Sandos, 2004). Early exposure to California Indian bird songs assisted padres in realizing that California Indians had an ear for music through exposure to their songs (Sandos, 2004). As previously discussed, many California Indian songs are ceremonial and social songs—taught through an applied learning approach—and central to California Indian knowledge systems and histories regarding creation, migration, and ways of knowing, being, and doing (Jaskoski & Apodaca, 1989).

While padres failed to recognize the complexity and wealth of knowledge found in California Indians' songs, they did see similarities in the melodies of bird songs and church hymns. Capitalizing on the similarities, mission padres taught California Indians the Church's music by having men, women, and children mimic hand gestures, pitches, and lyrics, believing that repetition reinforced memorization (Sandos, 2004). Musical training began by teaching youth how to sing prayers, where upon successful memorization, they were presented to sing to the parish and rewarded with sweets (Sandos, 2004). Moreover, padres used the family unit and Tribal Nation values to encourage Native youth and parents to sing at home, reinforcing the Catholic faith—through music—at home. The use of music—a tradition of great importance to California Indian knowledge, spirituality, and social systems—as a tool for forced conversation was mission padres' strategic and manipulative plan to successfully disrupt and dismantle California Indians' spiritually, mentally, emotionally, and physically. Thereby ensuring their loyalty to the Church for generations (Sandos, 2004).

Religious Schooling. In reviewing Indian education literature, it is evident that providing American Indians with an *education* that would elevate them to the equal status of Euro-Americans was not the goal of churches or the U.S. government. Research reveals religious organizations and the federal government consistently failed to offer American Indians the educational means to be successful or gain status in colonial society and institutions of education. Furthermore, research indicates that the U.S. government willfully passed the duty of schooling onto religious establishments, shirking their treaty obligations and commitments (Prucha, 1979; Stewart, 2018). Because the worldviews of American Indians were not taken into consideration by political and religious representatives informing legislative policies on Indian education, schooling targeting Native peoples was administered and enforced in ways that

conflicted with Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies of learning; creating an environment where Native students were doomed to fail (L. T. Smith, 2012; S. Wilson, 2008). The following section briefly examines colonial schooling methods enacted during the American religious schooling era, which occurred concurrently with the latter part of the mission era.

In 1819, the Fifteenth Congress of the United States approved the *Indian Civilization Act* (ICA), which sanctioned Protestant and Catholic churches and missionaries to oversee the schooling and assimilation of American Indian youth (Trafzer et al., 2006). Through the ICA, the federal government provided religious organizations and individuals with a discretionary budget of $10,000 a year[25] to reside among Tribal Nations to supply schooling to Native Peoples (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Despite being afforded substantial funding, Protestant and Catholic missionaries' primary goal was not to educate Native Peoples but to Christianize them through exposure to teachings from their respective religious factions, thereby assimilating Natives Peoples into Christian society.

Missionaries enacted their plans by separating Native youth from their parents, grandparents, and extended families (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). It was predicted that removing Native children from their homes would sever familial bonds and prevent the transmission of Indigenous knowledge systems. Thus, constructing an atmosphere in which Native youth would consent to the rules and values of the Christian Euro-American lifestyle. Limited literature on academic and vocational instruction methods introduced to American Indians during the religious schooling era is available. There was a complete absence of literature on California Indians during this time because the lands that became California remained under the authority of the Spanish crown and later Mexico. The lack of literature poses the possibility of future

[25] Approximately valued at $326,163 in 2022.

archival research and analysis to determine specific methods used by churches and missionaries during this period and whether they were similar to other eras. Furthermore, additional research connecting religious schooling in the U.S. to the Spanish mission system in California could offer valuable insight into how each colonial power (Spain, Mexico, and the U.S.) built off the previous nation to continue the genocide of California Indians.

The Mexican Rancho Era in California. In 1833—twelve years after Mexico gained its independence from Spain, the *Mexican Secularization Act* (MSA) was authorized by the Mexican government, resulting in a shift in oversight over California Indians from Spanish padres at the missions to representatives of the Mexican government and churches (Salomon, 2007). Under Mexican supervision, the purpose of educating California Indians shifted during the rancho era, changing from conversion to Christianity to imparting to Indigenous Peoples the value of land ownership (Hutchinson, 1965; MacDonald & Nilles, 2007). Mexican officials believed vocational instruction was necessary for California Indians to learn to work on ranchos and presidios, a vital aspect of becoming a citizen of the newly formed nation (Hutchinson, 1965; MacDonald & Nilles, 2007).

California Indian education during Mexican secularization is an under-researched area of colonial schooling. Existing literature primarily discusses government legislation that provided funding for education and guidelines for the strict curriculum that newly formed Mexican schools would have to adhere to (Hutchinson, 1965; MacDonald & Nilles, 2007). Lacking from the literature are specific schooling methods utilized by government officials and representatives to educate California Indians.

American Federal Boarding Schools. In the United States, Indian boarding schools were created to assimilate Native youth into mainstream American society as “white Americans

expect[ed] that people of color should be 'integrated into White society and culture'" (Singleton, 2014, p. 26). Nevertheless, they were "not designed to educate students of color [i.e., American Indians]" (Singleton, 2014, p. 5). According to Landson-Billings (2006), colonial education "began with mission schools to convert and use Indian labor…boarding schools were developed…to 'kill the Indian…to save the man.' This strategy of deliberate and forced assimilation created a group of people…who belonged nowhere" (p. 5). Fundamentally, federal Indian boarding schools were intentionally designed to disrupt and destroy Indigenous knowledge systems and structures to disconnect Native Peoples from traditional ways of life, thereby erasing their perspectives and voices.

In 1879, at the behest of Captain Richard Henry Pratt, the 46th United States Congress approved the establishment of the first government-run, off-reservation Indian boarding school, Carlisle Indian Industrial School[26] (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Carlisle's approach to schooling American Indians differed from methods found in religious sects during the religious schooling era in that the institution operated like a military school. Emphasis on religious doctrine shifted to vocational training. Pratt believed in creating the *best future* possible for American Indian youth, "…all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man" (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Assimilation of American Indian children into American society was regarded as a means of *rescuing* youth from a life of being *less than human* (Adams, 1995). Pratt advocated eliminating all things connecting Native youth to their tribal identities and knowledge systems. Purposely, Native youth were removed from their parents, homes, and communities; their hair was sheared short; traditional clothing was replaced with military-style uniforms; and the use of ancestral languages, ceremonies, and cultural practices was stringently

[26] Carlisle Indian Industrial School was located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

prohibited (Adams, 1995; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Pratt justified these restrictions by asserting that adherence to white American standards would ensure Native youth could intermarry with Euro-Americans and effortlessly assimilate into settler colonial society (Adams, 1995; DeJong, 1993; Reyhner & Eder, 2004).

In actuality, religious and federal Indian boarding schools acted as instruments of forced assimilation and elimination and were part of the colonial process of separating Native youth from their connections to culture, community, and land as core values (Grande, 2004; Lomawaima, 1994; L. T. Smith, 2012). Removal of Native youth from ancestral territories irrevocably damaged relationships with family, knowledge systems, social and ceremonial traditions, spirituality, and the land. This disruption and disconnection allowed for the imposition of mainstream settler colonial society's knowledge, culture, religion, and values. In addition, the severance of Indigenous Peoples' relationship to—and with—the land allowed settlers to seize our lands as we often lost the knowledge systems that the traditional knowledge, wisdom, worldview, and proficiency required to steward our ancestral territories.

Curriculum. The daily curriculum at federal Indian boarding schools was divided into two segments: 1) academic education and 2) vocational instruction (Adams, 1995; Lomawaima, 1999; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Native students were required to spend half their day focusing on academic schooling, followed by exposure to vocational instruction facilitated through participation in the institution's daily operations (Adams, 1995; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Native boys were assigned vocational training focused on skills such as agriculture, while girls were given household tasks such as cooking and laundering (Lomawaima, 1993). Like the Spanish missions and early U.S. religious schools, federal Indian boarding schools exploited Native youth as free labor to maintain school facilities.

The curriculum delivered to Indian youth often only provided lessons to the eighth grade and did not prepare them to seek further education (Adams, 1995). Instead, federal schools provided youth with just enough intellect so they could become helpful laborers in setter colonial society (DeJong, 1993; Stewart, 2018). This practice ensured youth would no longer be active members of their Tribal Nations due to severing their connections to culture, family, and land and preventing them from obtaining the Indigenous knowledge that had sustained their communities since time immemorial. Nevertheless, many Native students utilized colonial schooling to reinforce their identities as American Indians (Trafzer et al., 2006). Bearing in mind the erosion of Native identity—and experiences of violent physical, mental, and emotional abuses—many Native youths used their negative experiences as motivation to work towards the preservation of Indigenous culture, identity, communities, and languages (Trafzer et al., 2006). In enacting agency, these youth preserved Native ways for future generations to reclaim in a time when it was safe for Indigenous tribes and peoples (A. Smith, 2004; Stewart, 2018).

Mission Indian Boarding Schools

Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS) history is a narrative known primarily to survivors and descendants of the institution. As previously stated, only three individuals—R. Bruce Harley (1994, 1999), Tanya Rathbun (2006), and me[27] (Kelly Leah Stewart, Tongva/Luiseño) (2018)—have completed extensive research on the institution. Research conducted by Harley[28] situated narratives of SBIIS within a Eurocentric lens, discussing the institution's founding through centering perspectives of school founders, administrators, staff,

[27] I am the first California Indian and descendant of St. Boniface Indian Industrial School survivors to conduct academic research on the institution.

[28] It should be noted that R. Bruce Harley conducted his research under the direction and financial support of the Catholic Church. This resulted in a narrative of the school that favored the Catholic Church and failed to shed light on the trauma endured by Native youth.

and the Catholic Church, excluding vital narratives from California Indian students (Harley, 1994, 1999). Rathbun's work began to incorporate Indigenous voices but failed to examine the intergenerational legacy of SBIIS that continues to impact survivors and descendants of former students today (Rathbun, 2006). My previous research on the institution began discussing the school's intergenerational legacy. However, it failed to situate the historical narrative within California (Stewart, 2018). Moreover, all three scholars did not connect SBIIS to the mission and rancho periods, which is of utmost importance as SBIIS's policies and procedures were heavily influenced by Spanish and Mexican systems and structures.

The following section briefly examines existing SBIIS research by Harley, Rathbun, and Stewart to examine colonial schooling methods utilized at the institution. Daily operations of SBIIS afford the opportunity to explore the schooling experiences of California Indians who attended the institution. Much of the existing research on SBIIS provides narratives from the Catholic Church; the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM); founders, superintendents, administrators, and school staff, and limited narratives from former students; resulting in the absence of California Indian voices and creating a one-sided portrayal of the institution. The history of SBIIS will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

The Sequel to the Missions. St. Boniface differed from off-reservation federal Indian boarding schools in that it was located in close proximity to Southern California Indian reservations and tribal communities.[29] In addition, SBIIS emphasized the Catholic faith—emulating the missions—in their schooling methods. According to Rathbun (2006), SBIIS administrators took great care to ensure that Catholic doctrine was reflected in every activity offered at the institution. Implementation of doctrine was achieved through the assignment of

[29] It should be noted that not all California Indians whose youth attended St. Boniface resided on reservations.

Benedictine and Franciscan priests and holy sisters, which created an environment where SBIIS retained a close link to the missions through mirroring schooling and vocational training methods and sharing the goal of creating *good Catholics* (Stewart, 2018). Father Justin Deutsch, an SBIIS superintendent, described the school's connection to the missions stating:

> They [SBIIS students] are the sons and daughters of the Indians [of the missions] whom good Father Junipero Serra…brought the light of the Faith and the blessings of civilization [through religious doctrine]. Rescued from heathendom and [forcefully] converted to Christianity, taught and trained [through indoctrination and enslavement] in suitable industries [colonial trades] to an honest happy livelihood [according to colonial society]. Here [at SBIIS], the work of the old missions, although on a much smaller scale, is continued. (Deutsch, 1925, p. 4)

Deutsch clearly outlines the intent of SBIIS—and through them, the Catholic Church—to continue the policies and procedures for oversight of California Indians that originated in the missions. Mission schools, such as Fort Yuma, St. Anthony's,[30] and SBIIS, were created to continue the unfinished work of the missions and the Catholic Church.

Catholic Methods for Schooling California Indians at St. Boniface. A typical school day consisted of two segments: religious schooling and vocational avocations. The Catholic faith was an essential part of the daily life of students. Students were expected to pray on demand at various moments throughout the school day, including during meals and class (Rathbun, 2006). Furthermore, each day began and ended with mass, where students were sequestered to the school chapel, where they recited prayers—such as the rosary—synchronously (Harley, 1999). Emphasis on religious schooling created an environment where youth did not receive the quality schooling that school administrators and staff had promised—to their parents—they would receive. Federally-run residential schools, such as Sherman Indian School, maintained a

[30] Fort Yuma and St. Anthony's were Catholic-run Indian boarding schools located in Yuma and San Diego, California respectively. There is limited research on these institution due to their short tenure.

curriculum that provided lessons on industrial trades and academics without the intrusion of religious indoctrination (Rathbun, 2006). SBIIS, on the other hand, focused on promoting Catholicism to prevent Native youth from continuing the transmission of Indigenous spiritual knowledge through traditional ceremonies because many school administrators believed them to be detrimental to the survival of California Indians (Rathbun, 2006). The emphasis on religious schooling, as opposed to academic lessons, can lead one to conclude knowledge received by youth was extremely limited and aimed to continue the subjugation of California Indian peoples.

Like the mission system and Indian schools across the nation, SBIIS implemented forced labor as a means of schooling California Indian youth in vocational trades (Rathbun, 2006; Stewart, 2018). Boys worked in the school's gardens, tending to agriculture and animals, while girls were assigned domestic tasks such as working in the kitchens, sewing, making lace, and laundry (Harley, 1999). Separating genders—an essential practice of the missions—created an estrangement between male and female relatives, resulting in a disconnection among siblings and cousins, creating fractures in kinship structures (Sepulveda, 2018; Stewart, 2018). Emulating the missions' procedures of vocational trades, students were charged with maintaining school facilities, cleaning clothing and dishes, tending to and gathering agricultural goods, caring for farm animals, and preparing meals.

Goods and services (i.e., fruits and vegetables grown, butter churned, performances by the school band, etc.) provided by students through their vocational avocations were often used by the church and school administrators and staff or marketed to the surrounding Banning and Riverside communities in efforts to raise supplementary funding for the school (Stewart, 2018). Sadly, students were unable to revel in the fruits of their labor. Manual labor and estrangement from their kin hindered the spirits of Native youth residing at SBIIS (Stewart, 2018). This

disconnect often resulted in disobedience expressed by running away, refusing to comply with assigned avocations, or participating in activities (Rathbun, 2006; Stewart, 2018). Overall, literature on SBIIS describes similar—if not identical— religious conversation methods as the Spanish missions and schooling methods as federal Indian boarding schools. Prioritization of religious schooling and vocational trades resulted in California Indian youth receiving a mediocre *education* that would not help them to advance in settler colonial society.

Conclusion

Despite attempts to expand research, existing literature on California Indian education and schooling continues to fixate on federally operated Indian boarding schools. Research continuously neglects to examine colonial methods of instruction employed by Spanish and Mexican régimes. Furthermore, the literature fails to connect mission schooling to the larger Indian education narrative of the United States.[31] Research on the missions continues to view religious indoctrination and vocational training solely as conversion techniques to Christianity. Thereby failing to examine how these deliberate processes were utilized to replace Indigenous knowledge systems and processes with settler colonial structures; and are a form of colonial schooling. Nevertheless, discussion of Indian education during the mission period is necessary as the degeneration of Indigenous knowledge systems began upon Spanish invasion and with the removal of California Indians from their families and ancestral territories.

Additionally, there remains an absence of literature describing specific methods of education introduced during the religious education and Mexican rancho eras. Specifically, the literature indicates assimilation through religious indoctrination and forced labor—that began in the Spanish missions—continued into the Mexican rancho period. However, the lack of research

[31] This is due to California gaining statehood in 1850.

also poses whether settlers utilized similar or distinctive schooling and vocational training methods on Mexican ranchos. Notwithstanding differences in cultural norms and societal values, agencies overseeing California Indian schooling all maintained the same goal: *assimilate* and *eliminate*. This was achieved by subjecting Native youth to Christianity and colonial schooling as a means of salvation by eliminating indigeneity. Each colonial régime operated under processes of separating California Indians from tribal customs, ancestral lands, and kin so that settlers could gain access to and ownership over Indigenous bodies, land, water, and natural resources. Consequently, churches, governments, and landowners forced California Indians to learn colonial trades through indentured servitude, resulting in substantial monetary and societal gain by profiting off California Indian bodies and land.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Chapter one provided an overview of various initiatives and congressional legislation—the Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative (FIBSI), the California Truth and Healing Council (CTHC), S.2907 and H.R. 5444 Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies (THCIBSP) Act, albeit all in early planning stages—that aim to examine the history of Indian education. The chapter also summarized the purpose of this study, methodology, limitations, and contributions and significance. Chapter two, guided by settler colonial theory, provided an overview of existing literature on the history of California Indian education from time immemorial through the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and U.S. Indian boarding school periods, as well as an overview of theoretical frameworks that framed this study. The subsequent chapter provides an overview of the study's phenomenological study design.

This study intended to examine the intergenerational legacy of California Indians who are survivors or descendants of survivors of Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools formerly located in Southern California. First, I discuss my positionality in connection to the study and participant sample. Next, I briefly overview the paradigmatic lenses employed in this study. Afterward, I offer an overview of the research design, including research questions, application of theoretical frameworks (settler colonialism and Indigenous survivance), methodology, and data collection methods. Thereafter, I provide an overview of data analysis processes. Finally, I conclude by examining the study's limitations and how I addressed these limitations.

Positionality and Paradigmatic Stance

Before discussing the methodology and methods utilized in this study, it is important to address my positionality and paradigmatic stances. Probst and Berenson refer to this process as *reflexivity*, "which is how the researcher affects and is affected by the research process" (Probst

& Berenson, 2014, as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Through reflexivity, researchers elucidate any biases or assumptions about the research they will engage in (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Like many Indigenous people, I have spent most of my life battling an immense sense of sadness and guilt over believing that I did not maintain connections to my indigeneity. While I have spent my entire life living, working, and attending various higher education institutions throughout my ancestral homelands, I grew up holding the false belief that I did not have a connection to my Tongva and Payómkawish heritage. Over the years, as I have researched and traced my family's lineage, I realized that my family's story and legacy are intimately intertwined with the colonization of California by Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial powers. My intimate relationship with and deep understanding of the history of California, both pre-invasion and colonial, is a driving force in this research and shapes the ways in which I collect and analyze data. The following section details my positionality in relation to this study as well as the paradigmatic lenses through which I collected and analyzed data.

Reclaiming My Indigeneity

I am the second-born daughter of Dolores Maria Gonzales-Aguila (Tongva, Payómkawish, and Tohono O'odham) and Lane Robert Stewart (Scottish and English), the granddaughter of Carmelita Marylouise Gonzales (Tongva, Payómkawish, Tohono O'odham) and Calistro Rodriguez Aguila (Azteca), the great-granddaughter of Ramona Ballesteros (Tohono O'odham) and Ramon Leudovicus "Louis Florian" Gonzales (Tongva and Payómkawish), and great-great-granddaughter of Maria Francesca Lisalde (Tongva and Payómkawish) and Loretto Gonzales (Ipai). Through my maternal lineage, I descend from the original inhabitants of Southern California,[32] the land I call home, and carry the blood and legacy

[32] Specifically, the original peoples of Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Orange, Riverside, and North San Diego counties.

of the survivors of the state and settler's cataclysmic genocide against our people. Many of my Ancestors built the missions while enslaved by Spanish settlers and Catholic padres and missionaries. They worked tirelessly on Mexican ranchos in our ancestral territories while strategically intermarrying with settlers in efforts to hide our Indigenous identity and maintain stewardship over our homelands. Several were among the first students to attend the Catholic-run mission Indian boarding school, Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School. Despite knowing this history and lineage, I spent most of my life unnecessarily apologizing for rejecting my Tongva and Payómkawish heritage in my youth—holding the belief that I was not worthy of carrying our traditional knowledge systems and history. As I have grown—especially as an Indigenous scholar—I learned that my Ancestors, nor I, are responsible for our theft of culture or land.

Colonial nations—specifically Spain, Mexico, and the United States—devised and enacted legislation and processes intended to sever our ties to our indigeneity so they may lay claim to our bodies, lands, and waters. By way of their settlers and missionaries, Spain enslaved California Indians at the missions—forcing Indigenous men, women, and children to build their everlasting structures and tend to the land (E. Castillo, 2015; E. D. Castillo, 1994; Hackel, 2017; Hardwick, 2015; Hurtado, 1990; Jackson & Castillo, 1995; Lake, 2006; McGarry, 1950; Sandos, 2004). Upon gaining independence from Spain, Mexico took our lands and divided them into ranchos, ravaging the land with their cattle and diverting our sacred waters for their crops (Heizer, 1974; Hyslop, 2012; Mathes & Brigandi, 2018; Phillips, 2014; Rawls, 1984; Stanley, 1997; B. D. Wilson, 1995). The United States and its settlers sought control over California to access our natural resources—particularly gold and our fertile soils (Madley, 2016). Settlers invading California put bounties on our heads, receiving payment from the state, which was later reimbursed by the U.S. government (Madley, 2016). Furthermore, the U.S. forcefully and

violently took Native youth from their parents, families, and tribal communities to boarding schools, forcing colonial schooling onto Indigenous children (Adams, 1988, 1995; Brayboy & Lomawaima, 2018; DeJong, 1993; Lomawaima, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2014; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Reyhner & Eder 2004; Trafzer et al., 2006).

These practices continued well into the education system's policies and procedures of the late 20th century when I was a child—and continue today in all levels of the education system—but have taken on different forms. Throughout my educational journey, I experienced teachers sharing stories that spoke of the *extinction* of my Tongva Ancestors. These educators provided lessons depicting Native Peoples as *people of the past*. My teachers' understandings and perceptions of the Indigenous peoples of California greatly conflicted with my understanding that California Indians still existed and that I was proof of our existence. The local high school—and I would argue the city of La Puente—took great pride in the institution's narrative of being built on an Indian burial ground. They believed—and continue to believe—that they honored Native Peoples by using a Plains Indian mascot named Tommy Tomahawk and through their purported emulation of the *Warrior Spirit* values of the local Tribal Nation. Students, faculty, and staff demonstrated their pride by performing tomahawk chop hand gestures and war cries during pep rallies and football games. They failed to recognize that the local tribal community—the Tongva, my people—did not look like Plains Indians, nor did we appreciate their mockery of our culture and the desecration of our sacred sites. Sharing the true stories of the Tongva of 'Ahwiigna would have required La Puente High School—as well as the city of La Puente and its residents—to examine their complacency and complicity in the erasure of our people, something that students, faculty, staff, administrators, and many residents still refuse to do today.

A Call to Honor My Ancestors

While most researchers choose their topic, my topic chose me. Over the years, multiple opportunities presented themselves for exploring the experiences of Southern California Indians. I was assigned an ancestry project requiring I learn about my California Indian Ancestors in high school. During my undergraduate years at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, I was encouraged by a professor and group mates to talk to my grandmother about her experiences attending Saint Boniface. As a graduate student attending the University of California, Los Angeles, I was encouraged to expand my desire to examine American Indian social service programs' impact on reclaiming indigeneity to explore the root causes of why such programs existed.[33] As I wrote my master's thesis, I relocated from the Greater Los Angeles area to Redlands, California—a few miles from my family's former ranch in Saahatapa—known today as San Timoteo Canyon. During this time, as I went about my school, work, and personal duties, I had opportunities to visit sites where my great-grandparents, grandmother, aunts, uncles, cousins, and various generations of my family had lived, attended school, and worked. I visited my Ancestors buried at the former grounds of Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School and located the former sites of two of my family's ranches. On a biweekly basis, I drove by Hillside Cemetery, where my great-great-grandparents were laid to rest in unmarked graves without acknowledgment of their Indigenous heritage. Additionally, I met Elders familiar with my family and our ranches in Saahatapa, who further confirmed many of my family's stories.

These experiences showed me that I had—and continue to hold—profound connections to my Indigenous roots and the land that has been our home since time immemorial. As I retraced my Ancestors' footsteps and listened to stories from Elders, I (re)awakened my

[33] i.e., Because of colonial schooling practices that emphasized assimilation and elimination of Indigenous knowledge, governance, and value systems.

relationships—connections that I unknowingly carried deep within myself—to my Ancestors and our homelands. I learned that my relationships with my Ancestors and our land were always woven into my identity as a Tongva and Payómkawish woman, and they were patiently waiting for me to have the knowledge and experience to embrace them. Furthermore, these lessons demonstrated that colonial nations' attempts to sever California Indians' ties to family, knowledge systems, culture, and the land ultimately failed and strengthened our relationships. Nearly 500 years after the first Spanish settlers set foot in California, *we are still here*! We continue to practice our knowledge systems, rejecting colonial nations' attempts to erase our existence. Thus, once again, Creator and my Ancestors led me to the next phase of this research—the study undertaken in this dissertation proposal.

While I have come to understand that California Indians—specifically my Ancestors—never rejected their indigeneity and instead hid and protected our Indigenous knowledge systems, additional research is needed in the academy to understand the unique experiences and relationships that we have with colonial systems of schooling—such as Indian boarding schools. This study offered an opportunity to (re)member the experiences of SBIIS survivors and their descendants, within and outside of my family, through the collection of oral histories. Oral histories of SBIIS survivors via their descendants provided insight into how California Indians refused and resisted assimilation into settler colonial society and how we have continued to retain, adapt, revitalize, and transmit our knowledge system practices.

Constructivist Paradigm

Because this study aimed to make meaning of lived experiences, a *constructivist paradigm* was applied to data collection and analysis. Adom et al. (2016) define a *constructivist paradigm* as "an approach that asserts that people construct their understanding and knowledge

of the world through experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences" (p. 2). In other words, constructivists believe that individuals make meaning through their lived experiences and reflecting on said experiences. Furthermore, the constructivist paradigm "seeks to understand a phenomenon under study from the experiences or angles of the participants" (Adom et al., 2016, p. 4), where "the researcher constructs meanings from the phenomena under study through his own experiences and that of the participants in the study" (Adom et al., 2016, p. 4). The constructivist paradigm allows participants to reflect on their knowledge and meaning-making processes. At the same time, the researcher learns from their participants and their own lived experiences of co-constructing knowledge with participants.

Adom et al. (2016) explain that "studies revolving around life histories or life story of renowned personalities in communities as well as the oral history of a clan, ethnic society can be perfectly grounded in the constructivist paradigm" (p. 7). This study utilized semi-structured oral history sessions and a review of archival documents for data collection. Thus, the constructivist paradigm was complementary to the research undertaken because it focused on participants' lives and experiences—and that of their Ancestors—with the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and Catholic-run Indian boarding schools. It asked participants to construct meaning from those experiences.

The constructivist paradigm also "stresses the inevitable link between knowledge and power, particularly in the political sense that some knowledge is privileged and some of subjugated" and "that truth and reality are inevitably intertwined with social context and meaning and that values should be examined in that light" (Allen, 1994, p. 33). Viewing data through the social context is of particular relevance as this study intended to examine how colonizers demanded Native Peoples to assimilate into settler colonial society to dismantle

Indigenous knowledge and governance systems to establish power structures where settlers were seen as superior. Moreover, this study aimed to center California Indians' understandings and reflections on colonial schooling as viewed through the lens of Indigenous knowledge systems and structures. As such, collecting and analyzing data through lenses centered on how Indigenous peoples—specifically California Indians—construct meaning of their lived experiences in Indigenous and settler colonial societies was vital.

Indigenous Research Paradigm

To conduct research that honors Indigenous voices and experiences, the use of colonial research methods and paradigms needed to be challenged, modified, and discarded. A *colonial paradigm* "refers to the often subconscious and normally unexamined set of values and beliefs about particular… practices based on the conformity of these practices to dominant Western values" (Hipsher, 2008, p. 1). Furthermore, Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) explains that:

> Research paradigms are labels that are used to identify sets of underlying beliefs or assumptions upon which research is based…Paradigms are thus broad principles that provide a framework for research…they are based upon theory and are thus intrinsically value laden. (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 33)

In other words, research paradigms provide Indigenous researchers with a framework through which we collect data and analyze our findings.

Settler colonial society has set expectations that research necessitates objectivity, demanding researchers abandon multiple facets of their identity (e.g., emotions, morals, values, kinship relationships, and personal connections to research topics) (Emerson et al., 2011; Peshkin, 1988, 2000; S. Wilson, 2008). This view of objectivity creates a restricted lens where researchers examine individual aspects of a topic rather than surveying dynamic and complex connections—connections often essential to understanding Indigenous knowledge systems and worldviews (Emerson et al., 2011; Peshkin, 1988, 2000; S. Wilson, 2008). As colonial research

paradigms have been—and continue—to be damaging to Indigenous communities (L. T. Smith, 2012), I aimed to ground my research in an *Indigenous research paradigm*. S. Wilson (2008) defines an *Indigenous research paradigm* as "research that follows an ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology that is Indigenous" (p. 38).

As such, the analysis of literature, archival data, and oral histories collected in this study was grounded in a *Critical Indigenous Research Methodology* (CIRM) (Brayboy et al., 2012; L. T. Smith, 2012; S. Wilson, 2008) and an Indigenous research paradigm (S. Wilson, 2008). This study centered counter stories/narratives (Brayboy, 2006; Zamudio et al., 2011), storywork (Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2009), and four of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (Ngāti Awa/Ngāti Porou iwi) *Twenty-five Indigenous Projects*—storytelling, remembering, claiming, and celebrating survival (i.e., survivance) (L. T. Smith, 2012). Brayboy et al. (2012) define CIRM as "an overarching line of thinking about methods and philosophies, [that] is rooted in indigenous knowledge systems, is anticolonial, and is distinctly focused on the needs of communities" (p. 423). For purposes of this study and in alignment with a CIRM framework, this research was grounded in "indigenous worldviews, values, beliefs, and traditions" (Brayboy et al., 2012). In addition, the recounting of oral histories—to ensure the elevation of California Indian voices—is told from a storyteller's perspective (Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2009).

Research Design & Methods

The following phenomenological study aimed to fill gaps in previous American Indian education research by examining the experiences and legacy of colonial schooling received by Southern California Indians at the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools. This was achieved through a review of existing literature on religious indoctrinations and vocational training for California Indians at the missions and ranchos and a

(re)construction of the founding and history of St. Boniface Indian Industrial School. Through the application of archival ethnography and oral history data collection and analysis methods—alongside constructivist and Indigenous research paradigms and settler colonialism and Indigenous survivance frameworks—this study (re)constructs a narrative of the history of these systems, focusing on the often silenced and ignored experiences and perspectives of Southern California Indians. Moreover, this study explored how descendants of California Indians who were enslaved at the missions, labored on ranchos and attended mission Indian boarding schools have continued receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge despite forced exposure to three systems of colonial schooling.

A phenomenological methodology was selected for this study as it allows researchers to elucidate copious narratives and personal meanings of an individual's lived experiences (Padilla-Díaz, 2015; Peoples, 2021). Furthermore, because phenomenological research focuses on making meaning of lived experiences, it is aligned with my theoretical frameworks, research paradigms, and methods (see: Figure 4), as studies that examine Indigenous Peoples' life histories and experiences are often grounded in the constructivist paradigm's process of constructing the meaning of lived experiences (Adom et al., 2016, p. 7; Amineh & Asl, 2015; Harlow et al., 2007; Lee, 2012). The subsequent sections discuss research questions, data collection, and analysis processes.

Research Questions

As previously discussed, this study aimed to examine the experiences of Southern California Indians with Indigenous education and colonial schooling during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras. In addition, the study explored the legacy

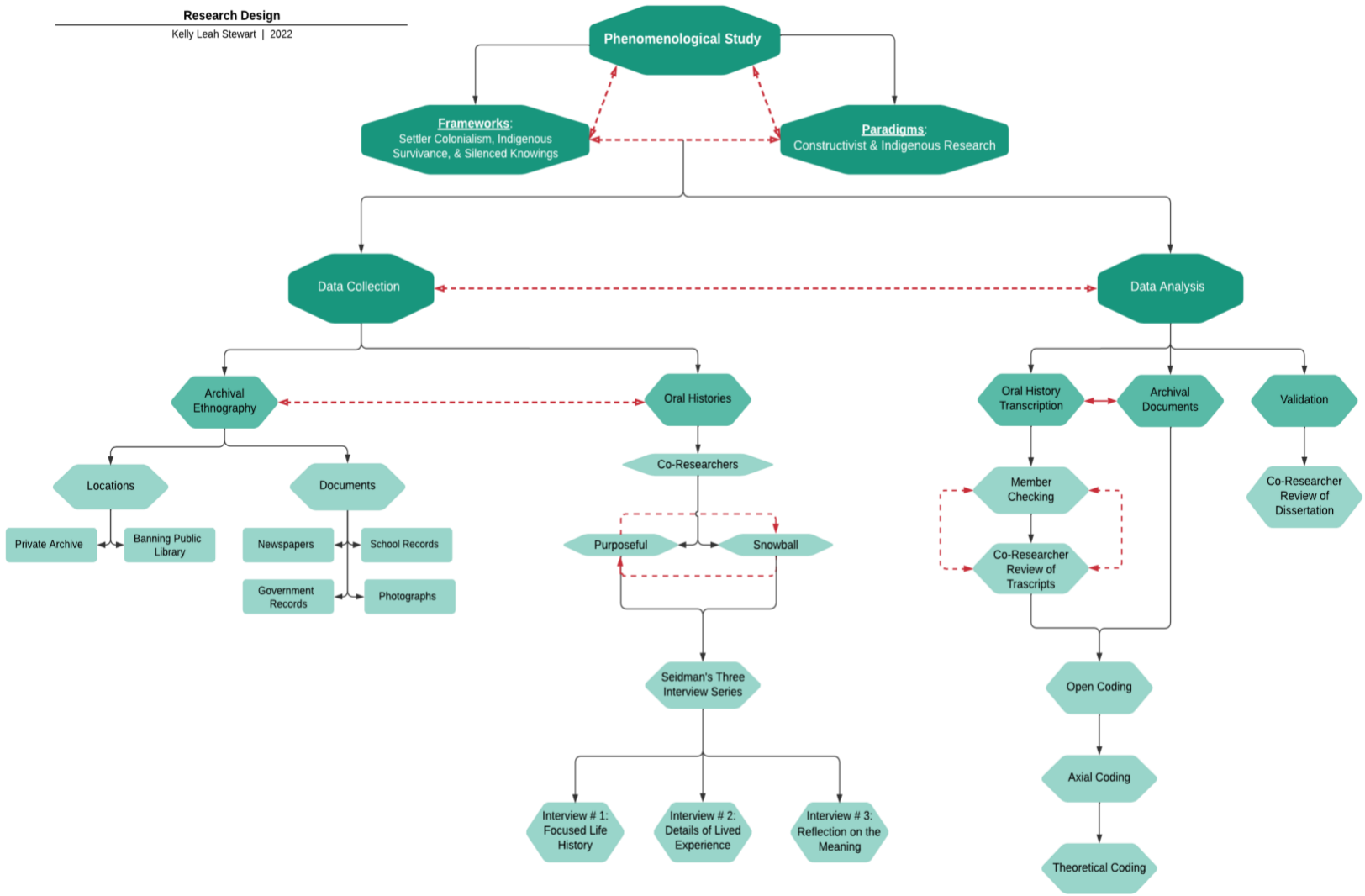


Figure 4: Research Design

of these institutions and how colonial schooling has historically—and presently—impacted Southern California Indians. As the study aimed to investigate the past, present, and future impacts of Indigenous education and colonial schooling, research questions for the study took into consideration California Indian knowledge transmission practices—particularly use of storytelling—to allow co-researchers to share the experiences of their Ancestors as told to them through stories. The following questions guided oral history data collection and analysis throughout the study:

- What are the oral narratives about California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and colonial schooling in Southern California?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe acts of colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants demonstrate Indigenous survivance and agency?

Oral histories in this study were collected from descendants of Catholic-run mission Indian boarding school survivors.

Data Collection & Analysis

Data collection was divided into two phases (see: Table 1). Phase one consisted of archival ethnography, where I accessed digitized archives to collect documentation[34] to construct a historical account of Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS). Phase two collected oral histories from SBIIS descendants. Oral history sessions consisted of multiple semi-structured interviews loosely following Seidman's (2019) *Three Interview Series*. In two instances the three-interview series was modified at the request of the co-researcher(s) to accommodate their schedule(s). In these instances, the time allotted for interviews was extended to ensure that all

[34] e.g., school records, government documents, newspapers, photographs, transcripts from previously conducted oral histories and interviews, family journals, and audio recordings of oral histories, etc.

Table 1: Research Questions, Data Collection & Analysis Strategy

Research Questions	Data Source	Theoretical Framework	Analytical Strategy
1) What are the oral narratives about California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and colonial schooling in Southern California?	Archival Ethnography (Gracy, 2004) Oral History Interview Three: *Reflection on the Meaning* (Seidman, 2019)	Settler Colonialism (Wolfe, 2006) Indigenous Survivance (Vizenor, 2008, 2009) Silenced Knowings (Lorenz & Watkins, 2001)	Phenomenology (Peoples, 2021) Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Saldaña 2021)
a) In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge?	Oral History Interview Two: *The Details of Experience* (Seidman, 2019)	Indigenous Survivance (Vizenor, 2008, 2009) Silenced Knowings (Lorenz & Watkins, 2001)	Phenomenology (Peoples, 2021) Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Saldaña 2021)
b) In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe acts of colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling?	Archival Ethnography (Gracy, 2004) Oral History Interview One: *Focused Life History* (Seidman, 2019)	Settler Colonialism (Wolfe, 2006)	Phenomenology (Peoples, 2021) Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Saldaña 2021)
c) In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants demonstrate Indigenous survivance and agency?	Oral History Interview Two: *The Details of Experience* (Seidman, 2019)	Indigenous Survivance (Vizenor, 2008, 2009)	Phenomenology (Peoples, 2021) Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014; Saldaña 2021)

aspects of the three-interview process were covered. Furthermore, conversations—in-person and via phone calls and text messaging—were held with co-researchers outside of the formal interview setting to gain clarification and expand on our understandings of the work we has undertaken. Archival and oral history data collection took place over five months. It should be noted, while archival ethnography data collection processes are described below, data collected were not factored into analysis. Rather, archival ethnography was a way to organize literature on SBIIS, and to provide co-researchers and readers with a historical narrative of the institution that is vital to understanding the experiences of survivors and their descendants. The following sections discuss archival and oral history data collection and analysis processes.

Archival Ethnography

This study employed *archival ethnography* as a form of data collection to provide historical context to the topic—specifically, St. Boniface's history. Gracy (2004) defines *archival ethnography* as "a form of naturalistic inquiry which positions the researcher within an archival environment to gain the cultural perspective of those responsible for the creation, collection, care, and use of records" (p. 337). To simplify, archival ethnography—similar to traditional ethnography—requires researchers to understand a specific group's cultural norms and behaviors (Gracy, 2004; Merry, 2002). Unlike conventional ethnographers, archival ethnographers construct meaning from documents, cross-referencing them with interviews, observations, and focus groups. Archival data collection was utilized to (re)construct a narrative of SBIIS history which is vital for understanding the experiences of Southern California Indians, the intergenerational impacts that the institution had on survivors and their descendants, and how mission Indian boarding schools connect to the Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos. The

following section provides context to the archives available for data collection and briefly reviews documents collected and analyzed in this study.

Setting and Context. During the explanatory archival ethnography phase, I gave precedence to documents accessible via online databases. Sites for archival data collection included a public library archive and a private archive—the latter of which was donated to me with the understanding that the donor would remain anonymous. The more commonly known archive is located at the Banning Public Library in Banning, California—this archive will be referred to as the *Banning Archive*. A private entity maintains the lesser-known archive in Southern California—this archive will be referred to as the *Private Archive*. Before proceeding, it is essential to note the difference between the two archives.

The Banning Archive consisted of one banker-style box containing enrollment records, publications, correspondence, research notes, photographs, newspapers, and a CD-ROM containing student information. The archive is not organized or labeled and is only accessible upon request. Accessing the archive entailed emailing the Banning Library to set up an appointment to view materials. Having visited this archive as I conducted archival research for my master's thesis, I had previously digitized records which I revisited for this study. In contrast, the Private Archive is strictly digital and consists of approximately 3.56 gigabytes of archival documents, such as enrollment records, death records, affidavits, reports, correspondence, newspapers, photographs, and school publications. The documents making up the Private Archive were discovered in a former historian's garage and digitized to preserve the documents properly. Each document has been scanned and labeled individually.[35] As such, one multi-page document was often located in a digital folder as two or more JPG files. The document folders

[35] It was my intention to combine these items into a single PDF file and (re)label them according to the document date and medium.

are hyperlinked to Word documents created for each folder. The archive toggled between organizations by either a linear timeline, specific eras (e.g., Father Hahn Era, Boys Town Era), or document medium.

It should be noted that Covid-19 has impacted archival researchers' ability to visit archives, so digitized documents from the Banning Archive and the Private Archive were given precedence over archival documents that were available at other locations. I intend to visit other archives maintaining SBIIS records in the future. Documents collected from both archives during data collection included: government records, newspapers, and correspondence. As previously stated, archival data was vital to providing foundational information pertaining to SBIIS founding and history, as well as the experiences of survivors and descendants.

Oral History Sessions

This study conducted oral history sessions in alignment with phenomenological methodology, constructivist and Indigenous research paradigms, and the selected theoretical frameworks. Over five months, oral histories (i.e., narratives, stories, etc.) were collected via three 90-minute sessions—except for one all-day group session and one all-day one-on-one session. In addition, conversations—in-person and via phone calls and text messaging—were held with co-researchers[36] at community events to clarify or expand on our understanding of our work. Each session consisted of semi-structured interview questions intended to "encourage informants to explain their unique perspectives" (Adom et al., 2016, p. 4) and followed Seidman's (2019) *Three Interview Series* method. Seidman's (2019) interview method was selected because it allows participants to reflect on their lived experiences to construct meaning

[36] This study has been a collaborative process between individuals participating in oral history sessions and me. Not only did they take the time to share their knowledge and experiences—along with stories passed down from their Ancestors—many of them conducted their own research. Taking this into consideration, I am refraining from calling them participants, and rather, will be referring to them as my co-researchers throughout the dissertation.

of those experiences. Furthermore, oral histories often demonstrate Indigenous survivance and "are renunciations of dominance, detractions, obtrusions, the unbearable sentiments of tragedy and the legacy of victimry" (Vizenor, 2008, p.1). Oral histories demonstrate Indigenous rejection and refusal of colonial dominance and recast the narrative of Indigenous Peoples as victims of tragedies to narratives of strength and survivance.

The first session—the *Focused Life History* (see: APPENDIX I)—examined each individual's life experiences and provided vital background information. According to Seidman, during this session, "the interviewer's task is to put participants' experiences into the context of their life history by asking them to tell as much as possible about themselves in light of the topic" (Seidman, 2019, p. 21). Concerning Indigenous knowledge systems and colonial schooling, this session provided vital information about how co-researchers understand their Indigenous identity and its role in their lives. Semi-structured interview questions for this session can be found in APPENDIX J. Interview two—the *Details of Lived Experience* (see: APPENDIX K)—concentrated "on the concrete details of the participant's present lived experiences in the topic area of the study" (Seidman, 2019, p. 22). This interview allowed co-researchers to reflect on specific life events to learn how co-researchers and their Ancestors navigated colonial institutions while retaining connections to Indigenous knowledge systems and practices. Semi-structured interview questions for this session can be found in APPENDIX L. Finally, interview three—*Reflection on the Meaning* (see: APPENDIX M)—asked "participants to reflect on the meaning of the experience[s] that were explored in interview two" (Seidman, 2019, p. 23). While this session asked co-researchers to construct meaning from the experiences discussed in interview two, co-researchers were also asked to connect the lived experiences to moments in their life and familial history discussed in interview one. Semi-structured interview

questions for this session can be found in APPENDIX N. The sessions allowed co-researchers and I to build rapport and connect over shared experiences to understand how our people navigate colonial institutions, systems, and structures while upholding and enacting Indigenous knowledge systems.

Counter Narratives, Oral Histories, Storytelling, Remembering, and Claiming.

Using *counter-narratives* in educational research—and society in general—is necessary. As a California Indian scholar conducting research on the importance of oral histories in relation to Southern California Indians' experiences with colonial schooling, discovering and elevating Indigenous narratives is a core component of my research—and thus, this study. Counter-narratives provide an "oppositional voice to the dominant or master narrative" (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 5), are "celebratory stories of manifest destiny and progress so engrained in American culture" (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 130), and "are powerful forms of resistance which are repeated and shared across diverse Indigenous communities" (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 2). Settler colonial narratives of American Indians often portray us as "poor because [we] are lazy, that [our] cultures do not value education, and that [we] have become dependent upon government welfare" (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 131). Contrary to this belief, Caskey Russell (Tlingit) states that Indigenous narratives:

> … are narratives of hardworking Indians, of Indians who keep reservations and Indian communities together, of Indians trying to save their languages, cultures, religions, and pass on traditions to younger generations; these are narratives that tell of American Indians' struggles against colonialization, oppression, and assimilation. Against the odds, these narratives tell us, American Indians have survived. (Zamudio et al., 2011, p. 131)

Native narratives are stories depicting intergenerational resilience and survival.

Oral Histories & Storytelling. Oral narratives among many Indigenous cultures are known as oral histories, which are told through *storytelling*. According to Margaret Kovach

(Plains Cree/Saulteaux), there are two forms of storytelling. The first consists of "stories that hold mythical elements, such as creation and teaching stories" (2009, p. 95). These oral histories teach Indigenous Peoples their place of origin, rules for proper behavior, and methods for navigating our relations with each other and the land. The second form of stories are "personal narratives of place, happenings, and experiences as the aunties and uncles experienced them and passed them along to the next generations through oral tradition" (Kovach, 2009, p. 95). These are narratives of lived experiences that are connected to origin and teaching stories to demonstrate Indigenous theory in action. Overall, stories teach Indigenous Peoples about our place in and with the world, are tribal specific, should be viewed from the storyteller's tribal worldview, are grounded in relationship-based approaches, and are a collaborative process between storyteller and listener. Through storytelling, oral narratives give voice to those who have been silenced. They demonstrate the resiliency of Indigenous Peoples who have endured multiple generations of oppression through forced assimilation and violent colonization.

Furthermore, regarding storytelling, Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou iwi) (2012) states:

> [Storytelling], oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all indigenous research. Each individual story is powerful. But the point about the stories is not that they simply tell a story, or tell a story simply. These stories contribute to a collective story in which ever indigenous person has a place…The story and the [storyteller] both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story…story telling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of truth' within which the [storyteller] rather than the researcher retains control. (pp. 145-146)

Through the collection of oral histories (i.e., *stories*), I aimed to shed light on the California Indian colonial schooling experiences by adding oral histories from SBIIS survivors—via their descendants—and descendants to existing research.

Remembering. The collection of oral histories and storytelling connects to L. T. Smith's (2012) *remembering* project. According to Smith:

> …the remembering of a people relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past, re-membering in terms of connecting bodies with place and experience, and, importantly, people's responses to that pain… This form of remembering is painful because it involves remembering not just what colonization was about but what being dehumanized meant for our own cultural practices. (p. 147)

Through the collection of oral histories, the act of remembering in this study required co-researchers to recount their Ancestors' experiences at SBIIS by asking them to remember family members' experiences as students at the institution and their relationships with school administrators and peers. For many former students and descendants, these may have been traumatic experiences. Within my family, my grandmother kept her experiences to herself due to the painful memories of being separated from her grandma, parents, and siblings.

Claiming. By collecting co-researchers' stories (i.e., oral histories) and asking them to *remember* their Ancestors' stories, we began L. T. Smith's project of *claiming. Claiming* requires "Indigenous groups to conduct intensive research projects, resulting in the writing of nation, tribe and family histories. These 'histories' have a focus and purpose; that is, to establish the legitimacy of the claims being asserted" (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 144). In other words, claiming allows Indigenous Peoples to take ownership of experiences where—in the case of Indian boarding schools—they were not permitted to make decisions for themselves openly. The act of claiming in this research project intended to elevate the stories of California Indians who attended SBIIS by asking their descendants to reflect on their Ancestor's experiences.

Setting and Context. Indian Country was hit particularly hard by Covid-19, and, as a result, we lost many of our Elders (Akee & Reber, 2021; Bennett-Begaye et al., 2021; Cirruzzo, 2020; McLernon, 2021; Mineo, 2020; Weeks, 2021). Given the severity of Covid-19, the

emergence of multiple variants of the disease, and how the pandemic has negatively impacted Native Americans, participant safety was of great importance. As such, the oral history sessions were conducted via Zoom video conferencing. The choice to host interviews via Zoom was in the interest of our community. The only exception was the Gonzales-Aguila sisters' oral history session, which was requested to be conducted in person by the sisters. Before this session, all attendees—including myself—conducted a Covid-19 test to ensure negative results.

There were significant benefits to conducting oral history sessions via video conferencing as the Zoom platform made numerous advances throughout the pandemic to make it accessible and user-friendly. One advantage of Zoom was that it allowed users to send calendar appointments to meeting participants. Moreover, Zoom allowed me to video and audio record each oral history session and enabled both researcher and co-researchers to enable live transcriptions. The transcription feature was particularly useful as the program has high accuracy rates and alleviated transcribing time. Furthermore, it is crucial to acknowledge that the recording feature made it easy to preserve each session for co-researchers and their families. While many may feel that video conferencing impacts how stories are told and received (e.g., inability to pick up on social cues, read body language, unstable internet connections, etc.), I was mindful to ask clarifying questions when I was unsure of a particular message and asked participants to review their interview transcripts for accuracy and clarity. When the need arose, co-researchers could request a meeting in-person or by phone, and the session was recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Co-Researchers, Naming, and Criteria. This study was a collaborative process with the individuals who agreed to join me on this journey. In addition to sharing their knowledge and experiences with me during oral history sessions—along with knowledge and stories from their

Ancestors—many of them conducted research, documented their thought processes, and shared videos or publications of their work. Considering the commitment and time devoted by these individuals to my study, as well as the vast knowledge they shared with me, I have elected to refer to my contributors as my *co-researchers*. In addition to honoring the commitment made by the individuals who contributed to this study, the use of the term co-researchers pushes back on colonial viewpoints as to what does or does not constitute a researcher. Indigenous Peoples have always been—and will always be—researchers; studying, testing, reflecting, and finetuning knowledge since time immemorial. Many of my co-researchers spent a great deal of time searching for records and contacting extended family members to gather additional information on their Ancestors' experiences at the missions, ranchos, and boarding schools. Several shared with me the publications they authored, videos they were featured in, and journals that they started solely for this study. Each co-researcher invested time reflecting on the research questions before each session in order to provide the most thorough responses to my inquiries. Without their selfless devotion, this study would not have been possible.

Furthermore, throughout this process, my co-researchers have become family. While this may seem—to non-Indigenous people—a potential risk for creating biases, it—in actuality—reinforced California Indian knowledge transmission practices for giving and receiving knowledge, stories, and lessons from kin—immediate and extended. As such, I have chosen to utilize kinship terminology to identify the close relationships I have formed with my co-researchers along this journey. In some cases, these kinship titles demonstrate the relationship I developed with an individual during this process, while others are literal kinship relations. I've chosen to use Tongva kinship terms to express my love, respect, and gratitude for the time they gave to me, the knowledge they imparted, and the vulnerability they demonstrated while on this

journey with me. Moreover, the decision to utilize Tongva kinship terminology is explicitly a way to honor my Ancestors for their guidance during this journey, continue the (re)claiming of my indigeneity, and show appreciation for my Tongva Elders who have claimed me as a member of our community.

Naming. Svalastog and Eriksson (2010) state that "Anonymity is supposed to ensure that an individual who participates in a research project becomes unidentifiable when presented as part of a group" (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010, p. 106). The purpose of anonymity is to ensure that no harm comes to a participant due to contributing to a research study. Nevertheless, practices of anonymity are often "protective approaches by Westerners [that] have been understood as imbued with power, as paternalism expressed through colonialism and imperialism, and as the opposite of respect for native peoples" (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010, p. 106). In other words, practices of anonymity often reinforce power structures, rendering IBPOC populations defenseless and resulting in the theft of their knowledge. According to Svalastog and Eriksson (2010), "Ownership of one's identity and history is tied to the process of naming. In this respect, anonymity implies stealing someone's identity and history" (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010, p. 109).

For generations, Indigenous communities have often suffered great harm at the hands of researchers as they forced their way into Indigenous communities (Seed-Pihama, 2019). Researchers extract knowledge from us with little concern for our etiquette, desires, sovereignty, or autonomy. Furthermore, scholars often fail to offer our people acknowledgment or gratitude for the knowledge and theories they impart to scholars. These extractive practices have been—and continue to be—extremely detrimental to Indigenous communities (L. T. Smith, 2012). After careful self-reflection and consultation with my co-researchers, we determined that we would not

anonymize their name and other identifiable information (Seed-Pihama, 2019; Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010). Instead, to ensure that my co-researchers—and, through them, their Ancestors—are recognized for their contributions to this study, I have elected to utilize their names, Tribal affiliation, and other identifying factors. As one of the aims of this study is to elevate the voices and experiences of Southern California Indians, I have an ethical obligation to approach this study in a manner that names the knowledge keepers and culture bearers.

Criteria. With the discovery of the remains of Indigenous youth at former residential and boarding school sites in Canada and the U.S., a desire to understand the unsettling and violent history of Indian boarding schools has (re)emerged (Clark, 2021; Corona, 2021; Dickson & Watson, 2021; Manning, 2021; Nelson, 2021). The discoveries of Indigenous remains—specifically, remains that were unrecorded and hidden—indicate that governments and religious organizations responsible for *protecting* Native youth and providing them with an *education* failed in their obligations and attempted to hide their catastrophe. My interest in the history of Indian residential schools, and more specifically the unique and under-researched impacts that Catholic-run boarding schools had on Southern California Indians and their descendants, led me to focus on SBIIS survivors and their descendants. Since completing my master's thesis research, and the discovery of the remains of Indigenous youth at former residential school sites in Canada and the U.S., additional SBIIS survivors of and their descendants emerged. These individuals have begun sharing narratives of the tumultuous history of the schools that families attended and their families' experiences at these institutions, and their impact on their lives.

Because this study aimed to (re)construct the history of SBIIS and to examine the unique experiences of Southern California Indians, **t**his study used two types of purposive sampling: *purposeful* and *snowball sampling*. Merriam and Tisdell (2015) describe *purposeful sampling* as

"the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 96). Purposeful sampling allows researchers to seek participants who will provide rich accounts of the phenomena to be studied (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This study aimed to examine the experiences of Southern California Indians. As such, purposeful sampling is necessary in order to seek participants and rich narratives from a specific population. For this study, a maximum of six participants were selected for contribution. I intended to gather oral histories consisting of detailed descriptions and reflections (Peshkin, 1988, 2000).

Co-researchers were chosen based on the following criteria:

- The co-researcher was over the age of 18 years old.
- Co-researcher identified as American Indian/California Indian.
    - Co-researcher identified as an enrolled member or descendant from a tribe—federally or non-federally recognized—located in Southern California.[37]
- The co-researcher was a survivor—or descendant of a survivor(s)—of a Catholic-run mission Indian boarding school formerly in Southern California.[38]
- Co-researcher or co-researchers' ancestor(s) attended a Catholic-run mission Indian boarding school for one month or more.

While every effort was made to include as many individuals as possible, data collection and analysis for this study did not exceed six contributors. I prioritized contributors based on their relationship with the institution. For example, survivors were to be given precedence over descendants. However, no survivors responded to invitations to contribute to the study. In contrast, descendants were selected based on their relation to the survivor they identify (i.e., a survivor's child was given priority over a grandchild). It was vital to prioritize stories of elderly

[37] e.g., Kumeyaay, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chumash, Tongva, Serrano, Tataviam, Juaneño, or Cupeño.
[38] Survivors or descendants could have attended—or had Ancestors who attended—Ft. Yuma, St. Anthony's, or St. Boniface. All co-researchers were descendants of SBIIS students.

generations as many Tribal Elders—who traditionally carry the stories and histories of our communities—are passing away.

Moreover, to ensure a variety of oral histories and considering the diversity of Indigenous Peoples in Southern California, only one participant from the prominent Tribal Nations[39] in the region was selected. The only exception to this criterion was the Gonzales-Aguila sisters, who requested a group session. To ensure ample participation in the study, *snowball sampling* was also employed. *Snowball sampling* involved study contributors referring other potential members that met the study criteria (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). During oral history sessions, co-researchers were permitted to make recommendations for additional individuals. However, as previously mentioned, the total number of participants did not exceed six to ensure that the study was completed in the identified timeframe. Names of all potential contributors referred via snowball sampling were saved for future research on this topic. One individual was selected for an extended one-on-one oral history session.

Recruitment. Recruitment of co-researchers took place via three methods: 1) email,[40] 2) phone calls, and 3) a website specifically designed for the study. Since beginning this research during my master's degree program, additional SBIIS survivors and their descendants emerged during community events, meetings, social media, and newspaper articles. Before the start of the study, approximately ten individuals—who met the established criteria—had been identified as potential contributors. I contacted these individuals via email or phone to request their participation and to provide them with a letter detailing the study (see: APPENDIX C) along with a flyer (see: APPENDIX D). Recruitment took place for participants recommended through

[39] For purposes of this study, the prominent Tribal Nations in Southern California are as follows: Kumeyaay, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chumash, Tongva, Serrano, Tataviam, Juaneño, or Cupeño

[40] Emails included emails to an email address and direct messages to social media accounts such as Facebook, Instagram, and LinkedIn.

snowball sampling via a website created for the study (see: APPENDIX E). The website allowed me to be intentional about participant selection and ensure that recommended contributors met the established criteria. Upon acceptance, participants were emailed an advance copy of the *Informed Consent* form (see: APPENDIX F) along with *Video* (see: APPENDIX G) and *Audio* (see: APPENDIX H) *Release* forms. After reviewing the Informed Consent and Video and Audio Release forms, if participants wanted to proceed with contributing to the study, a date was selected and confirmed for their first interview. When requested, a pre-meeting phone call was made to discuss the study in detail with contributors and to obtain their verbal consent.

Data Analysis. After each oral history session, transcriptions of audio and video recordings were transcribed utilizing Zoom's built-in transcription feature. For oral history sessions held in person or where Zoom was not utilized. Sessions were video recorded and files were sent to Rev.com for transcription of audio. Upon downloading or receiving transcriptions from Rev, I reviewed oral history transcripts for accuracy and corrections to any obscure or inaccurate information. Furthermore, I maintained a journal to document comments, observations, questions, or reflections on the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Moreover, after each oral history session, I audio-recorded analytical memos. Using audio recording for analytical memos allowed me to reinforce California Indian oral history processes while making connections across sessions with co-researchers. Moreover, they preserved my thoughts and reflections on emergent teachings to preserve my oral histories for future generations.

Once transcriptions were accurately transcribed, I emailed transcripts to co-researchers to verify for accuracy and determine whether there was any information they wanted to be omitted from data collection and analysis. This process is known as *member checking* and is used "for ensuring internal validity or credibility" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 246; Peoples, 2021). Upon

finalizing transcriptions, I engaged in multiple coding rounds to identify themes (Maxwell, 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). As previously discussed, open coding is the process by which researchers identify and label all elements of data that may be significant to the study and allowed me to ascertain exploratory findings while also providing the opportunity to revise and reconfigure (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

The settler colonialism and Indigenous survivance frameworks guided coding processes. In addition, to the previously mentioned frameworks, Lorenz and Watkins (2001)—which was shared with me during the late analysis phase—assisted in guiding coding processes (more on this framework will be discussed in chapter four). It should be noted that while these frameworks acted as a guide for this phase of the study, I also utilized elements of Glaser and Strauss's (1968) Grounded Theory methodology, expressly the concept of *emergence of theory.* Regarding the *emergence of theory*, Glaser & Strauss (1968) explain that "as categories and properties emerge, develop in abstraction, and become related, their accumulating interrelations form an integrated central theoretical framework. This framework forms the core of the emerging theory" (p. 364). Allowing for the emergence of theory allowed my co-researchers and me to build off of settler colonial and Indigenous survivance theories to create a theory reflective and encompassing of the unique experiences of Southern California Indians.

Identification of initial themes across oral histories began with open coding. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) describe *open coding* as the process of "tagging any unit of data that might be relevant to the study" (p. 229). Open coding assisted me with gaining general knowledge and understanding of the content of oral history transcripts while permitting me to generate an initial codebook of prominent themes. Upon completion of open coding, transcripts were uploaded to Dedoose, where axial coding processes were employed. *Axial coding* is the process by which

researchers “sort, synthesize, and organize large amounts of data and reassemble them in new ways after open coding” (Charmaz, 2014). Axial coding allowed me to reorganize themes identified during open coding to categorize topics coherently. Theoretical coding—also called selective coding (Saldaña, 2021)—was conducted to narrow down core themes further and allow for the emergence of theory. Saldaña (2021) described *theoretical coding* as the process where “all categories and concepts... become systematically integrated around the central/core category, the one that suggests a theoretical explanation for the phenomenon” (p. 314).

Respondent Validation. Co-researchers were able to provide feedback on the study teachings through *respondent validation*, which is the process of soliciting “feedback on… preliminary or emerging findings” from study co-researchers. Video and audio recordings, along with transcriptions of oral histories, were sent to co-researchers for review to ensure that research was “assessed in relationship to the purposes and circumstances of the research, rather than being a context-independent property of methods or conclusions” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 121). Additionally, co-researchers were provided with a finalized draft of the dissertation in order to request changes or removal of selected data, clarify statements, and validate teachings that emerged during oral history sessions.

Assumptions, Validity, and Limitations

As discussed, settler colonial society assumes that research requires objectivity. Calls for neutrality often require that researchers abandon the multiple facets of their identity and how those aspects influence how they construct meaning from lived experiences and knowledge (Emerson et al., 2011; Peshkin, 1988, 2000; S. Wilson, 2008). The desire to remove subjectivity from academic research often creates a restricted lens where researchers spend a great deal of time reviewing individual aspects of a topic instead of surveying dynamic and complex

connections (Emerson et al., 2011; Peshkin, 1988, 2000; S. Wilson, 2008). This study offered an alternative to research grounded in objectivity through constructivist and Indigenous research paradigms. Allen (1994) rationalizes that "a fundamental assumption of the constructivist paradigm leads to the rejection of objectivity and suggests a stance of [*responsible participation instead*]" (Allen, 1994, p. 32). Essentially, a constructivist researcher is accountable to the research and their participants and, as such, must acknowledge and embrace potential objectivities and limitations because "we bring forth our realities, our worlds, through conversations with others" (Allen, 1994, p. 32).

Moreover, applying Indigenous research paradigms to academic research offers an alternative to settler colonial views of objectivity through the embracement of subjectivity. Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) defines an Indigenous research paradigm as "research that follows an ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology that is Indigenous" (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 38). Research becomes relational through an Indigenous research paradigm, and knowledge is shared among researchers and co-researchers. Furthermore, Indigenous research paradigms hold the researcher accountable to those who share their knowledge and experience. This study was grounded in both constructivist and Indigenous research paradigms. Thus, I had an obligation—to my co-researchers and Tribal community—to conduct research that shed light on and centered their experiences. As a member of the research population, I must also acknowledge how my lived experiences with colonial systems and structures influenced the research, my relationships with my co-researchers, and the overall research topic.

Threats to Validity

Only three scholars have conducted academic research about Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS)—R. Bruce Harley (1994; 1999), Tanya Rathbun (2006), and me

(Stewart, 2018). Of the three, I am the first descendant of SBIIS survivors and the first California Indian (Tongva and Payómkawish) woman to write about the institution. As a descendant of two generations of SBIIS survivors, the topic is close to my heart. Both my great-grandfather (Louis Florian "Ramon Leudovicus" Gonzales) and my grandmother (Carmelita Marylouise Gonzales) attended the institution, as did several aunts, uncles, and cousins. Through my research, I learned that three of my great-grandfather's family passed away while attending SBIIS and are interred in the school cemetery—the last standing structure of the former school.

My Ancestors' experiences at the missions, on ranchos, and at SBIIS have implicitly and explicitly shaped how I view and navigate the education system, conduct research, and analyze data with and for my community. Due to my connection to SBIIS and the history of the colonization of California—particularly the negative experiences of my Ancestors and my relationship to tribal histories and traditions—outsiders may assume that I maintain a bias that favors Indigenous wisdom and history over colonial knowledge and history. This perceived bias may be observed as a potential conflict of interest or threat to validity by outsiders to the California Indian community. Others may believe that participants will alter their perceptions and (re)telling of California Indian histories to reflect my desired research outcomes. I contend that assumptions of bias are anti-Indigenous, racist, and gendered logic aimed at dismissing and discrediting the work of Indigenous Peoples and the genealogy of Indigenous thinkers who have contributed to the study (Stewart-Ambo & Stewart, 2021). Furthermore, Indigenous Peoples must lead the processes of (re)storying settler colonial histories that have continuously worked to erase our existence. We can only achieve this through *our* stories being written by *our* people (L. T. Smith, 2021; Stewart-Ambo & Stewart, 2021; Swisher, 1996).

Addressing Threats to Validity

Readers should note that—while my research aims to center Indigenous experiences—I often utilize methods (e.g., archival data collection and analysis, structured and semi-structured interviews, coding, etc.) that are colonial in nature. Moreover, I conducted this research while a doctoral candidate at two settler colonial universities.[41] Overall, both universities—beyond performative land acknowledgments and student cultural centers—make little to no effort to genuinely acknowledge their continued role and ongoing benefit from the dispossession and erasure of California Indian peoples (i.e., Kumeyaay, Luiseño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla). While I utilized colonial research methods, it must be recognized that viewing archival documents and oral histories using an Indigenous research paradigm is a strength of this study. As S. Wilson (2008) explains, "one of the [*great strengths*] that Indigenous scholars bring with them is the ability to see and work within both the Indigenous and dominant worldviews" (p. 44). In other words, as a member of my research population—who acquired her academic training at colonial institutions in California and through mentorship from Tribal Elders—I understand both Indigenous and colonial norms, values, and processes. This unique positionality makes me both researcher and subject in my study, and thus my research is an intersection of where "self and subject [have become] joined" (Peshkin, 1988, p. 17).

Limitations of the Study Design

In designing this study, four potential limitations were identified. First, an overall limit of the study is the lack of generalizability to a broader research population. However, the lack of

[41] I am currently a doctoral candidate at the University of California San Diego and California State University, San Marcos. I earned my bachelor's and master's degrees in Southern California at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona and the University of California, Los Angeles, respectively. Each university I attended is located in my ancestral homelands or in locations where my Ancestors were relocated. As such, I have been directly impacted by the role that these institutions have played in the historic and ongoing displacement and exploitation of my Ancestors and relatives—human, along with out four-legged, plant, water, and land relatives.

generalizability was an *intentional* characteristic of the study design. As discussed and expressed throughout this dissertation, Southern California Indians' accounts describing our experiences with colonization and settler colonialism have often been silenced, erased, or eliminated from California's vast historical narrative. Furthermore, California Indians have continuously been—and continue to be—positioned as peoples of the past by Spanish, Mexican, and American governments and settlers. Placing us as remnants of a time long past is intentional so settlers could—and continue to—justify their invasion, illegal occupation, and destruction of our plants, animals, lands, and waters and the genocide of our peoples. Overall, this study is intentionally and thoughtfully designed to highlight Southern California Indians' narratives concerning our experiences with settler colonial systems and structures—specifically schooling.

Second, this study solely focused on the experiences of *self-identifying* Southern California Indians.[42] Due to the complex nature of Tribal enrollment and inaccurate record management by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—especially for California Indians from non-federally recognized Tribal Nations—proof of enrollment or descendancy from a federally-, state-, or non-recognized tribe was not required. Likewise, I did not conduct genealogical research to confirm tribal membership or the descendancy of co-researchers. California Tribal Nations have a fraught history connected to the eighteen unratified treaties (Browne, 2015; Kelsey, 2002, Milanovich, 2021) and, more recently, tribal disenrollment (Dunaway, 2018; Fajardo, 2012; Hilleary, 2017; Westhoff, 2013). While this may create disagreement regarding who is and who isn't an enrolled member or descendant of a Tribal Nation, I have intentionally chosen to use self-identification due to the negative impact that the establishment of blood quantum has had on Southern California Indians. Ultimately, this decision was based on a

[42] For purposes of this study, Southern California Indians refer to individuals from the following Tribal Nations: Kumeyaay, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chumash, Tongva, Serrano, Tataviam, Juaneño, or Cupeño.

rejection of—and refusal to uphold—harmful blood quantum processes rooted in the settler colonial logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006). The concept of blood quantum was designed to eradicate Indigenous Peoples in the colonial nations through the dilution of *blood* so that colonizers could justify their illegal occupation and theft of our lands. Because this study was grounded in Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing, it was vital to center and use California Indian structures and systems of kinship, a process through which membership in a Tribal Nation is determined by lineage and the act of a tribe claiming a person.

Third, this study solely focused on Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools. As discussed throughout this dissertation, much of the existing research on Indian education in California fixates on federally funded and operated boarding schools, such as Sherman Indian School (Bahr, 2014; Bauer, 2010; Gilbert, 2010; Gonzales, 2002; Keller, 2002; Trafzer & Gilbert, 2012). While existing research on Catholic-run mission Indian schools in California briefly refers to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM) requesting federal funding, additional research needed to be conducted on this matter to determine the amount of funding received and the exact relationship the Catholic Church had with the U.S. government regarding Indian education in Southern California. Catholic Church records are a crucial part of this research but are extremely difficult to obtain. Furthermore, by focusing on Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools and connecting them to the broader Spanish mission system history, the Catholic Church can be held accountable and forced to acknowledge its role in the strategic and intentional intergenerational genocide committed against California Indians. Because the Catholic Church maintains a majority of the records about these interactions—and they have consistently and purposefully withheld them from the general public—this is a difficult feat to

accomplish and may result in the Church denying the researchers access to the existing records.[43] I addressed this limitation by accessing documents that the Church currently has online and making a list of all the Church archives maintaining documents on Southern California Indians. I intend to partner with the Indigenous Futures Institute at UC San Diego to work in collaboration to gain access to these documents.

Finally, this study focused on Southern California Indians from Kumeyaay, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chumash, Tongva, Serrano, Tataviam, Juaneño, or Cupeño Tribal Nations. Over the last six years, many SBIIS survivors of the school's second generation of students have passed away. Survivors of the second generation carry the stories of the first generation of students, many of whom were their parents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. It is essential to record the narratives from the first two generations as they were students of SBIIS when the school solely admitted Southern California Indians. While obtaining first-person narratives from these survivors was challenging, I addressed this limitation by collecting oral histories from their descendants. As the great-granddaughter, granddaughter, niece, and cousin of over thirty-three students across these two generations, I understand the importance of their experiences and how their time at SBIIS has impacted and influenced my life. Furthermore, obtaining oral narratives from descendants upheld and reinforced California oral history traditions by having co-researchers share stories passed onto them, which was a vital component of this study.

Conclusion

Overall, despite the limitations described in the previous section, this study was designed with great intention to center and elevate Indigenous voices. It also intended to challenge the

[43] It should be noted that the Church has previously denied me access to these records during my master's program. Church representatives demanded that I provide proof of linage to former students to access the documents and pay a fee for access.

narratives created by settler colonial society about Southern California Indians in efforts to eliminate our existence and justify the illegal occupation and theft of our lands. Many of the existing descriptions of Southern California Indians in academic research are rooted in the settler colonial logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006). These narratives continue to position us as people of the past and victims of Spain, Mexico, and the United States' physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual genocide against our Tribal Nations, often failing to recognize the intergenerational strength, survivance, and agency of California Indians. Frequently viewed as independent structures, events, or the lingering effects of colonization, Southern California Indians' relationships and history with colonial nations and settlers' techniques for colonial schooling function as a spectrum of continual oppression, assimilation, and elimination and have yet to be discussed as a continuum in academic research thus far. Additionally, colonial narratives fail to allow for stories—told by Indigenous Peoples—that demonstrate and celebrate the strategic ways that we resisted and refused the assimilative and eliminative actions of colonial nations and how we retained and sustained our ways of knowing, being, and doing. This study aimed to correct the existing colonial narratives by bringing Southern California Indians into the present while celebrating our tenacity, survivance, and thrivance.

CHAPTER FOUR: HONORING OUR ANCESTORS' LEGACY

In July 2022, Cindi Alvitre (Tongva), a well-respected Elder, educator, Culture Bearer, activist, and Auntie in the Tongva community, gave our Basket Weaving collective the article "Silenced Knowings, Forgotten Springs: Paths to Healing in the Wake of Colonialism (Lorenz & Watkins, 2001). This article provided me with a foundational understanding of the ways in which Ancestral teachings via *silenced knowings* guide Indigenous Peoples as we navigate colonial society. As a result, with each passing month and oral history session, I relied more on the silenced knowings I carry within me and the relationships I (re)established with my Ancestors. *Silenced knowings* are the "understandings that we each carry that take refuge in silence, as it feels dangerous to speak them to ourselves or others" (Lorenz & Watkins, 2001, pp. 1-2). Recollections of the history of colonization in the U.S.—and California, specifically—frequently exclude the perspectives of Indigenous Peoples, perpetuating a cycle of racist, prejudiced, and deceitful narratives designed to oppress and disenfranchise the histories of the original caretakers of these lands. Lorenz and Watkins (2001) explain that "silenced knowings are linked to dynamics of oppression" (p. 1). To bring silenced knowings out of seclusion, reconnect with Ancestral teachings, end generations of oppression, and heal from the violence of colonization, we must be "willing to break with social codes of silence that have been enforced for generations" (Lorenz & Watkins, 2001, p. 8).

Breaking this cycle requires pushing back against colonial narratives that position Indigenous Peoples as victims of settler colonialism and remnants of the past. It also entails collecting oral histories from Indigenous Peoples that highlight our communities' agency, tenacity, and survivance. However, this cannot be achieved by settlers recounting Indigenous Peoples' experiences. As Lorenz and Watkins (2001) explain, "some process of dialogue and

reconciliation must take place among descendants of genocidal wars in order to break the cycle" (p. 4). Furthermore, this work must be a process where *Indigenous Peoples tell our stories* (Swisher, 1996). This study relied heavily on the silenced knowings that my co-researchers and I carry within us as California Indians to determine what elements of Indigenous Peoples' experiences with settler colonial schooling in California to discuss in academia and what to retain for our communities. Moreover, it aimed to break the cycle of intergenerational *silence* by establishing a dialogue with descendants of SBIIS survivors to engage in truth-telling and healing.

Purpose of the Study, Research Questions, and Theoretical Frameworks

This phenomenological study aimed to examine the intergenerational impacts of Indigenous knowledge transmission practices and settler colonial schooling on Southern California Indians who descend from Catholic-run mission Indian boarding school survivors. While research on Indigenous Peoples in the U.S. and California often attempts to absolve—or altogether exclude—the nation and state from being accountable for or complicit in pre-statehood acts of genocide and colonization, this study aimed to examine both pre- and post-invasion stories pertaining to California Indian education. Including Spanish and Mexican colonization and schooling—via religious indoctrination and vocational training—was necessary to demonstrate that the enforcement of colonial schooling of California Indians predated its statehood. Colonial schooling is an ongoing structure of colonial society aimed at disrupting and dismantling Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing to assert power over Indigenous Peoples to gain dominion over our lands, waters, and bodies. The following research questions guided data collection and analysis:

- What are the oral narratives about California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and colonial schooling in Southern California?

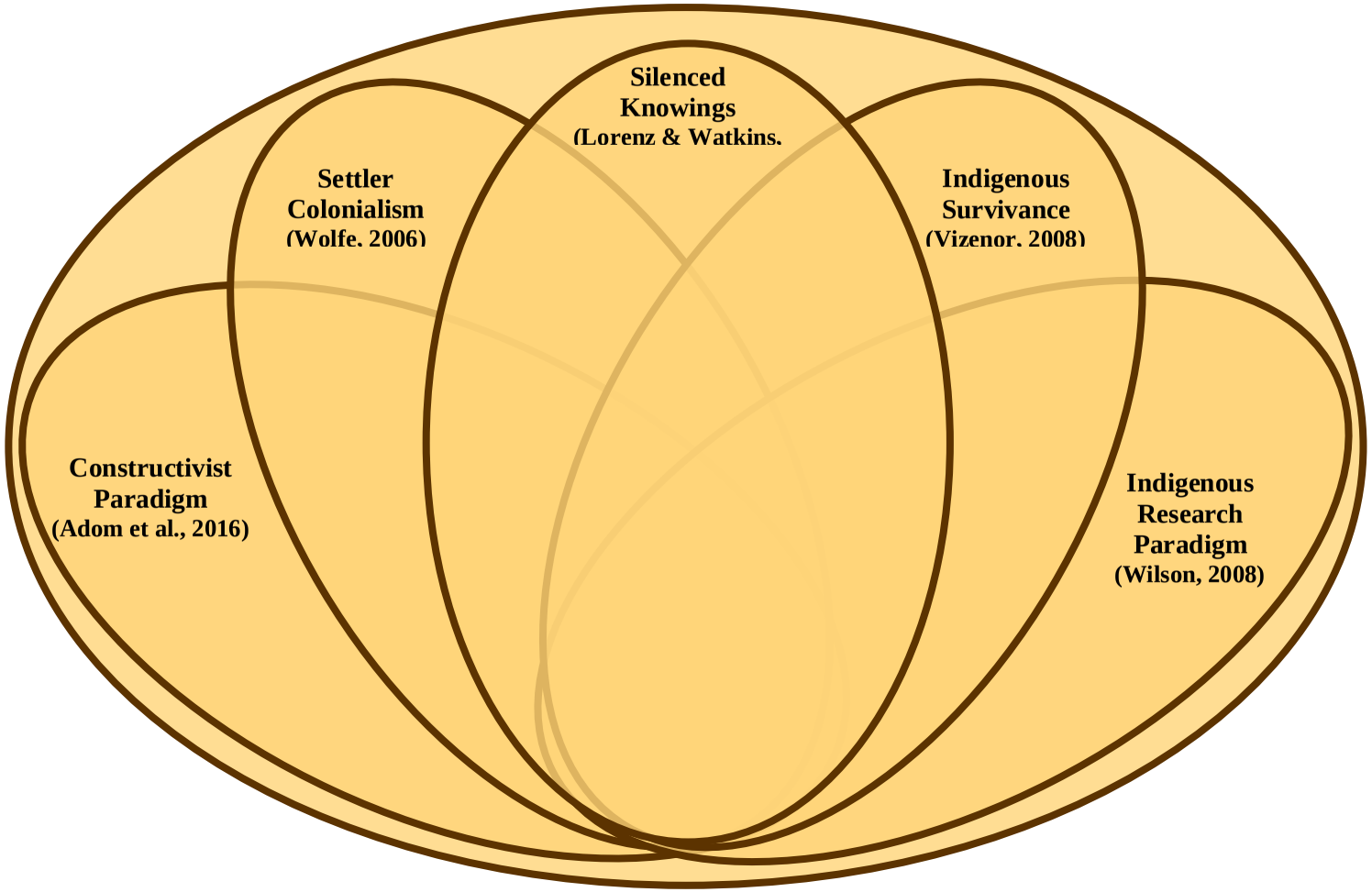


Figure 5: Conceptual Framework

- In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge?
- In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe acts of colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling?
- In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants demonstrate Indigenous survivance and agency?

Data collection and analysis for the study were also guided by the settler colonialism, Indigenous survivance, and silenced knowings frameworks and constructivist and Indigenous research paradigms (see: Figure 5). Through the application of Grounded Theory coding processes, study teachings were divided into three categories: 1) Settler Colonialism, 2) Indigenous Survivance, and 3) Unconditional Love. Each category consisted of three to four sub-themes. The following chapter describes the organization of teachings, oral history session processes and settings, my connection to my co-researchers and their backgrounds, and the teachings that emerged during the study.

Organization of Teachings and Oral History Sessions

Academia has a long history of questioning the validity of Indigenous ways. Ironically, researchers have forced their way into our communities, taking from us with little consideration for Indigenous protocols or needs, labeling our practices invaluable and invalid. As a result, we have always had to defend our knowledge in colonial institutions that have continuously collected our sacred items, recorded our songs and histories, and claimed our ways as *new theories* and *findings* for their benefit and monetary gain—while denying Indigenous Peoples rightful access to and ownership over knowledges and practices we have honed since time immemorial. Reflecting on this, I am refraining from utilizing the term *findings* as—I believe—it reinforces colonial structures and systems that this research intended to disrupt and disassemble by centering Indigenous knowledge through Indigenous wisdom, perspectives, and scholarship. Rather than utilize the term findings to describe the lessons I received from my co-researchers, I

have elected to use the term *teachings*. I believe the term *teachings* better reflects the exchange of knowledge that comprises Indigenous knowledge systems and structures while honoring the contributions of my co-researchers and the generations of wisdom they shared. Moreover, this pushes back on the colonial mentality that researchers own the ideas and theories in their research and ensures that teachings that emerged during this study are rightfully attributed to the knowledge keeper who shared them.

Organization of Teachings

Before discussing teachings that emerged during oral history sessions, it is vital to acknowledge that each co-researcher came to this study with immense unconditional love for their Ancestors, family, future generations, Tribal Nations, and the Southern California Indian community. As mentioned in chapter three, the use of the term co-researcher is utilized to honor the contributions of individuals who shared knowledge with me, and also as a means to push back against colonial ideals of who is and isn't a researcher. My co-researchers' contributions to this study stemmed from a desire to honor the hardships and trauma their Ancestors endured, to find healing through speaking about a history that has remained silent and erased for generations, and to preserve their reflections on the legacy of SBIIS—through sharing stories from their Ancestors—for future generations. The study was designed to elevate the voices of California Indians and honor co-researchers' and their Ancestors' stories. As such, teachings have been grouped thematically to demonstrate shared perspectives and experiences among co-researchers. Likewise, I extensively utilized block quotes for communicating the stories and teachings that emerged during oral history sessions—sometimes at the request of co-researchers—to provide context to statements and stories that otherwise would lose context if not shared in their entirety. The following sections discuss one-on-one oral history sessions followed by a group oral history

session, providing an overview of each process and describing oral history settings. Likewise, each section discusses my relation to the co-researchers, gives an overview of their background. After which, I overview teachings that emerged during oral history sessions.

One-on-One Oral History Sessions

At the beginning of this journey, I initially desired to interview SBIIS survivors. Stories from the first two generations of SBIIS survivors were of great interest to me. These were the last two generations to be exposed to Indigenous knowledge systems before the onset of Indian boarding schools in the United States. Of the two generations, several second-generation survivors were alive when I began researching and writing about this topic in 2017. However, due to the passage of time and Covid-19's severe impact on Indian Country, many Elders from the second generation passed on, preventing my vision from coming to fruition.

Nevertheless, in letting the Ancestors and silenced knowings guide this study, I found that they led me to like-minded individuals—descendants of SBIIS survivors (co-researchers who contributed to one-on-one oral history sessions can be found in Table 2)—who wished to honor their Ancestors by sharing the stories passed onto them by their relatives. While this study lacks first-person survivor narratives, receiving oral histories from SBIIS survivors' descendants reinforced California Indian practices of knowledge exchange through storytelling and altered the course of the study to examine the intergenerational impacts of Indigenous education and colonial schooling. Current research on Indian education often focuses on the experiences of Indian boarding school administrators, staff, and survivors. Still, it neglects to examine the intergenerational impacts that these institutions historically and presently have on descendants of survivors and future generations. The following section discusses oral history settings for one-

Table 2: One-on-One Oral History Co-Researchers

Co-Researcher Name	Tribal Affiliation	Occupation
Theresa L. Gregor	Iipai (Iipai Nation of Santa Ysabel) Yoeme	Assistant Professor
Jacque Nunez	Acjachemen (Juaneño Band of Mission Indians Acjachemen Nation)	Cultural Educator
Sean Milanovich	Cahuilla (Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians)	Native Consultant Tribal Liaison

on-one oral history sessions, my relation to my co-researchers and their backgrounds, and the teachings that emerged during the study.

One-on-One Oral History Sessions: Settings

One-on-one oral history sessions took place between July and November 2022 over Zoom. I had elected to conduct interviews over Zoom to accommodate my co-researchers' schedules and allow for recording and transcribing our oral history sessions. Each session began differently. Sessions with Dr. Theresa Gregor started with conversations about life as an Assistant Professor at California State, Long Beach. My meetings with Jacque Nunez either began or ended in prayer, something of great importance to Jacque to ensure that we were both grounded in the emotional, yet healing, work we were undertaking together. My oral history session with Dr. Sean Milanovich began with me providing him with information about the study and determining how our families—who once lived close to each other—may have been connected. Theresa and Jacque joined me for three oral history sessions, while Sean partook in one extended session. While I had intended for oral history sessions to last from sixty to ninety minutes, there were times when we went over time because neither my co-researcher nor I wanted to stop amid critical conversations.

My Acjachemen Auntie: Jacque Tahuka-Nunez

From 2011 to 2019, I worked as a Cultural Preservation Coordinator (CPC) and Family Preservation Services Manager (FPSM) for a Southern California Tribal Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)[44] program. As CPC, I was responsible for assisting our clientele on their journey to self-sufficiency by hosting or facilitating workshops grounded in Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing that cultivated participants' mental, spiritual, emotional, and physical well-being. During my training as CPC, I was fortunate to attend a workshop facilitated by Jacque Tahuka-Nunez of the Acjachemen Nation at Crystal Cove State Beach, located in Acjachemen territory in present-day Newport Beach, California. Jacque provided TANF families with a day filled with Indigenous stories, games, and art.

Meeting Jacque changed my life. During this workshop, Jacque shared the story of Shulayam, an Indigenous girl born with the *night sky* (i.e., freckles) on her cheeks. While the story is better left for Jacque to tell, I can share that immediately upon hearing the story, I walked up to Jacque and thanked her. As a child, I had been severely bullied for having freckles, with my peers asking if they could *play connect the dots* on my face, which resulted in me praying that I had never been born with them—hearing the story of Shulayam changed my perspective. The story reminded me of creation stories that talk of our people emerging from the sky and how, when we pass, we return to our Ancestors, who are stars in the sky. Jacque's story reminded me of my relationship with my Ancestors and made me proud to carry the night sky on my face.

Jacque was one of many California Indian women who would share knowledge that reminded me and reinforced my relationship with my Ancestors. Over the years, I have watched

[44] For client confidentiality purposes, the organization will not be identified and will be referred to as Tribal TANF or TANF.

her speak at many community events where she shares wisdom and stories about her Acjachemen Ancestors. I've watched her capture the attention of young Native children, my nephew Bryson in particular, and saw their pride in their California Indian heritage flourish. Her work and commitment to educating youth and adults about California Indians has greatly influenced my commitment to my tribal communities and shaped how I view the importance of reclaiming our narratives and culture for future generations. Jacque has been instrumental in this study and demonstrated immense vulnerability and unconditional love for her community and family. While she expressed that this experience has been immensely healing for her, I must acknowledge that it has been life-changing for me to have her share her knowledge with me.

Auntie Jacque's Background. Jacqueline Tahuka-Nunez is an enrolled member of the Juaneño Band of Mission Indian, Acjachemen Nation. She is the daughter of Frances "Mona" Placentia, granddaughter of Florence Rios, and great-granddaughter of Damien Rios and Gertrude Rios. Jacque spent the early years of her life living in the Rios Adobe on Los Rios Street in San Juan Capistrano, California—less than one mile from Mission San Juan Capistrano on the ancestral lands of the Acjachemen Nation. Jacque is a renowned storyteller, author, playwright, singer, director, and an award-winning educator. Jacque graduated from the University of Southern California in 1980 with a degree in Speech Communication and later from Hope University (Pacific Christian College) with a degree in Business. She was a classroom teacher for ten years and has been a Culture Bearer for over thirty years.

As a Culture Bearer,[45] Jacque conducts workshops and provides keynote speaking presentations that share the history and culture of her Acjachemen Ancestors. She works as a

[45] A Culture Bearer is a term utilized among many Indigenous communities to identify individuals who have devoted their lives to the study of their Tribal history, culture, and knowledges and who uses those knowledges to teach others within the Tribe or community and outsiders.

performer and storyteller for the Segerstrom Performing Arts Center and Mission San Juan Capistrano . Jacque is the first Native American to have a professional—ongoing—educational program where educators saw the value of her work as a viable educational program to teach about California Indians. Auntie Jacque came to this study as a first-generation SBIIS descendant. Over the years, I learned of Jacque's connection to SBIIS when she would share stories on her social media about her mother attending the institution as a child. Like other co-researchers, Jacque also came to this study having researched the school and her mother's time there. As a PK-12 educator, Jacque understands the importance of teaching youth—Native and non-Native alike—the true history of the colonization of California and the experiences that California Indians had in boarding schools. She hopes to use the teachings from this study to help her create a children's book that shares the history of SBIIS through her mother's story.

My Iipay Sister Scholar: Dr. Theresa Lynn Gregor

January 2022, I decided to take a healthy risk and apply for my dream job, a tenure-track Assistant Professor position in the department of American Indian Studies at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), which occupies my ancestral homelands on the village site of Puvungna. During the interview process, I met Dr. Theresa Lynn Gregor, who was one of three faculty in the department overseeing the national job search for the position. As I was answering interview questions and sharing my research with the panel, Theresa expressed that her great-grandmother, Alta Gracia "Grace" Cuevas, and several other family members had attended St. Boniface. Like many Kumeyaay youth, her great-grandmother was relocated from her ancestral homelands in San Diego county to attend SBIIS in her childhood. I knew at that moment that Creator and our Ancestors intended for Theresa and me to cross paths. Theresa had spent years looking into her family's connection to SBIIS. Because of her connection to SBIIS, Theresa

understood the importance of the research I was conducting and the institution's intergenerational impacts on descendants of former students. I informed her during the interview that I would reach out to her in the future, and several months later, she agreed—with no hesitation—to be a contributor to this study.

Dr. Gregor's Background. Dr. Theresa Lynn Gregor (Iipay and Yoeme) was born and raised on the Santa Ysabel Indian reservation in Santa Ysabel, CA. She is the great-great-granddaughter of Antonio Cuevas and Andrea Guachena, great-granddaughter of Alta Gracia "Grace" Cuevas, granddaughter of Noreen Theresa Carrisoza, and daughter of Barbara Ann (Prebicin) Osuna. Her family originates from the Iipay village of Mataguay, located between present-day Santa Ysabel and Warner Springs, CA. Theresa's great-great-grandparents were among the first Iipay to be forcibly relocated by the U.S. government from their ancestral homelands in Mataguay to the Santa Ysabel reservation. She comes from a long line of Iipay men and women who advocated for the education of California Indians through Indigenous knowledge systems.

At the time of our oral history sessions, Theresa was the first California Indian tenure-track Assistant Professor in American Indian Studies at California State University, Long Beach. At CSULB, Theresa teaches courses in American Indian Studies that focus on the history of American Indians in the U.S.; composition and expository writing, American Indian literature; American Indian women, genders, and sexualities; and Indigenous philosophies of sustainability. As demonstrated in her teaching and research, Theresa is a proponent of truth-telling regarding the history of the colonization of California, especially in (re)storying the narrative of Spanish colonization at the Asistencia—a sub-mission of Mission San Diego de Alcalá—located on the Santa Ysabel reservation (Gregor, 2022). Theresa came to this study as a third-generation SBIIS

descendant, as her great-grandmother, Grace, attended the school in the 1910s. Similar to other co-researchers, she had conducted extensive research on her great-grandmother's experiences at St. Boniface, and like many of us—experienced roadblocks put in place by the Catholic Church, who have denied descendants access to SBIIS records.

My Cahuilla Cousin: Dr. Sean Christian Milanovich

Dr. Sean Christian Milanovich joined my study in August of 2022. My younger sister, Dr. Theresa Stewart-Ambo, referred him to me after she attended a Yucca Sandal-making workshop with him in the spring of 2018. Before meeting Sean, I had, unknowingly, come across newspaper articles for my master's thesis featuring his grandmother, Anne Vallarte, speaking about her time attending SBIIS. I carried these documents with me as I moved multiple times between 2018 and 2020, knowing that one day I would meet Anne's descendants and be able to share the articles with them. Sean confirmed my belief during our oral history session and reinforced my understanding that the Ancestors were guiding me to my co-researchers. In speaking about his doctoral dissertation and why our Ancestors signed the Treaty of Temecula, Sean stated,

> We signed that treaty so that we would have a future so that our children have a future. We were looking out for them, so they were looking out for you and I. So that we could be here today. Sit here and talk about it, and share this with our families. With our communities and children. So, I think that's real powerful.

While Sean's statement referred to the Treaty of Temecula, his words echo my understanding of why and how my co-researchers came to join my study. Our Ancestors made great sacrifices so that we may hold spaces, such as those in this study, and share stories about the choices they made and the agency they demonstrated to ensure our future. I do not doubt that Sean's Ancestors and mine—many of whom resided near each other over multiple generations in Riverside and San Bernardino counties—led us to this moment in time.

Dr. Milanovich's Background. Dr. Sean Christian Milanovich is an enrolled member of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. He is the grandson of LaVerne Virginia Miguel Saubel—one of Agua Caliente's first all-women Tribal Council members, grandson of Anne Vallarte of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians, and son of Richard Milanovich—Agua Caliente's Tribal Chairman from 1984 to 2012. In addition to his Cahuilla ancestry, Sean is also of Cupeño, Serrano, Luiseño, and Chumash descent. He has worked as a Native Consultant for over twenty years, working with various anthropologists, universities, and Riverside and San Diego counties. Moreover, Sean also works as a Tribal Liaison to the Native American community for Riverside University Health System Behavioral Health. Sean holds various board positions; he is President of the Wicahpi Koyaka Tiospaye, Vice President for the Native American Land Conservancy, and Secretary of the Native Land Trust Council.

In addition to his experience as a consultant and board member in Indian Country, Dr. Milanovich holds a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in American History with a specialization in Native American History and a Master of Arts (M.A.) in Public History, both earned at the University of California, Riverside—which occupies the unceded lands of the Tongva, Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Serrano. He was the first member of the Agua Caliente Band of Mission Indians to earn a doctorate. As previously mentioned, he wrote his dissertation on the Treaty of Temecula, one of eighteen unratified treaties that resulted in California Indians being wrongfully stripped from their stewardship over the lands. Sean came to this study as a second-generation SBIIS descendant. His grandmother, Anne, attended SBIIS in the early 1900s. As a historian, he deeply understands the importance of examining historical records and cross-referencing them against the oral histories passed down by our Ancestors. Historical documents often paint a negative

image of Indigenous Peoples and work to discredit and disenfranchise us. Only through challenging these false narratives with Indigenous stories can the true history emerge.

Group Oral History Session

This session deviated from the protocol of other meetings in this study, which was a carefully thought-out and intentional decision on my part. In 2017 one year after the passing of my grandmother, Carmelita, I was blessed to have the opportunity to interview her sisters, Emma Gonzales-Lopez and Mary Jeanette Gonzales, for my master's thesis research. My grandmother had walked on one year prior, and I missed her dearly. My grand-aunties, very selflessly, agreed to participate in my study, filling the void my grandmother's passing had left in my life and my heart. Aunt Emma and, especially, Aunt Jeannette—both of whom have passed on—became my co-researchers, sharing family stories and histories while also reminding me that I had a responsibility to our family and community to preserve their stories—and my grandma's stories—for future generations. During this time, my Aunt Jeanette, in particular, stated that in every generation, one person was responsible for carrying the family's history. For my generation—it was me. With this in mind, and with the passing of my mom's twin sister in 2021 and the passing of both of my grand-aunts, it seemed only appropriate to bring together the remaining Gonzales-Aguila sisters together to (re)create a space for sharing stories, just as the previous generation had done four years earlier. Fortunately, my mom and aunties agreed.

Group Oral History Setting

My interview with the Gonzales-Aguila sisters (co-researchers who contributed to the group oral history session can be found in Table 3) took place in the city of La Puente, which is known to our Tongva ancestors and relatives as the village of ʻAhwiinga, at the house of Dolores and her husband, Lane Robert Stewart. Dolores and Lane live in a modest two-bedroom home,

Table 3: Group Oral History Co-Researchers

Co-Researcher Name	Tribal Affiliation	Occupation
Yolanda Aguila Rubio	Gabrielino-Tongva Luiseño (descendant of the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians)	Retired Hospital Housekeeping and Janitorial Worker
RoseAnna Vidaure	Gabrielino-Tongva Luiseño (descendant of the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians)	Retired Former Floral Designer
Dolores Maria Aguila-Gonzales Stewart	Gabrielino-Tongva Luiseño (descendant of the San Luis Rey Band of Mission Indians)	Retired Former Homemaker

that—to this day—is filled with memories of the laughter and love from my childhood. Regardless of the time of year, the house is filled with the smell of baked goods from recipes that have been passed down for generations. Before commencing our oral history session, my mom, aunties, and I began our day in community and love by sharing breakfast and conversing about recent events in our lives. We chose to start the day in such a manner because it is reminiscent of our years of gathering at my grandparents' house in San Bernardino as a close-knit family, sharing conversation, knowledge, teasing, and laughter over a meal.

As we gathered around the kitchen table, I could sense hesitation and excitement from my mother and aunties. They were excited to gather together and to help me on my doctoral journey, but at the same time, they were nervous about the significance of the conversation we were about to undertake. Academia is unfamiliar terrain for our family. I was the first of my generation—which consists of thirteen grandchildren—to enter the world of higher education. While my siblings and several of my cousins have pursued higher education—with my younger sister, Theresa Stewart-Ambo, earning the first doctorate in our family—we rarely have spoken about the work we do or the struggles we've experienced as California Indians attending higher

education institutions within our ancestral homelands. For all of us, it has been an experience of extreme isolation. While our family has always been within an hour's drive, we often found ourselves homesick from being away from our immediate and extended family—our most vital support system. This meeting was the Gonzales-Aguila sisters' first experience with the inner workings of academic research, and they were fully aware of the magnitude of the task set in front of them—to share the impacts of the intergenerational legacy of SBIIS. While they initially appeared concerned with the protocols of academia, all their nervousness dissipated when they began conversing as only sisters and aunties can. Together, they cast their trepidation aside and engaged in a conversation one can only describe as reflective of the storytelling practices deeply engrained within our family.

The Gonzales-Aguila Sisters: Yolanda, RoseAnna, and Dolores

Having explored the experiences of family members who had attended or were descendants of SBIIS survivors in my master's thesis—*(Re)writing and (Re)righting California Indian Histories: Legacies of Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School, 1890 to 1935* (Stewart, 2018)—I originally intended to refrain from collecting oral histories from my family for this dissertation. My mother and grand-aunts—Emma Gonzales Lopez and Mary Jeanette Gonzales—became my co-researchers during that study, providing rich accounts of our family's experiences at SBIIS and confirming references to our relatives in archival documents. However, after losing my mom's twin sister—Delia Aguila Weatherby—in January of 2021, I realized the importance of inviting family to my academic and community presentations. Sharing these spaces with my family demonstrates how we collectively carry the legacy of our Ancestors' experiences, specifically—for my direct family line—those of Louis Florian and Carmelita Marylouise Gonzales.

I have always believed my research is for SBIIS survivors and descendants, including family. Inviting my parents, siblings, aunties, uncles, and cousins to my presentations on SBIIS allows me to share our family narratives while giving them a glimpse into my life and the research I conduct as a California Indian doctoral student. Moreover, sharing these moments with my nieces, nephews, and younger cousins allows them to see that—while settler colonial society never intended California Indians to enter higher education—we are more than capable of (re)claiming space at universities in our ancestral territories and that these institutions not only have a responsibility to us, but they also *need us*.

In November of 2021, as a result of inviting my family to see me speak, new information regarding the transmission of oral histories within my family emerged after presenting my master's thesis research for the City of Long Beach's annual Native American Heritage Month (NAHM) Symposium. After my presentation, my aunt—RoseAnna Vidaure—called my mother to discuss what I had shared with the attendees. During this conversation, my mother learned that my grandmother—unbeknownst to us—shared different stories about various aspects of her time at St. Boniface and on the family ranch in Saahatapa with each of her children. Spanning two generations and multiple branches, the Gonzales family—of which I am a descendant—was one of the families with the most significant number of youth to attend SBIIS between 1890 to 1935 (Murkland, personal communication, 2022).

This revelation ultimately reversed my decision to exclude my family's narratives from this dissertation as new data about our family's ties to the institution emerged. Additionally, with the passing of my Auntie Delia in 2021 and my Uncle Alfred Aguila five years earlier in 2016, it has become imperative to record the Gonzales-Aguila sibling's oral histories. They are the last generation of our family to remember Louis Florian Gonzales—their grandfather—who was

among the first generation of SBIIS students, along with his many siblings and cousins. Furthermore, they carry the stories of their mother, Carmelita, and her brother, Leonard Orozco Gonzales—who along with four other siblings and numerous cousins, attended SBIIS in the early 1900s. While my cousins, siblings, and I have fond memories of our grand-uncle and grandmother, neither shared many stories about their lives in Saahatapa or SBIIS. The following section provides an overview of the group interview setting; background information on Yolanda, RoseAnna, and Dolores—collectively and individually.

Gonzales-Aguila Sister's Background. The Gonzales-Aguila sisters are the daughters of Calistro Rodriguez Aguila (Aztec) and Carmelita Marylouise Gonzales (Tongva, Payómkawish, and Tohono O'odham), granddaughters of Louis Florian Gonzales (Tongva and Payómkawish) and Ramona Ballesteros (Tohono O'odham) and Mucio Aguila (Aztec) and Ventura Rodriguez y Herrera (Aztec), great-granddaughters of Maria Francisca Lisalde (Tongva and Payómkawish) and Loretto Gonzales (Iipay). They were born and raised in San Bernardino, California, in a predominantly Mexican and Native American working-class neighborhood known as Meadowbrook. Meadowbrook is located on the traditional homelands of the Tongva and Serrano and is approximately seventeen miles from the Gonzales family's ancestral lands in Saahatapa—known today as San Timoteo Canyon, San Bernardino County, California. In addition to Yolanda, RoseAnna, and Dolores, Calistro and Carmelita are parents to Theresa (1950 to 1950), Alfred (1952 to 2016), Delia (1958 to 2021), and Angel. Their father—my grandfather, after whom I am named—worked for the city of San Bernardino as a sanitation worker. Their mother, Carmelita—my grandmother—was a homemaker and caretaker for her children and parents, Louis and Ramona. The Gonzales-Aguila sisters grew up close to both sides of their family, with their paternal and maternal grandparents and several aunts, uncles, and cousins living within

walking distance of their home. The Gonzales-Aguila family was well known in Meadowbrook for their family's close and down-to-earth nature and their parents' caring nature.

Yolanda Aguila Rubio. Yolanda Aguila Rubio, who we all affectionally call Auntie Londa, is the second-born daughter and third of seven children born to Calistro and Carmelita. Auntie Londa is a very humble woman who does not boast about her accomplishments in life. My mother describes Yolanda as "a loving, caring sister, mother, and grandmother." Yolanda is a mother to three sons and one daughter and grandmother to four grandsons and three granddaughters. After years of working as a hospital Housekeeping and Janitorial Worker to support her family as a single parent, Yolanda is now retired. For most of my life, I remember Auntie Londa living down the street or right next door to my grandparents. Her proximity to them meant she was there to help care for her parents as they grew older. Auntie Londa is probably one of the toughest, yet sweetest and humble, women I know. Because her children were the same age as my siblings and I, our summer breaks were often spent at either her house or my mom's house, where we would eat, tease, laugh, and play. These summers are among my fondest childhood memories and were where I developed my love for authentic Mexican foods that my Auntie seemed to whip up with ease. Auntie Londa came to this study as one of the eldest members of her generation. She has spent a great deal of time with her grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, and cousins and has insight into family histories that many others do not. Before our oral history session, Yolanda had not talked about—nor had been asked—about the stories she shared, noting at day's end that she had always wanted to talk about these things, and doing so was incredibly healing for her.

RoseAnna Vidaure. RoseAnna Vidaure is the third-born daughter and fourth of Calistro and Carmelita's seven children. Of my aunts, I've always had a unique relationship with my

Aunt RoseAnna—who the family affectionately calls Auntie Chana. Auntie RoseAnna and I are third-born children, which created a bond between us that few people can understand. While I was a tenacious child who often gave her a difficult time, she always understood my perspective on things and knew what I was feeling from just a glance at my face. I often see her as a second mom and kindred spirit.

RoseAnna has been married to Robert Vidaure for forty-one years. Together they share one son, Robert Louis Vidaure, who she calls the "joy of my life." From a young age, Auntie RoseAnna held various jobs. She worked as a data worker for the County of San Bernardino for thirteen years, after which she left to raise her son. A few years later, RoseAnna took a floral design course and began working at a floral shop for five years. She eventually moved on to work for a wholesale flower company, where she earned a higher income to help support her family while still being able to do floral design in her free time. Auntie RoseAnna has used her knowledge of flowers and plants—something that I think she inherited from her great-grandmother—to design flower arrangements for most, if not all, of our family celebrations. Over the years, she shared her experience and knowledge with me. I have been fortunate to spend time with her and other women in our family, making flower arrangements for the weddings of various family members and close friends.

Dolores Maria Aguila Gonzales Stewart. Dolores, my mother, is the fourth-born daughter and fifth of seven children born to Calistro and Carmelita. She joined the Gonzales-Aguila family alongside her twin sister Delia. Dolores describes herself as "a retired homemaker, mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother who enjoys quilt making, sewing, gardening, and a baker of many pastries." She has been married to my father, Lane Robert Stewart, for forty-six

years. Together they had four children: Ramona, me, Theresa, and Lane. Dolores also raised our half-brother, Michael, from the time she married our father when my brother was five years old.

My mom is the backbone of our family. From an early age, I remember her—and my dad—teaching us to stand up for what we believe in and ourselves. She taught us always to do what was right over what was easy. She always supported my siblings and me as we navigated an education system not designed for her California Indian children. My mom attended every assembly and parent/teacher conference, volunteered in our classrooms, attended our field trips, and was the loudest voice in the crowd during our high school and college graduations. She has not only taught us the power of unconditional love, but she has also demonstrated it every day of her life in the way that she selflessly put others before herself.

The most important lesson I learned from my mom is to be authentically and unapologetically myself and, in doing so, to push fearlessly against expectations that people have for you. My mom often doubts her intelligence because she does not have a college education. Nevertheless, during my higher education journey, she has contributed to my research by partaking in oral histories that have required her to reflect—very vulnerably—on the experiences of her Ancestors. She has read my work, conducted research, gathered family documents, reached out to family, and written down her discoveries to share with me—and to preserve for future generations. Through my mom's immense support and explorations of her family and SBIIS, this research has gone from something we discussed amongst our family to a study shared in academia. While she may not think so, my mom is a researcher and scholar who fought for the true story of SBIIS and its legacy to be told. This study is as much a labor of her love as mine.

Teachings From St. Boniface Indian Industrial School Descendants

The following section provides an overview of teachings that emerged during oral history sessions. Teachings have been separated into three overarching categories: 1) Settler Colonialism, 2) Indigenous Survivance, and 3) Unconditional Love. I selected these themes as they reflect the guiding frameworks, one prominent emerging concept (i.e., unconditional love), and the themes that emerged across the literature on Indigenous education and colonial schooling during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and U.S. boarding school eras. Moreover, each overarching category consists of three to four sub-themes that discuss acts of settler colonialism aimed at disrupting and dismantling Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing and ways that California Indians refused assimilation into colonial society. Many of the teachings that emerged during oral history sessions substantiate narratives about the maltreatment of Indigenous Peoples in and by colonial society, highlight the agency of our Ancestors, and supplement limited California Indian narratives that currently exist in academic research.

Settler Colonialism

The following section discusses teachings that relate to *settler colonialism*. As mentioned earlier, *settler colonialism* is a form of dominance over individuals or groups—often Indigenous Peoples—through controlling their actions or lands (Horvath, 1972). Specifically, this section examines settler colonial acts aimed at disconnecting California Indians from their ways of knowing, being, and doing in settler's efforts to gain access and dominion over Indigenous lands, waters, and bodies. Teachings were divided into three sub-categories: 1) Removal from Ancestral Lands, 2) Negative Perspectives of California Indians, 3) Colonial Schooling, and 4) Erasure of Indigenous identity.

Teaching # 1: Removal from Ancestral Lands

Removing Indigenous Peoples from their ancestral lands was one form of settler colonialism enacted by Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. to disrupt Natives' reciprocal relationships with the land, waters, animals, plants, Ancestral teachings, and each other (Hyslop, 2012; Mathes & Brigandi, 2018, Milanovich, 2021). Disrupting Indigenous connections to ancestral territories resulted in settlers claiming territories we had cared for—through reciprocal relationships—since time immemorial. Colonizers did not understand Indigenous ways of caring for the land, believing that Native people were not appropriately utilizing or extracting all the land had to offer. Many co-researchers recognized that California Indian's removal of ancestral lands began with the Spanish invasion, but most spoke about more recent acts of removal.

Missions, Asistencias, Ranchos, and Reservations. As a scholar in American Indian Studies, Dr. Theresa L. Gregor offers a perspective on removing California Indians from their ancestral lands grounded in her identity as an Indigenous woman and a researcher trained at one of the most prestigious universities in the nation. Like many Native Peoples of mixed Tribal heritage, Theresa's Tribal ancestry tells the story of Indigenous Peoples' forced removal from their Ancestral homelands. Theresa explained of her mixed ancestry that "the Yaqui people migrated west to flee the genocide and extermination that was happening in the Southwest. And many of those people married into California Indian tribes as they were seeking refuge." While this may seem irrelevant as this study focuses on California Indian perspectives and experiences, it is important to note two things.

First, the borders that make up the U.S. today—and New Spain and Mexico previously—did not exist before the settler invasion (Zappia, 2014). Pre-invasion, Indigenous lands in California—and throughout the Americas—had permeable boundaries with many sites,

particularly those of spiritual and ceremonial significance, being considered shared territory. Theresa's family originated from the village of Mataguay, which is located between present-day Santa Ysabel and Warner Springs. As Theresa explains regarding Mataguay and Warner Ranch, "our villages, before the reservation, extended throughout the area that would become part of that rancho." Second, the relocation of American Indians in the U.S.—especially during the establishment of reservations in the late 1800s and the *Indian Relocation Act* era of the 1950s—resulted in Native Peoples from within and outside of the state being relocated to Southern California Indian territories.

After the Spanish mission era—when several California Indians were relocated to missions and asistencias, many California Indians were forced to relocate again during the Mexican rancho period. Reflecting on how this impacted California Indians of Mataguay and the surrounding villages, such as the nearby Cupeño, Theresa explains:

> Warner Ranch… was Cupa [Cupeño] land. But Cupa's territory intersected with several Iipay villages. And so, John Warner… was given the land grant… under Mexican rule, but the Native Peoples within the rancho were allowed to still live there. They were laborers for him, like ranch hands. Essentially… when everybody was run off… he was trying to help. The Natives still have access to their land, …people in our history say that… they worked with him. They traded with him, but he really just he wanted the land. He wanted the Natives to stay there as laborers and not be removed from their territories. But at the same time, he profited from the transition from the de-secularization of the mission land so that he could then become a property owner.

While Warner allowed California Indians—most likely Iipay and Cupeno—to reside on his rancho to enable them to remain in the ancestral homelands, it was evident that he also sought free labor from those people. Like Theresa, many of my Ancestors resided on ranchos in present-day San Bernardino and Riverside counties during the Mexican era. One could surmise that our Ancestors believed that being a source of free labor for rancho recipients was a sacrifice worth

making if it meant they did not have to leave the lands their people had called home since time immemorial.

Removal from ancestral lands continued to the early American period upon California's statehood. One year after becoming a part of the U.S., California Indians were relocated to reservations. Theresa describes this process, stating:

> …when the Cupeño were removed from Warner Hot Springs, all the other villages were also kind of foreclosed upon, and people were pushed… onto the reservations like at San Ysabel and Mesa Grande, and even Pala. That's right up the turn of the century, 1903 to 1905, well after the suppression of the treaties... Let's see, they [California Indians] were suppressed for 25 years. Then around the 1880s, we started to get some of our reservation lands surveyed and authorized by executive order, but that's still another 15 years later, where it's being enforced, the removals and the placement on the reservation lands are being enforced.

The U.S. government forcibly removed her family from their ancestral village during this time. Her great-great-grandparents were among the first Iipay from Mataguay to the Santa Ysabel reservation.

The relocation from ancestral lands to reservations was catastrophic to California Indians. When asked how her Ancestors navigated this time in their lives, Theresa expressed that:

> Our families are just trying to survive. Our ancestors are just trying to survive, and in the case of what I know of my family is that my great-great grandparents were trying to keep their kids out of boarding school. Out of boarding schools and then getting put pushed up on the Vulcan mountain, having to rebuild and… basically restart their lives. And that territory was really just used for hunting and gathering. Nobody lived up there, or very few people lived up there full time.
>
> So, I think it was just a huge upheaval... starting over, and I don't think people consider those aspects when it comes to our Native history, especially in California. But we could probably go back and trace these same processes and steps that other families have to take. The Trail of Tears [for] the Cherokee, ...removal the Longest Walk for people in the Southwest. We don't think about that, but that was all strategic and intentional. Intentionally designed… to make us homeless, dispossess us, and disenfranchise us at the same time, and then turn around and expect us to become prosperous citizens of the United States, grateful citizens. It just seems, really, astounding. I don't know.

> We allowed ourselves to get boxed in by what the government said. Where the government said we could live, where it said we were from. As an academic, reminds me of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's work that the renaming, the remapping, renaming the map... And just erasing what was there before and forcing us to learn those new names and new places and designations, what a trauma and violence that actually is.

Theresa's statement bring up a point not often discussed in the literature on California Indian dispossession during the Spanish, Mexican, and American eras. With each wave of colonization, California Indians were forced to adapt to new ways of living, working, speaking, dressing, and more. While California Indians resisted settler demands, each wave brought violence to California Indians was worse than the one before.

Unratified Treaties. Dr. Sean C. Milanovich, whose doctoral dissertation—*The Treaty of Temecula: A Story of Invasion, Deceit, Stolen Land, and the Persistence of Power, 1946-1905*—examined settler actions of removal and California Indian agency (Milanovich, 2021), explains that the U.S. government made fraudulent promises to California Indians about establishing reservations. In our oral history session, Sean explained that:

> I researched the Treaty of Temecula and that was a treaty that the tribes signed. Well, they were forced to sign, with the United States Government to turn over all their land to the United States in exchange for a small piece of land. There's a lot of other things to it, but it was all a big, fat lie, and *all of our lands were stolen*. We *did not* want to sign that piece of paper. We *did not* understand what was said in the treaty material in the papers.

The *Treaty of Temecula* was one of the eighteen treaties entered into by representatives of the U.S. government and California Indian Tribal leaders. The treaty guaranteed that the U.S. government would provide education, health services, housing, reservation lands, and fishing, hunting, and gathering rights—among other aids—to California Tribes in exchange for ownership over Indian lands (Milanovich, 2021).

Yet, these treaties were never ratified by Congress and instead were hidden away, resulting in the illegal seizure of California Indian lands—leaving us impoverished. Moreover, as

Sean emphasized in his statement above, California Indians did not want to sign these treaties. We did not have the same concepts of land ownership as settlers, nor did we want to hand over the lands that Creator instructed us to look after in our creation stories. Jacque Tahuka-Nunez, whose tribe—the Acjachemen Nation—like several Coastal Tribal Nations, is recognized by the state but not the federal government, also offered her perspective as to why Congress never ratified California's treaties, sharing:

> Our nation it's very closely connected to the mission. I know that a lot of tribes aren't. But our town, that was our village. We never got federally recognized. The time that they were sending the scouts... through… California. They looked at our people, and they said, "Oh, they look like they're going to be fine with the mission," and so they just stepped over us and said we don't need federal recognition. So it was a good thing, but then it was a bad thing.

Like the Spanish and Mexican governments, the U.S. made many promises to return portions of the land to California Indians. Instead of honoring the eighteen treaties in California, state and federal officials invented legislation that would prevent our people from having access to our lands and permit us to continue as the original caretakers (Stewart-Ambo & Stewart, 2021). Ironically, over 150 years after their signing and eventual concealment, these treaties ended up on display at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D. C. and online at the U.S. National Archives website (Miller, 2013; Smithsonian Institution, 2016).

Teaching # 2: Negative Perceptions of California Indians

Literature on California Indians often portrays us through negative perceptions of our intelligence, spirituality, and physical attributes. To discredit and disenfranchise Indigenous Peoples, settlers constructed narratives about our people that depicted us as uncivilized and unintelligent (Lomawaima, 1999; Reyhner & Eder, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2012; Tuck & Yang, 2012). These narratives justified settlers' desire to *civilize* us through western education systems

and vocational training and provide us with *salvation* through religious indoctrination. Moreover, perceptions of California Indians were systematically distorted to support settler claims that we did not have the capacity to care for ourselves or the lands we had tended to and cultivated since creation. The following sections reflect negative perceptions of California Indians through the following categories: 1) Less than Human, 2) Racism, and 3) Perception of Self.

Less than Human. Through fabricated narratives of California Indians' lack of intelligence and sophistication, settlers established a hierarchy where colonial society viewed Indigenous Peoples as less than human. Sean touched on these negative perceptions while reflecting on his relationship with the Catholic faith, explaining that:

> I've come to realize… I had a hard time with the Catholic religion. Well, with Christianity in general at first, but then with Catholicism. [After] hearing all these stories about the missions of our aunts and uncles, parents were going to these places. I really had to take a look at it, and I think it was in 2010. I remember, here in Palm Springs, at Our Native Guadalupe on the reservation, the church that we built. There was a priest there that wanted to pardon all the prior people who had did horrible damage to our relatives, and he did it. He wanted to bring it out in the open and… apologize for it. Which was one step, and then I mean the Church acknowledged it. And it doesn't make it any easier, ...I'll go to the church. I'm Catholic. But [at] the same time, I follow our Cahuilla creation stories. I follow *tameenkiwut*, natural law. I go to Lakota sweat lodge. I go to Sundance and participate. I go to half-moon ceremonies. These are all just different ways to pray to different groups of people, and to acknowledge God, and give thanks. I remember years ago was asking Creator for help. Creator said, that when you pray, just pray from your heart. It doesn't matter where you're at; just pray from your heart, whatever church you're at, whatever circle you're at. So, that really helps. People that were running these churches, these institutions prior, they're the ones that did bad things. It wasn't Creator. Creator didn't want this for us. But there was people running these institutions… in a negative way that [was] impacting us. People wanted to control us. It was easier to shoot someone… [But] nobody wanted to waste a bullet on us when we weren't anything anyway to them. That's pretty hard to understand. That we weren't looked at as *anything*. We weren't people; we were [something] less than. I understand it… and I have to… and you can get real angry about it, for sure.

Perceptions of California Indians as *less than human* began with the arrival of Spanish settlers and Catholic Church missionaries and continued into the American period—and arguably

persevere today. As Sean explained, negative perceptions of our people are rooted in settlers' belief that we "weren't *anything*." Settlers did not see value in California Indians as people, depriving us of our humanity at every turn. This racial and gendered hierarchy was a result of Spanish caste systems and the Catholic Church's implementation of the *holy trinity*, where men were superior to women, with Indian men being perceived as *less than* in comparison to Spaniards. California Indian teachings conflicted with colonial hierarchies, as in Ancestral teachings all people—as well as the land, water, plants, and animals—were considered equal and responsible to each other. Moreover, viewing us as less than human inevitably empowered settlers to create policies and legislation aimed at California Indians' physical removal and extermination through any means of violence.

Prejudice and Racism. As a result of damaging perceptions, many California Indians experienced—and continue to experience—instances of extreme, and sometimes life-threatening, prejudice and racism as they navigated settler colonial society. Jacque shared two instances where her brother and step-grandfather experienced racism. For her brother, having a dark complexion cost him his life. Jacque shared this story, stating:

> I have one sibling that was murdered by skinheads, and that was [a] very emotional horrible time to where we really saw... there was such a hate-filled world to my brother because he was dark-skinned. They did know if he was a Mexican or Indian, but they knew they wanted to kill him.

Upon its statehood, California enacted legislation permitting the killing of California Indians (Madley, 2016). This legislation also prohibited California Indians from testifying against settlers who committed acts of violence against them. Jacque's brother's murder devastated her family, especially her mother, who later had to attend trials to bring her son's murderers to justice. For Jacque, his murder showed her how much hate there was in the world for California Indians, and it influenced her decision to work as an educator who shares the true stories of her

Tribal Nation through love, compassion, and understanding. Jacque also spoke of her step-grandfather's experiences with prejudice when he would go out for a meal, sharing that:

> If they went into restaurants, you always felt like people were looking at him because he was dark. He used to say people were prejudiced. He carried that whole… self-esteem of... not being up some… white society, and so he... carried that burden.

Jacque's grandfather understood that white society in California judged him for his skin color. It impacted his perception of self and was something he carried his whole life.

For the Gonzales-Aguila sisters, acts of prejudice and racism against them often came from paternal family members who identified as Mexican-American. When speaking about how they learned of their California Indian heritage, the sisters shared the following story:

> **RoseAnna:** How I found out that we were Indian was my mom. She told us she lived at the boarding school.
>
> **Yolanda:** At the boarding school and [that] she was Native.
>
> **RoseAnna:** She was the one that told us that all Indians had to go to that boarding school. That's how I remember finding out at a young age that we were Indian, and then our Mexican uncles would make fun of us.
>
> **Yolanda:** But we didn't care because we were Native.
>
> **RoseAnna:** I don't know why the Mexicans would make fun of the Indians.
>
> **Kelly:** My grandpa did that too.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Yeah. Their whole family did.
>
> **Yolanda:** My dad didn't want my mom to fill out [the Indian Judgement papers]
>
> **RoseAnna:** My [paternal] grandma. They all made fun of Indians.
>
> **Kelly:** So that makes me wonder, how does that make you feel knowing that? Because grandma, the one thing I know, is grandma was proud to be Native.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Yeah. I feel the same way.
>
> **Dolores:** I think grandma suppressed a lot of it because of the teasing. And because she did that, we got cheated out of knowing any history or even it wasn't talked about. And I think that could be one reason why grandma never talked about it.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Or Grandpa.
>
> **Dolores:** Yeah, or Grandpa. Because of the teasing... they never talked about it.

Yolanda: They were prejudiced. I think they were prejudiced.

Dolores: I would say some of it was prejudice.

RoseAnna: They looked down to the Indians. Yeah. My uncle Morris used to say to us as young kids, "a good Indian, is a dead Indian."

The Gonzales-Aguila sisters' father, Calistro, often was seen mimicking Indian chants and dances. While embarrassed by his behavior, his actions were more than playful teasing. In reality, Calistro's actions were demeaning to his wife, Carmelita, and their children and were rooted in the caste systems of Spanish and Mexican colonial society. Despite experiencing these harmful acts against their California Indian identity, the Gonzales-Aguila sisters continued to take pride in their heritage. They understood that their mother's decision to ignore her husband—and his family's—prejudice resulted from her experience at SBIIS. Nevertheless, despite understanding their mother's reluctance to confront their father, they also recognize that they were ultimately denied access to their Tribal history and all of the teachings that come with it.

Perception of Self. While the Gonzales-Aguila sisters retained pride in their identities as California Indians—often confronting those who attempted to shame them, others were unable to refrain from internalizing negative perceptions of our people, resulting in extremely low self-esteem. For California Indian women, this was especially damaging regarding beauty ideals within our communities, as settler society declared that whiteness was the only true beauty. Jacque shared her mother's struggle to embrace her beauty as a California Indian woman residing in the predominantly white neighborhood of San Juan Capistrano in the following story:

> Perhaps my mother had continued feelings from her early childhood memories of being dark and not being loved or accepted from St. Boniface. But when a person looks on TV and sees a blonde headed woman, a non-Indigenous woman it begins to reinforce those early deep-seeded feelings that brown haired brown skinned people are not beautiful. But in fact, my mother was beautiful but maybe her inner child from St. Boniface spoke with ugly words to her spirit. She once told us me and my siblings she was never going to marry a Mexican or Indian. Perhaps marry a white guy, my dad, was to insure her children would be lighter skinned children.

> As a young girl in 3rd and 4th grade I never saw my mother as pretty it took many years to see her real beauty. Her angry words and abusive behavior ([from] historical trauma) to me and my siblings affected the way I saw my mother. I had a few years of therapy to understand why my mom could be such a vibrant life of the party but show her children such negativity and constant words that tore down one's self esteem rather than build our spirits up. She hated my straight hair, she constantly insisted on me getting permanents. She made me feel unless I had curl in my hair, straight hair looked horrible. I have worn my hair straight for 35 years because I do feel it was my natural gift of being an Indigenous woman from Creator!

Jacque's mother associated white skin coloring with the acceptance into settler society. She understood that the settler world provided more opportunities for those with light skin coloring, and wanted to ensure that her children did not experience the same hardships and low self-esteem that she had experienced throughout her life. Jacque also connected negative perceptions of California Indians to many of the societal issues plaguing our communities—historically and presently, explaining that:

> I am a person that has suffered with my mom during elementary school through high school, as my mom carried her early teachings and abuse from St. Boniface to her own parenting skills. It wasn't uncommon to have her slap us, pull our hair and cuss at us during our early years being raised by my mother. Though her and my Dad tried to give us what they did not have growing up, there was a lot of arguing and drinking in their marriage. I have memories of my mom cooking and loving my dad and he loving her, but many memories of the opposite as well!
>
> My mother's side of the family, my grandmother and her siblings were all heavy drinkers. I'm not sure why, I have memories of arguments and physical fights. I am not sure why but maybe many of my great uncles and great aunts had a low self-esteem and drank to forget their past too? Historical trauma is a concept we are just beginning to understand but I do believe it affected my mom and our family not belonging in either world, Indigenous world or Anglo world.

Here, Jacque connects the trauma of having our humanity stripped from us to the psychological and emotional trauma that is often expressed externally through substance abuse as a means of suppressing thoughts and feelings of inadequacy.

Teaching # 3: Colonial Schooling

It is important to begin this section by acknowledging that it discusses acts of violence committed against Native youth—particularly young women—at Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS), formerly located in Banning, CA. Many of these individuals carried these traumas alone in silence for most of their lives. As Dr. Milanovich pointed out in our discussion, youth attending SBIIS:

> … weren't allowed to incorporate their worldview, their way of doing things. Everything was forced upon them, and it wasn't voluntarily done. So that was difficult and challenging. The religious part of it is huge, [and] the food part is much bigger. Then the way you're supposed to dress and learn a new language. And, …the way you carry yourselves all day long, working and then praying a certain way. It must have been traumatizing for the kids.

These are the most difficult to write about of all the teachings that emerged during the oral history session. As descendants of SBIIS survivors, (re)living the experiences of our Ancestors creates experiences of secondary trauma for my co-researchers and me, as we often feel and experience our Ancestors' pain as if it is our own.

For me, it was necessary to take time away from this study in September 2022 to reflect deeply on whether or not I should share these stories in this dissertation. Ultimately, after careful consideration and many prayers, I determined that it would be a dishonor to the memory of these survivors—many of whom have passed on—to hide their stories. After decades of carrying the weight of these traumas, they shared these experiences with my co-researchers. Moreover, I genuinely believe that they—along with my Ancestors—guided my co-researchers and me to each other so that we may cross paths and share these stories, and, in doing so, give these survivors—our grandmothers, mothers, and aunties—back their voices.

Necessity, Abduction, and Hiding: SBIIS Recruitment of Native Children. A common practice to secure enrollment at Indian boarding schools in the U.S. was to remove

Native youth from their families forcibly. Methods of student recruitment at SBIIS are debatable. Existing literature on the institution claim that Southern California Indian parents willingly sent their children to SBIIS (Harley, 1994, 1999; Rathbun, 2006). Archival documents reviewed in this study allude to the coercion of parents by superintendents—B. Florian Hahn, intensely—to send their children to the school. Oral histories in this study substantiate both narratives while expanding it to include stories of the theft of California Indian youth and ways that parents shielded their children from attending SBIIS. Nonetheless, whether students were forcibly or coercively taken from their homes or sent to SBIIS willingly by their parents, many Southern California Indian parents did not want their children to attend federal or Catholic boarding schools in the region.

Necessity. For Jacque's grandmother, sending her children to SBIIS was a necessity. Jacque shared the following story about why her grandmother sent her kids to SBIIS:

> She was a single mother, and she went to San Pedro to work [in] the shipyards. Now they say that Native Americans are never afraid of heights, and [my] grandmother, was never afraid of heights, actually [she] would climb up the stirring, and she would polish the stern. She made really good money…my mother and her brother went to the boarding school because my grandmother was working in the shipyards.
>
> How they came in a big black car and how my mother was told to go with little explanation in my opinion was very cruel. Her first tearful heartbreaking thoughts "if I wasn't so dark they would not have taken me!"

As a single mother, Florence Rios needed to work to provide an income for her family. Because Florence was working away from the family's home in San Juan Capistrano, she decided to send her children to SBIIS, hoping they would be cared for and receive an education.

Abduction. Sean shared a story about the abduction of a young California Indian girl, his aunt, from her home up in the mountain area of Cahuilla territory, attesting:

> … these institutions, the boarding schools, horrible, horrible places. Some people give great accounts. I have another aunt that was stolen from her front yard. She

> was up on the mountain, Annie Hamilton—she's Cahuilla, and she was about five years old. This black car pulled up in front of her house, grabbed her while her mom was hanging clothes up on the clothesline. Took her, grabbed her, and then threw [her] at the back of the car. So she's looking out at her mom, screaming, asking for help. And then her mom saw her in the car, threw the clothes down, she ran right after her. She didn't see her daughter for another year. She had no idea what had happened. They just took her… she went to, I think it's St. Joseph's [Indian School] in Arizona.

While it is unclear whether Annie attended SBIIS before being relocated to St. Joseph's Indian School in Arizona, this story demonstrates the fear Indian children felt as they were abducted by administrators and staff at the mission Indian boarding schools. Furthermore, it illustrates how Indian mothers fought for their children and always longed for their safe return home.

Hiding. Theresa Gregor's family made great efforts to prevent their children from attending SBIIS. Her great-grandmother, Grace Cuevas, attended SBIIS with her siblings in the early 1900s. However, the family went to great lengths to ensure that Grace's youngest brother, Charles, did not join the others at SBIIS. Theresa shared the following story about how her great-great grandparents prevented their son from being taken to SBIIS, sharing that:

> Antonio's children, my Grandma Grace, they all were sent off to St. Boniface except for my Great Uncle Charles who was the youngest. And he recalls his dad and mom hiding him when they would hear a vehicle coming up the road or if they didn't recognize it. They would hide him out back. They had like a little cellar and brush the tracks and make him stay there until they knew it was safe for him to come out.

School administrators often threatened Indian parents during this period if they did not turn their children over to attend Indian boarding schools. Having already experienced separation from their older children, Antonio Cuevas and Andrea Guachena Cuevas went to great lengths to keep their youngest child home. Moreover, Antonio Cuevas was a staunch opponent of Indian boarding schools and advocated for the establishment of a day school on the Santa Ysabel reservation. Theresa believes that Antonio's advocacy for a day school and opposition to boarding schools stemmed from his older children being "taken and sent there [to SBIIS] after

they lost all their land and property." A day school would ensure that Antonio's children and other children of the Tribe could be educated near their families and return home at the end of the day. His advocacy resulted in establishing a day school at Santa Ysabel, which would be located on the land holdings of Theresa's family.

Violence Against California Indian Children. Speaking and writing about the violence that Indigenous children experienced at Indian boarding and residential schools is not easy. Sharing the two stories in the following section weighed heavily on my heart. The primary aim of this study is to highlight the voices of Southern California Indians as they share stories about historical and present-day experiences with colonization and colonial schooling. Achieving the goal of elevating these voices means sharing painful and traumatic stories. While the stories may be triggering and cause tensions, honoring the stories of my co-researchers and their Ancestors requires explicit truth-telling. The following section aims to honor SBIIS survivors Florence Louise Placentia (Juaneno Band of Mission Indians, Acjachemen Nation) and Anne Gonzales Vallarte (Cahuilla, Morongo Band of Mission Indians) through sharing their stories as told to their descendants. While I will introduce each story, I elected to refrain from providing commentary and analysis following the narratives. Instead, I will provide analysis of these stories in the discussion section of chapter five.

Frances "Mona" Placentia's Story. During our second oral history session, Jacque expressed her desire to share her mother's story of her time at St. Boniface and its impact on Florence and her children. Between oral history sessions one and two, Jacque spent a great deal of time reflecting on what information to share about her mother and how to share it. The passages below are Frances' story, as told to me by her daughter Jacque:

> But my mother, all of our lives, was very strict, and she was abusive in the way she raised us. It was part of the way we were raised, always being yelled at and

constantly being in trouble. But on the flip side of that coin, my parents bought us lots of clothes, designer shoes, our own telephones in our room. We lived with the negative side of our upbringing and the positive side of gifting us with many things.

It wasn't anything to grab our hair and drag us around or hit my sister with a chord of an iron or throw something that us. That was part of what we would get a big beating for whatever. I was such a crybaby that I would crawl under the table. And I never got as much as my sister because my sister was… defiant. She'd say, "you go ahead and do whatever you're going to do to me." And then my mother would really slap the hell out of her. … But you know what is funny, Kelly? I thought all parents were like that. I thought all mothers raise their kids that way, and when I was about in seventh grade, a few friends from school… in Orange, California, which is… predominantly white, invited me over to their house, and when I would go, their mothers were so different. It's like, "Oh, girls, you're home. Come on in. I've made some cookies, and I've got some juice here. You girls have a little snack, and then you can go out and play," and have this beautiful little voice. I was going, "Wow!" But it was so different than the way that we were raised.

We were raised with a lot of yelling, and we were always... We don't want to say we were in charge. Both of my parents worked, so we were in charge of keeping the house. We would lay around not doing a thing, until she called. We knew it took 45 minutes to get home. We hustled around and got the house spic and span before they both walked in the door. Then welcoming them in as if we had been working for three hours. Like we knew when my mother was going to come home. We took 45 minutes because we just laid around and did nothing, and then they'd say, "Mom's coming home," and everybody was [busy] getting the house clean like we'd be cleaning for 3 hours or something, and then, "Oh, hi, Mom!" So I was raised in a way that I began to realize that there was something really different about my family.

So one day, when I was 17, I came home. I never have seen my mother cry, never… I never had my mom hold my face in her hands like this [*holds hands up to face*] and just say, "Oh, my little darling, I love you." She wasn't tender like that. She wasn't… anything like that at all. As I look back I really wanted that but I'm thinking she was incapable of showing me tenderness.

But when I came home, my mother was sitting in the dining room, and she was folding towels, and she was crying. And I thought someone had died. I mean, I couldn't imagine. I said, "Mother, what's the matter?" It was almost like… a breakthrough, and she spoke like she was talking in a reflective trance. She didn't say, "Sit down; I want to tell you something about my life." She spoke like this, "If I wasn't so dark, they wouldn't have taken me." And then I'd say, "Who? What are you talking about?" [She said,] "They took me to the boarding school, and they took me because I was Black-Indian, and I wasn't pretty." And I said, "Mother, what?!" "And they took me, and they…they…they searched my head for lice. I was a dirty Indian to them." And I said, "Oh, Mom, I'm so sorry." And she said, "They hated the Indians. Those people hated the Indians," and then she

Photograph 1: Frances “Mona” Placentia at Graduation

Note: Included at the request of Jacque Tahuka-Nunez.

said, “When I got there, all I did was cook. I learned to cook and clean, and iron. I was going to be a maid. That’s all they wanted me to be… a maid. And when we went to the movies, the people… we’d walked through the town, and the people would spit, and I’d have to walk on their spit. They called me a dirty little Indian. That’s all I was to everybody.” It was like this trance of her just regurgitating this pain. “And when we went to the movies, they made us go through the back door. We couldn’t go through the front door ‘cause we were dirty little Indians.”

And so, that’s where my mother’s low self-esteem came [from]. When my mother went out, Kelly, she wore her eyelashes. She wore her makeup. She was beautiful. But when she was home with us, that’s when the anger came out. As I look back, I realize that my mother was hurting. And one of the things she said was, “and they made us dig graves.” At the time, it didn’t make sense to me. But as everything has been revealed about Canada and a few places here in the United States. I always say, “they’re going to find some bodies under… St. Boniface,” ‘cause my mother said they made them dig graves.

… I saw a movie and I saw a nun grab this little girl’s hair and drag her around. That night, when I was watching it, I said, “That’s how my mom had it… that way.” Because she was taught that way, that when you’re upset with somebody, you grab their hair, and you pull them all around, and you slap them in the face. She learned that from the nuns. She didn’t learn it from my great-grandmother. My grandmother wasn’t there because she was working all the time. She learned it from that very impressionable moment when she was there [at St. Boniface], and the parenting of the nuns and the priests stayed with her.

Anne “Annie” Gonzales Vallarte’s Story. Sean’s grandmother, Anne Gonzales Vallarte, carried her story in silence until shortly before she passed away. During the 1970s, Anne often provided guest lectures and spoke with newspapers about her experiences at St. Boniface. The following passages are Anne’s story, as told to me by her grandson Sean.

So, when we went to Saint Boniface—when we were taken to institutions like that… I’ve read probably no one near as much as you, and in the archives about it, about St. Boniface. But… even my grandmother talked about it, saying that she loved Saint Boniface. That’s not true! She hated it. All those teachings that our parents gave them, that they receive from their parents, and from the people that raised them they were forced to try to forget all of that. That they were supposed to find this new way of learning, new way of prayer, and… it was intentional to bring us down, it wasn’t… to help us at all. It was to hurt us, to break us apart. You see [it] in a lot of letters that the kids wrote. [It’s] all one letter after the other, in the… The Mission Indian. All the kids are saying pretty much the exact same thing, and with the intention, they want to let their parents know that that they’re okay, and they really don’t say much. It’s all a big lie. It’s all scripted.

> So my grandmother, who I'm talking about, is Annie Gonzales—also known as Anne Vallarte. She passed away a couple of years ago; over here [in Palm Springs], and we cremated her. Just a couple of years ago, 6-7 years ago, we cremated her, and then we… we buried her up in canyons. We go visit her all the time, and she's close to the water. But she told me once cause she went there [to SBIIS], and she was about five years old. So I think it was about 1910 when she was there. She was in LA in this rest home, and she wanted me to hear something. She had something to tell me, and it was really, really bad. She had been raped by Father Hahn, repeatedly. And he wouldn't leave her alone and hurt her that way, and she carried that with her all her life until just a couple of years ago. And she was well over 100 years old. But you can see in the Mission Indian, and that letter from whenever it was, "Oh, mom and dad, things are great! I'm doing well." There was an article that she was in the seventies that she's describing all the crops that she helped with. But she wasn't happy… you know she had been *colonized*. She had been *made* to think that this is the way you think… and the way you look at it. But she had to digress and uncoloni[ze]… take away all those things on her mind. Take it all the way to see the truth, and because of that, she was taken advantage of by the priest. She was never able to forget any of that. She carried that with her—her entire life, and… she was never able to move forward. So, she experienced trauma all throughout her life, she carried that trauma with her. She was never able to let go. She carried it with her to her deathbed.

Running Away. Literature on Indian boarding schools contains many stories of Native youth attempting—sometimes successfully—to run away from their boarding school to return home to their families and Tribal communities (Child, 1998, 2018; Lomawaima, 1994; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Trafzer et al., 2006). These harrowing attempts by Indigenous youth to escape from boarding and residential schools are also depicted in films and documentaries, with *The Rabbit-Proof Fence* and *Where the Spirit Lives* being two. The Gonzales-Aguila sisters and Sean Milanovich each shared stories of relatives running away from SBIIS during oral history sessions. Carmelita Marylouise Gonzales, my grandmother, began attending SBIIS in September 1927—just shy of her fifth birthday. Prior to attending SBIIS, Carmelita spent the first few years of her life living on the Gonzales Ranch in San Timoteo Canyon, CA—near the ancestral village of Saahatapa—with her parents, grandparents, siblings, and cousins.

While Carmelita rarely spoke about her time or experiences at SBIIS, she did share a few stories with her children and grandchildren about her attempts to run away and return home to her family. During our meeting, the sisters and I discussed Carmelita's attempts to run away. Having collected an oral history with her older sister, Emma Gonzales Lopez, in 2017 for my master's thesis, I was able to engage in conversation with the sisters, filling some of the remaining gaps in Carmelita's stories.

Yolanda: My mom attended [St. Boniface], and one of her stories was that she didn't want to be there. She wanted to be home with her mom and dad. So she would try to run away and climb a tree.

Dolores: To hide.

Yolanda: Yeah. To hide, to hide. And [the] nuns would tell her, "you got to come down." And then she knew she'd be in trouble. She [the nun] would beat her [Carmelita] on her hands. But we don't know what else.

RoseAnna: She didn't talk a whole lot about [being at] St. Boniface, only that she missed her mom and dad so much.

Yolanda: So much.

RoseAnna: And then I could remember when a couple of times that she ran away. Somehow she knew her brothers went first. I don't know how she found out, but I remember her saying she met them somewhere.

Kelly: Uncle Gilbert lived in downtown Banning.

Dolores: And that's where she was. That's where she'd run away to. They knew where to go. She knew where to go.

RoseAnna: She wasn't afraid to run away. That's for sure. She wasn't afraid.

Kelly: Aunt Emma said… she ran… [she] would go with grandma. But only because she didn't want grandma to go alone and that she… wouldn't have left, but that she did [it to] look out for grandma. And that when they would leave, they would go to Gilbert's house because [he] was in downtown, which is like, less than five miles.

RoseAnna: And mom never said Aunt Emma was in trouble. She always just [said] she was in trouble.

Yolanda: She [Carmelita] was in trouble.

Dolores: She [Carmelita] was the one who wanted to run away.

RoseAnna: And she was the one that would say that she would fight the Nuns. She was feisty.

Kelly: But because Uncle Gilbert went to school… the school knew where [he] lived. And that's why… Father Justin… went to Gilbert's house. She [Emma] said, "they got us and… brought us back."

The sisters spoke about their mother and aunt running away more than once, trying to get a clear understanding between them as to why she ran away more than once. Yolanda, the eldest of the sisters, expressed that her mom's desire to run away stemmed from the physical abuse she endured at the hands of the nuns in retaliation for misbehaving. Londa shared with us that Carmelita would say:

Yolanda: … "they were mean. They would hit me." Mom said they would get her hand and hit her. Mama said that when she was at the boarding school, she hated to be there. So she would run away from the nuns, and she would go up on the tree, and the nuns would go…

Dolores: Was she getting spanked by them?

Yolanda: She said they were mean to her.

RoseAnna: She got spanked when she came down from the [tree].

Yolanda: I said, "Mom, why would you run away?" "Because the nuns were mean. The nuns were mean, and I didn't want to be there no more."

RoseAnna: She ran away because she missed home.

Yolanda: Yeah, she said, "I wanted to be home with my Mom and Dad. I wanted to go home with my mom and dad, and they wouldn't let me. So I would go up in the tree and stay there." And I said, "And then what would happen?" "Well, then the nuns would tell me, 'you got to come down.' And then I'd be in trouble."

Carmelita always spoke fondly of her life at the Gonzales Ranch. Her disobedience was rooted in her unconditional love for her family and the love they had for her. One can surmise that she was not receiving the love she needed as a child and acted out, resulting in punishment instead of the tenderness she needed. In punishing her for her defiance, the nuns at St. Boniface reinforced her desire to return home to the one place where she knew she would receive love and affection.

Carmelita wasn't alone in her desire to return home to her family. There are many stories from descendants about their grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, and cousins running away.

Sean shared one of the stories about his Aunt Renona Pennington's successful escape from St. Boniface. He expressed that Renona had shared her story after watching the film *The Rabbit-Proof Fence* at the Indigenous Film Festival that the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians hosts. The film, which depicts the journey of two young Australian Aboriginal girls escaping from the residential school they were forced to attend, reminded his aunt of her experience and compelled her to share her story with others. Sean had never heard the story and expressed how incredible it was to hear. He shared the story with me, stating:

> I have another Aunt… Renona Pennington, she was Renona Welmas at the time. She went to St. Boniface, …at a later time, though. She and her sister had been raised by their grandparents. So the grandparents thought this would be a good school for them. So the grandparents... thought the girls could learn something, and they were only 5 and 7 years old. So they took the girls there. The girls… ran away from there, and they snuck out at night. They [had] taken the sheets under bed and made a rope to go down from the top of the building from the third floor. So, they climbed down and got to the ground early that one morning, and 5 and 7 years old. They got all the way, it was about halfway [to Agua], and there was this store, and she said they had just enough money to buy a pop. So, they bought a bottle of pop! They drank it between both of them, and then they continued… to Agua Caliente. They got there probably about 11 o'clock at night, she says. There she saw her grandpa around the fire, and her grandpa embraced her and said, "You know, you girls never ever have to go back there again." But they ran from that place. They didn't like it; they heard stories.

Like Carmelita, Sean's Aunt Renona and her sister had negative experiences at St. Boniface that compelled them to make the thirty-three-mile journey home at the ages of five and seven. Stories like Carmelita's and the Pennington sisters can lead one to conclude that the abuse and violence many California Indian youth experienced at the hands of priests and nuns—people charged with caring for them—was so severe that they would risk their lives to return home.

Teaching # 4: California Indian Identity

California Indian identity was another prominent theme in this study. In an effort to *deal with the Indian problem*, settlers enacted policies and practices of eugenics. Eugenics is "an inaccurate theory linked to historical and present-day forms of discrimination, racism, ableism,

and colonization" and the "theory that humans can be improved through selective breeding of populations" (National Human Genome Research Institute, 2022). Through the promotion of intermarriage between Native women and settler men, Spain, Mexico, and the United States believed they could *breed out* the indigeneity of Indigenous peoples. Moreover, the U.S. tracked their eugenics experiments through the establishment of blood quantum. *Blood quantum* is the "amount of 'Indian' blood that a person has" (Harmon, 2021, para. 2). Harmon explains that the U.S. government used blood quantum to:

> Define a point at which responsibilities to tribes, entitlement programs, treaty rights, and reservations would end. The government hoped that using blood quantum would eventually eliminate Native Peoples—that intermarriage would "dilute" the amount of "Indian blood" in the population, causing descendants of Native Peoples to become indistinguishable from the rest of the population. (Harmon, 2021, para. 3)

The establishment of eugenics and blood quantum was catastrophic to Indigenous Peoples, including California Indians, resulting in many issues with Tribal Nations regarding who was and was not a member of a tribe. The following section discusses four themes relating to California Indian Identity: 1) Tribal Affiliation, 2) Lateral Violence, 3) Tribal Nation vs. Reservation, and 4) Descendant of Perpetrator and Victim.

Tribal Affiliation. In 2017, while conducting archival research for my master's thesis on St. Boniface, I came across two records for brothers, Leonard Orozco Gonzales and Gilbert Orozco Gonzales, that incorrectly listed their Tribal affiliation. That same year, Dolores received her mother's—Leonard and Gilbert's younger half-sister—Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB) from the BIA, which—compared to my Dolores and her children's CDIB—had an extra tribe listed. While the information, based on oral histories and the 1928 California Indian Judgment Roll, was accurate, it reflected discrepancies in how the BIA processed California Indian blood degrees. Inaccuracies in the record-keeping of California Indians are nothing new.

They are reflected through markers on various census records where government officials erroneously identified California Indians as white or Mexican, only to cross out their mistake later by placing an "I" over the "W" or "M."

Theresa's great-great-grandfather Antonio Cuevas had a similar experience as my Ancestors and relatives. During our oral history session, Theresa expressed that the BIA had listed him "as half-white, and he has the last name of Smith." While this may have been the census taker's *mistake*, Theresa also notes there was a possibility that "it was in some ways to pass and also to maybe attain more rights than what the California Indians were being allowed" at the time. Similarly, my great-grandfather declined to apply for the 1928 Judgement Roll, and our understanding was that doing so could have impacted his employment with the Santa Fe Railroad. In the case of Theresa's great-great-grandparents listed:

> Their identity as Diegueno. And it says the Treaty of San Ysabel. They cite that treaty—which we know was never ratified. But that's what they believed entitled them to maintain their village and probably explains why they stayed put in that village site which was one of the main villages in the region prior to the reservation being established.

Unlike my family, Theresa's family utilized the treaty signed by their people as a way to reinforce their identity as California Indians, thereby rejecting concepts of blood quantum.

Tribal Nation vs. Reservation. In discussing issues related to blood quantum and Tribal affiliation, Theresa also expressed how the reservation system impacted our relationships with our Tribal Nations. Before the invasion, California Indians identified each other by the villages where their family resided. Upon Spanish arrival, many California Indians were relocated to missions and asistencias, where their Tribal Nations—once known as the people of their particular village—were grouped and renamed after the mission or asistencia they were taken to. When the U.S. created reservations, California Indians, many of whom were either identified as *mission Indian* or by their specific mission, were given new names based on the names given to

their reservation. As a result, California Indians took on the identity of their reservations, and as Theresa explains:

> Because I know in California [Indian] culture, and I feel like in Southern California too, sometimes we identify ourselves by reservation and not by our tribal groups in some cases. Especially kids, I think today, [say] "I'm La Jolla." "Well, you're Luiseno. You're Payómkawichum. You're much bigger than La Jolla, your identity." And I feel like we're not educating them in the proper way about their relations and their relationship to other communities that share that same nationality.

Today, this creates an environment where Native youth do not have the same close connections and reciprocal relationships with other Tribal bands of their nation.

Lateral Violence. Moreover, this disconnection between Tribal bands frequently fosters acts of lateral violence. Bombay et al. (2014) explain that: "Lateral violence can occur within oppressed societies and include bullying, gossiping, feuding, shaming, and blaming other members of one's own social group as well as having a lack of trust toward other group members" (p. 2). Jacque shared her experiences with lateral violence in California Indian communities by sharing:

> Sometimes I call myself a Pollyanna Indian because… I wasn't raised on a reservation. I feel like the ones that grow up on the reservation are prejudiced towards me because I didn't grow up on the reservation, and I've had some say belittling things to me. But because of my faith, I said, "I know I'm supposed to be here, and they're going to have to learn that I have a place… Even though I'm not federally recognized, even if [I] didn't grow up on a reservation. I'm Native American, just like they are, and [the tribe] respects me and wants me there." But sometimes it hasn't been easy because there is that fine line of people treating you differently because you're not from the Rez.

The lateral violence that Jacque experiences when she speaks for neighboring Tribal Nations is a form of shaming. Frequently, Indigenous peoples who have grown up away from their reservation or whose Tribal Nation does not have a reservation due to federal recognition issues are belittled and told that they are not *real* Native Peoples. In these perceptions, there is a failure to recognize that Tribal Nations—such as the Acjachemen Nation—were denied recognition

because state and federal governments did not want to give up their dominion over their land. California Indians, such as Jacque, maintain strong ties to their Ancestral knowledge systems and culture regardless of having an established reservation. They should be respected for strengthening those ties despite not having the same access to resources.

Descendant of Perpetrator and Victim. Finally, in terms of California Indian identity, Jacque identified an issue not often talked about amongst California Indians, the concept of being from both perpetrator (i.e., settler; Spanish, Mexican, European, etc.) and victim (i.e., California Indian). Jacque shared her story, stating:

> Being that I am a descendant of Feliciano Rios, I'm Spanish. He was the leather jacket soldier that guarded Father Serra. We were colonized from the beginning because he was the colonizer. My own family was the colonizer, they were the Spanish. They were the Spanish soldier. They came in and they were the ones that... chased my relatives to come back to the mission. As I became an educator and began to do some of the research to see some of the horrific things that it's always been this. [But] they never told us any of that. And it wasn't until the last, I would say, 15 years where a lot of the truth is coming out. They separated our families with the mission, and the men were in one section, the women in another. They would roll the women up in rugs so they wouldn't have relations with them.

Like Jacque, many California Indians today are of mixed Native, Spanish, or Mexican blood—me included. It is often difficult for us to reconcile the emotions that come with acknowledging that part of who you are and where you came from did heinous things to others. As the true history of the genocide of California Indians emerges, people of mixed ancestry can have open conversations to discuss how to reconcile these feelings.

Summary of Teachings: Settler Colonialism

Overall, settlers acted strategically to dismantle Indigenous Peoples' connections to Ancestral teachings that connected them to the land and their knowledge systems and structures. Forced removal from Ancestral territories—through forced relocation to the missions, ranchos, and reservations—resulted in the disruption of California Indian relationships with their

homelands. Congress' willful failure to ratify the eighteen treaties of California also significantly impacted Indigenous sovereignty as it created a system where many Tribal Nations in the state were not viewed as the sovereign nation they had been since creation. Some Tribal Nations—particularly Coastal California Tribes—never recovered from the damage caused by these treaties being hidden away. Moreover, to justify these actions, government officials and missionaries consistently stripped California Indians of our humanity at every opportunity, resulting in extreme racism and prejudice against our people. This villainization was often internalized by California Indians, resulting in negative perceptions of self, which can be seen in how Native youth returning from boarding schools felt that they did not fit in the Indigenous or settler society. While the impacts of settler colonialism persist today, California Indians were not solely victims of settlers' actions, and they often refused and resisted settlers' attempts to eliminate them. The following section describes these acts of Indigenous survivance by California Indians as shared with me by my co-researchers.

Indigenous Survivance

Gerald Vizenor (Chippewa) described *Indigenous survivance* as the dynamic existence of Indigenous Peoples through the continuation of our stories and traditional knowledge systems and structures, despite attempts by settlers to ensure our erasure, displacement, and extinction (2008, 2009). Moreover, survivance is an active refusal to acknowledge attempts at disrupting and dismantling Indigenous way knowing, being, and doing, and a rejection of colonial dominance and an embracement of our continued strength and resilience. The following section examines the following emergent themes: 1) Survivance through Ancestral Knowledge, 2) Survivance through Preservation of Knowledge in the Archive, 3) Survivance through Cultural Knowledge, and 4) Survivance through Sharing Culture and Stories.

Teaching # 1: Survivance through Ancestral Knowledge

It is often challenging for Indigenous Peoples to articulate the many things that we know to be true. Frequently, we spend a great deal of time explaining to non-Indigenous people that the knowledge we often refer to is not something learned through books or researcher but is the knowledge that we carry deep within us. Lorenz and Watkins (2001) refer to this knowledge as *silenced knowings*, but I know them as *Ancestral knowledge*. *Ancestral knowledge* consists of the teachings that Indigenous peoples carry within themselves that have been passed on from one generation to the next since time immemorial. Dr. Milanovich confirmed my understanding when he shared his experience with Ancestral knowledge during his doctoral journey, explaining that: "I learned… all that knowledge that I was looking for, it's… embedded… within me, within my own community, and that my community was the *most powerful* reference. Stronger reference than anywhere else, and any university, any institution." As a California Indian, Sean—through his experience in higher education and teachings from his Ancestors—has been able to articulate understandings that I am still learning.

In addition to our Ancestors' teachings, Ancestral knowledge also comes from the land, water, plants, and animals. During our oral history session, I shared with Sean that my sister and I had been attending a Tongva basket-weaving workshop and had just started gathering materials for the baskets we had begun to weave. Elders have taught us that it is vital to have a reciprocal relationship with the plants we gather because they sacrifice their lives for us. In exchange for their sacrifice, we must offer something in return. In response to my story, Sean shared his understanding of reciprocity with our land, water, plant, and animal relatives, stating:

> Right! And so, it's good to do. It's good to do that! Whether you're in a large group of gathers or… by yourself. But that's how you do it.
>
> What we're following, what we hear…in English it's called natural law. But in Cahuilla we call it *tameenkiwut* and it's really we're following the natural

> order of things. When we're working with plants specifically for medicine, for baskets, even to pick it …to pick that material you have to talk to the plant, and offer something to the plant itself. You can offer some tobacco which has been suggested. Other Elders have suggested… you take a piece of the plant itself, and you offer part of the plant back like some of the seeds back to it. This will allow it to regenerate and grow from there. You could all offer other food,... you can… offer songs.
>
> When you want to go to the water, you talk to the water. *Pal-mómat,* to the ocean or if you're at a spring and [you] talk to the spring… offer up a song, …a prayer. It's good to do that; it hears you. It responds to that, and because the water does have memory, it does remember those words… that we're saying to them. It could have been from us prior, or maybe it was one of our relatives. Maybe our mother, father, grandmother, …said those same words, sang that same song.
>
> The water will act good to you, and when you do that, the water… realigns. All the water molecules will realign themselves; all those positive ions will realign themselves. …When that water touches your body, what's happening [is] all is your body just [bounds] and so quickly, so fast that water helps to slow down your body. It's realigning all those molecules… Then you're breathing a lot slower; you're able to focus and concentrate about your song, about your prayer, about why you're there in the first place. You're asking for healing from that water to help you.
>
> And water is a gift from Creator to help us, to heal us. We should be—we can—use that water. So this all follows natural law. That also includes listening to the moon, watching the moon. And what comes up, *hun-vach-mah*. Venus. Venus comes up and then goes back down, but *hun-vach-mah* is one of our old stories… understanding how the stars work, how they represent different times of the year, different seasons, and what we're supposed to do and how to take care of all the plants, the land around us, [and] even the people around us. It reminds us of… our responsibilities; what we need to do.

In a time when settler colonial society has decimated Mother Earth through the over-extraction of natural resources, it is vital to (re)connect with the Ancestral knowledge of the lands, waters, plants, and animals. They speak to us daily, sharing their gifts and telling us what sustenance they need to thrive. Because when they thrive, we thrive.

While many of us carry Ancestral knowledge within us, it doesn't magically appear when we need it. In the past, and frequently today, California Indians spent decades in an apprenticeship with Elders in the community learning specific skills for survival and their role

within their Tribal Nation. Ancestral knowledge must be sought out by those who desire to learn. Some Ancestral knowledge is found within our communities, while other knowledge is found in colonial institutions—having been stolen from our people. The latter is often hidden and requires effort from the knowledge seeker. As Sean explained:

> We have to take all these things off of it; just to get to it. All these different layers… to find it, to acknowledge it. And to see the truth and it's—most of the time—it's pretty simple. But there's lots of knowledge out there. There's a lot of people that carried that knowledge, some of its… stored in the archives. Some of its from our community. But going to school for a doctorate… really helps… to… analyze and understand what you're looking at. It teaches you how to work with your community. If you already haven't done it, [it] puts you in that spot.

As more California Indians enter higher education to earn undergraduate and graduate level degrees, the ability to balance and find the Ancestral teachings found in our communities and those stolen from us to lay lonely in university archives becomes critical. Throughout my academic journey, I have been drawn to archival research because I know—and feel—that many of my Ancestors' stories are in the archives. In conducting archival work, I seek to liberate the knowledge and stories of my Ancestors and all those connected to them from their isolation.

Finally, Ancestral knowledge—regardless of where we are or how closely we are connected to our Tribal culture and traditions—always calls to us. While I have always felt the pull to Saahatapa as my Ancestors have called on me to conduct St. Boniface research, I also have seen my Ancestors call to other family members. During my interview with the Gonzales-Aguila sisters, I asked RoseAnna—who has always lived near our ancestral homelands in Saahatapa—why she chose to live in Redlands. The question brought a great deal of emotion to RoseAnna, and through her tears, she explained:

> It's just the weirdest thing. One day, I was in Redlands, and I wanted to look for this religious store. It's the weirdest thing. I was so close to my Grandpa. I could tell you things he would tell me. He always told me, "you look so much like your Grandma." He would stare at me and always tell me. "you look so much like your Grandma." When I was living in Redlands, I was looking for this religious store. I

Photograph 2: The Gonzales Family at their family ranch in Saahatapa, CA (ca. 1920s)

> don't know; I wanted to buy something. I got lost. And I ended up going… I couldn't even tell you the street name. I was in front of this orange grove, and I'm like, "Grandpa?" I could feel Grandpa everywhere there,… everywhere! And I sat there in my car, and... I'm thinking, "This is where we were. This is where we belonged. It's so funny. I feel you here. I feel you right here." And ever since then, it… from that time on, I don't know. There's just something that draws me to Redlands. I feel at peace there.

What RoseAnna experienced, as explained by Dr. Milanovich, was the calling from her Ancestors and the land. When driving through San Timoteo Canyon—which now occupies Saahatapa—I have felt the same callings from the land and her grandfather—my great-grandfather—Louis Florian Gonzales. In addition to living and working on the Gonzales Ranch, located off of present-day San Timoteo Canyon Road, Grandpa Louis also worked for the Santa Fe Railroad. The railroad runs along San Timoteo Canyon Road, weaving through the many orange groves in the area. Moreover, one of the oldest and most valued family photographs—a picture of Grandpa Louis and his wife, mother, and children (including the sister's mother, Carmelita)—had an orange tree in the background. It is possible that Louis was leading RoseAnna to our homelands and reminding her that he was always with her.

Teaching # 2: Survivance through Preservation of Knowledge in the Archive

California Indians have worked diligently to preserve and transmit Ancestral knowledge and cultural teachings for future generations. After colonization, and as a result of settlers forcing California Indians to assimilate into colonial society, the ways in which we preserved our culture, traditions, languages, songs, and more changed. As researchers entered our communities, hoping to document our knowledge in anticipation of what they viewed as our inevitable extinction, many California Indians worked as informants for anthropologists, such as Alfred Kroeber, C. Hart Merriam, J. P. Harrington, Florence Connolly Shipek, Constance DuBois, Edward H. Davis, Lowell John Bean, and more. While there is significant controversy over California Indians sharing our knowledge systems, some of which held sacred cultural

significance that only Tribal members should have had access to, we must recognize that many of these individuals were enacting agency—working to ensure they preserved California Indian knowledge systems for future generations.

We may never know the motivation behind why these California Indians chose to work as informants. Still, we can surmise—and hope—that they were operating in the best interests of their families and Tribal Nations. Some informants may have elected to act as informants simply for the sake of preserving culture. Many may have been coerced into working as an informant. At the same time, others may have viewed it as a way of earning income for their families in a rapidly changing world that was putting financial gain ahead of reciprocal relationships. My co-researchers and I discussed the preservation of knowledge throughout oral history sessions, specifically focusing on the benefits of preserving our knowledge and culture, not by the anthropologists but by the knowledge keepers turned informants. Of this, Sean expressed the following:

> What's important though a lot of the early ethnographers, anthropologists, archaeologists, [and] historians, they did record our Elders. Those recordings might have been really constricted and maybe [interpreted] it in a bad way. But they are still a glimpse of our Elders. Of the way that they felt, [and] the way they viewed the world. And those are so powerful, *so powerful*. Especially if it's someone that we know, or maybe that they're related to us, or we know something about them. And its knowledge is stored in archives… You can find all kinds of things on the internet. But to be able to have access to that knowledge is special too.
>
> There was just one thing I found today on Jim Pine, and it was from an interview. Jim Pine was an Elder [who] passed away 100 years ago. He was grandfather, our grandfather, up by the 29 Palms area. And there was someone in 1933 that was giving an interview to the National Park Service, and ...in this interview, they were talking about the local Native people. Just hearing his description. My grandfather and some of the others in the area. It was beautiful; even though [its] just one sentence… just hearing it or listening to it. I think it's incredible. But the meat of it, as I say, that's what's embedded in our own cultural histories, in our own family lineages. And, as you know, ...there has been a lot that has been not present. It looks like it's lost, but... it's right there, right in front of us.

As Sean points out, listening to recordings of California Indian Elders can have a significant impact on Native Peoples today—especially those who descend from the Elder on the recordings. These recordings give listeners insight into the unique perspectives of Tribal Elders and *bring them back to life*. Moreover, while access to these materials is often restricted to academics, as more California Indians seek higher education, we can access these archives to bring back our Elders' stories and songs.

For some California Indians—in particular, Coastal Tribal Nations, who were hit hardest by Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. colonization—there is great value in preserving our histories and culture by informants. As Jacque explained:

> It was like our culture was taught to us by anthropologists and archaeologists because we… it was all buried from the Catholicism era. They buried all of our culture, so we didn't know anything. But when Dr. Magalousis came into [San Juan] Capistrano, he began to (re)teach my aunt and my mother, and a lot of the elders, [who are] now… in their eighties. Things about our people, how to basket-weave. What did the *kicha* look like? … What was the grinding stone used for? And all of these things [that] were kind of kept from us. They weren't really part of our…that was one of the things that, some can say they, were robbed from us.

For Jacque and other members of the Acjachemen Nation, the preservation of their stories, songs, histories, and culture helped them in their revitalization efforts. Having deep ties to Mission San Juan Capistrano because it was a central village to their Nation, many Acjachemen experienced extreme cultural loss. Recordings and documents found in the archives offer them a glimpse into their Ancestral knowledge, which they can cross-reference with the teachings they carry to revitalize their traditions for future generations.

Furthermore, the preservation of California Indian knowledge is activism for our communities. For Dr. Theresa Gregor, her great-great-grandfather—Antonio Cuevas' work as an informant for Edward Davis was him working as an activist for their Tribal Nation. Of Antonio's time as an informant, Theresa shared the following story:

> He knew all those people that were coming around inquiring information. And… in my view, if he had enough wherewithal and willpower to say and share information about culture and take them around to places and show them... I know with Davis especially; he showed him the difference between finding an urn and finding an olla that contained water in the desert. He showed him how the coverings are different, how one would be like a funerary urn, and you wouldn't want to disturb it… And how a certain markings and outcroppings led you to capture the water or food if you were traveling between the mountains and the desert.
>
> It makes me emotional to think about it, but it was so powerful for me. I was like, "This is really important information." I think [he] had to have wanted it shared and preserved. But also, I think for me, it showed just our capacity for the care and concern we had for each other. That yes, we were stewards in all this way that we talked about stewards of the land, but we were stewards of each other. We were caring for each other. So, I feel like he was somebody that was trying to exercise his free will and his agency.

For Theresa, her great-great-grandfather's work with Davis was a way to ensure that the knowledge shared was accurate and considerate of Tribal customs and practices. According to Theresa, Antonio clearly explained the specific uses of cultural items to Davis. He went even further in telling him not to disturb or harm sacred items or the Ancestors. Moreover, Theresa views the preservation of Antonio's stories and knowledge as a way of keeping him alive, stating that she once told a family member that: "…if he didn't share that, we wouldn't hear his voice at all. We would only have the limited stories." Likewise, she believes that our Ancestors in the archives call to us.

After sharing my experiences in the archive where photographs of my great-grandfather consistently appear, she shared another conversation with a relative where she said: "'We have these images of them that I think are there for us to find.' I think we've had this conversation before about when you go into the archives and that our ancestors are like speaking to us in some way." Reflecting on my experiences of finding photographs of my relatives and documents with their names, I agree with Theresa. Our Ancestors are directing us to resources we need in our

research so that we can share their stories in a manner that highlights the strength and agency of our people.

Teaching # 3: Survivance through Sharing Culture and Stories

The importance of sharing culture and stories was also a prominent theme in this study and has been a practice that California Indians have engaged in for generations. While most co-researchers engage in the sharing of culture and stories—and did so throughout our oral history sessions, Jacque spoke about how it was vital for her to share Acjachemen culture with her children and in the work she does as an educator because of negative experiences that her children had in their youth. In our oral history meetings, Jacque spoke about her and her husband's decision to raise their children grounded in Indigenous culture. The following excerpt details this choice and how it influenced her work as a Culture Bearer who offers Acjachemen and Intertribal presentations and workshops to PK-12 schools and Tribal Nations and organizations:

> So when we moved back to San Juan Capistrano, my husband and I decided that when we had our children, we weren't going to cut their hair. We were going to live very closely to our culture. We went to our kids' pow-wows and do whatever we could. We wanted to know. So all my boys had braids, and when they went to school, [in] San Juan Capistrano, where I went to. They were being teased. The majority of the kids were first- and second-generation Hispanic. They would run around trying to cut their hair with the scissors and call them girls, and my kids *hated* it. And they came home one day, and they said, "We don't want to go back to that school. We hate it there. Everybody teases us." And so they were being bullied before it was a big thing called bullying.
>
> … and so, I went to the principal, and I told the principal, I said, "You know, I'm a teacher." I said, "I'm from San Juan Capistrano. I'm from the Rios family, and my kids are being bullied, and I'd like to do an assembly for your school." I said, "So I care about my people." And so, he said, "I love it." So I took things off the wall and got baskets and put a whole cultural table together, and I began talking to the kids, and my husband, who was a drummer and a dancer, 'cause he wasn't Acjachemen. He was Seminole and Tohono O'odham… but he was a dancer. So he danced, and then one of my cousins… was a shawl dancer, so she danced the shawl. I know it was… a little bit of an intermingling of inter-tribal and Acjachemen. But you know, for California Indians, that's all we had

> back 40 years ago—was the pow-wows. A lot of us didn't… we [didn't] have a lot of things that are here today, which are beautiful. You know, we got the bird singing, so we got the girls dancing the bird, and we, you know, and it's a wonderful time in history today that we can share who we are. But I kind of endured the part of trying to fit in and trying to be the team.

The bullying of her sons led Jacque to found *Journeys to the Past*. This family-owned and operated organization teaches about Native American culture and history—precisely that of her Acjachemen Ancestors. *Journeys to the Past* provided Jacque with a path to correct many misconceptions about and negative representations of California Indians. Jacque achieves this by engaging in truth-telling about the genocide of our people—highlighting the beauty of our culture. It also provided a space where her sons could learn about the Acjachemen, Seminole, and Tohono O'odham ancestry.

During our sessions, Jacque also spoke about how practices of cultural exchange have been a vital part of Acjachemen social interactions with neighboring Tribal communities. She shared one example of these interactions, saying:

> Our… tribal celebration was coming home to the Swallows' Day. That was our big; we were the Juaneños, those we knew… [knew] that was… one of our traditions. So, we would come home on St. Joseph's Day and celebrate the swallows coming back. And then there was writings about the mission. [Harley] "Wick" Lobo did a lot of research about how the Luiseno would come up to the mission [for] the stone game. And… the Indians would sit upon the roof, and then there was a team from the Acjachemen. The one end is under the same use, and it's a round stone like this [*holds hands up to show the rock size*]. And it's kind of like soccer, but you roll it with the box flipped, and they would roll it and try to get it away from each other, and they did it for, you know, like quite a long time, until a big uproar happened. It was like a big fight on the field, you know, and there was dust, and there was dirt, and it was just like I don't [know]. Nobody lost their lives, but that's when they ended. The priests [said], "No more. Those in Luisenos are not coming up here anymore."

Jacque also shared that her mother had memories of cultural exchange visits from neighboring Luiseno bands, explaining that:

> My mother, however, remembers the Calacs… they're Luiseno. So basically, they used to come up in a buggy. My mom remembers… they would visit my great-

> grandfather, and she remembers them going down in our home. There's a… you kind of go down this hill, and it's going towards the riverbed, and they used to sing. She would hear the rattle, and she heard what seemed to be like must have been Bird Songs. And that was one little thing to me, a little piece of our culture that made me feel like, "Yes, there was something there."

While Southern California Indians have always sung bird songs, after a period of dormancy, they have reemerged with a fire. During Jacque's youth, California Indian traditions had been eclipsed by intertribal ceremonies and cultural practices. As a result, finding places where California Indian culture took center stage was challenging. Jacque called these stories of cultural exchange "breadcrumbs." She believes that our Ancestors have left them there for us to find on our way back to (re)connecting with Ancestral teachings.

Summary of Teachings: Indigenous Survivance

Ancestral knowledge is a central element of Indigenous survivance. Given to California Indians by Creator, these teachings are embedded within our teachings and carried within us. As settlers invaded what would become California, they targeted Ancestral knowledge to disrupt Indigenous Peoples' connections to the knowledge that had sustained them since time immemorial. While they may have been successful, settlers did not account for the fact that the land, waters, plants, and animals—our Relatives, have had reciprocal relationships with California Indians since creation. Unbeknownst to settlers, our Relatives would be some of the most influential teachers to our communities, and they would remember us.

As discussed by several co-researchers, regardless of where we are or how closely connected we are to our Tribal Nations, our Ancestors and our Relatives call out to us. This is particularly important when thinking of the Ancestors and Relatives currently residing in museum and university archives. As California Indians gain access to recordings, photographs, baskets, and other cultural items, they reconnect with the Ancestral teachings contained in these items. For many tribal communities, these archival materials provide the opportunity to revitalize

dormant traditions by combining the knowledge in the archive with the Ancestral teachings carried within them. All the while, California Indians connect with their Ancestors in the archives, (re)membering intergenerational kinship relationships and ensuring that they flourish and continue for the next seven generations.

Unconditional Love

The concept of *unconditional love* was an underlying theme throughout this study but came to the forefront after my oral history session with Dr. Milanovich. Unconditional love has many definitions and understandings and is highly subjective. For this study, *unconditional love* is defined as love without conditions. For Indigenous Peoples, unconditional love is demonstrated through reciprocal relationships with Creator, the land and waters, our plant and animal relatives, and one another. The following section discusses three forms of unconditional love—1) Unconditional Love from Creator, 2) Unconditional Love for Others, and 3) Unconditional Love for Future Generations—that emerged during oral histories.

Teaching # 1: Unconditional Love from Creator and the Ancestors

During my oral history session with Dr. Milanovich, he shared the Ancestral knowledge he'd received over the years. As a descendant of several of the most prominent Culture Bearers and Tribal leaders in the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, Sean truly understands the importance of unconditional love for our people. During our oral history session, Sean expressed the importance of being connected to Ancestral teachings, explaining that those teachings are a critical part of our research as Indigenous scholars and how a lack of understanding can "throw off" our work. It was during this conversation that Sean shared the following story about connecting to Ancestral teachings and Creator's love for our people:

> For example… they call them portals—portals to the spirit [world]... they're all over the place. They're at water sources, so that can be the ocean… in a spring…

> in a maze. It could be… a door; the door would be in the rock face. You know, and understanding and believing it, like you can go in there. Like our Ancestors told us how they would go access that power, that *eva-ah*, or that *poo-ha*. And I think that really helps understanding that the Medicine Men themselves, …they had that power, that they have that connection, to Creator and to all of our Ancestors, all of our relatives to help. And so they help us understand, visualize, and do a lot of things.
>
> And there's one book… *The Wonders of the Colorado*. There's a basket maker in there, and she's talking about how she's flying above the earth looking down. That takes a lot for a woman… for a woman to be saying this; this is *powerful.* Not only because she was a woman, but because [of] what she was talking about, you know, flying above the earth and looking down. And how else can you see that? Except by, you know, [by] participating in ceremonies and being a part of that. And so, our people were wonderful. They *had everything* that they *needed*. Creator *gave it* to them. All these different medicines, all this help, and we… Creator *spared nothing*, nothing at all to help us. Creator had so much love for all of us. Creator wanted us to have everything that we needed. So you know they don't teach you that growing up. They don't teach you that in church.

Sean's story about portals to the spirit world, especially those in water sources, deeply resonated with many California Indians—especially those from Coastal Tribal Nations. For many of us—as discussed by multiple co-researchers, when we are feeling conflict or turmoil, we find ourselves called to sites of great importance to our Ancestors, and have spent a great deal of time reaching out to them for guidance—especially during important journeys. Sean's story also emphasized the relationship between our people and Creator. Our stories and songs tell us of Creator's teachings. Creator expressed their unconditional love for our people by laying out road maps of how to care for Mother Earth and all their creations and how to be in good relations with one another. Through these teachings, our people learn to give unconditional love to others.

Sean's Ancestral teachings are substantiated in literature and archival documents reflecting the great love that California Indian parents had for their children (Reyhner & Eder, 1989). Moreover, upon the arrival of Spanish invaders in our lands, California Indians—rather than being fearful and unloving—shared the gifts Creator gave us with them. We have spent

nearly 500 years waiting for that unconditional love to be reciprocated. Sean expressed this desire for our unconditional love to be returned, stating:

> I want that love that we were shown. That Creator showed us. So we have to extend that same love to everyone else. That's the only way that the ugliness can be broken. Because it's something that is taught… that we're to colonize people, to subject them to their way of thinking. That's not the way of doing things. That's out of, you know, just wanting everything for yourself, very egotistical. But we don't want that. We understand that if we're gonna survive, we need to work with one another. We need to share all of our resources, love one another, embrace one at one another.
>
> Our ancestors knew this from a long, long time ago. That's why when the invaders first came we showed them the trails, we showed them different foods. How to access the foods, how to prepare them. We introduced them to the different leaders that's why they weren't shot or taken down on site. You know it was just part of our worldview of doing things. Even though usually intruders...you know, we don't like intruders coming in our country and our lands, and usually you know they were followed and taken down. But we didn't do that to these people. I mean, there were so many of them, they just kept coming and coming and coming, so we thought that we needed to be generous with them, share with them. And that's what we did. And we continue to do that today. We're very *forgiving*. But our stories, our creation stories, teaches that. We need to be humble and open to new ideas.

As Sean explains, unconditional love must be reciprocated. When settlers arrived in our lands, California Indians could have quickly decided to let them fend for themselves. Instead, our people understood that it was in the best interest of both our people to work together, and so, our Ancestors taught settlers how to live on our lands and embraced them as kin. However, as Sean explains, settlers' mentality of taking from others for their benefit conflicted with Indigenous practices of reciprocity. But rather than reject the teachings that Creator gave us, we continued to be generous and to give unconditional love. Because that is what Creator taught us.

Teaching # 2: Unconditional Love for Others

Religion and spirituality are of great importance to Auntie Jacque. Jacque's teachings from her spirituality as an Acjachemen woman and faith as a Christian have taught her the importance of showing unconditional love by living in a good way and having compassion for

others. Jacque's strong faith was instilled in her by her great-grandmother, Gertrude Rios. As Jacque explained:

> My great-grandmother was a third-order Franciscan nun, and her dedication to the mission and Catholicism was golden. I mean, she loved the religion. She worked for the mission, …cooked for the priest, …washed their clothes, and ironed all of the… linen… used in the masses. When there was a death in the family, …rosaries were said at the Rios Adobe. I know that my great-grandmother visited families. So when I was a child, my great-grandmother was the first person who introduced me to God. So my memories of the mission, the religion, and all of that [were]… very sacred.

More than her devotion to the Catholic faith, Jacque's great-grandmother demonstrated unconditional love for her people and the representatives of the Church, which—as Sean described earlier—is reflective of the teachings of forgiveness and love that Creator embedded in our stories and songs. Jacque, inspired by her great-grandmother's devotion, took these teachings and applied them to how she chose to live her life as a mother, wife, educator, leader, and more.

During our oral history sessions, Jacque recognized the hardships that California Indians—specifically the Acjachemen—endured at the hands of mission padres and Spanish soldiers. Jacque explains during her workshops and performances that the history of the genocide of California Indians has not been taught truthfully in the education system in the state. In reflecting on this, Jacque shared the following story:

> I never knew about all [this] growing up. I [had] never really heard about… colonization. I didn't understand it until way later… when I was in college. So, I looked at the mission as a holy place. Now I know that you know, gosh! We were… made to… bring… the rocks in on our backs from the Ortegas to build the stone church. We were made to be there, and if we ran away, …we were beaten and put into jails and things like that.
>
> And so for anybody… raised a Catholic, and you finally have that *woke* moment—you try to figure it out. You try to figure out… all of this, and I think where I stand with all of it comes right down to *loving humanity*. Loving people, knowing that I was chosen to be a teacher, knowing that my words made a difference. And living my life so that if somebody [were] watching me, they wouldn't say, "Oh, that Jacque, she says she's a Christian [but] she's dancing on the tables of the El Adobe." I really tried to live my life in a good way. As far as

> what is living a good life, …walking with God, or… living my life the way that most of… my tribal members and my family lived.

For Jacque, it was essential to acknowledge the injustices settlers and the church committed against her people. However, she didn't want to spend her life trapped in the trauma and holding onto anger that would prevent her from giving unconditional love to herself, her family, her Tribal Nation, and others. Instead, she chose to remember her Ancestors' hardships, forgive those who perpetrated harm, and teach others about the genocide of California Indians so that history does not repeat itself and that outsiders understand what amazing people we are.

Teaching # 3: Unconditional Love for Past and Future Generations

Of all six co-researchers, the Gonzales-Aguila sisters had experienced a tremendous loss of Indigenous knowledge systems. While other co-researchers had several family members who attended SBIIS, Gonzales-Aguila sisters had over thirty Ancestors who attended the institution. In addition to their SBIIS Ancestors, their grandmother, Ramona Ballesteros (Tohono O'odham), had also attended an Indian boarding school as a child in Tempe, Arizona. As a result of both branches of their maternal family attending boarding schools—and the anti-Indigenous prejudices of their paternal family, they were not exposed to California Indian creation stories, songs and dances, or other traditional practices. Furthermore, the last know keeper of California Indian knowledge in their maternal family had passed away in 1928, over twenty years before the first Gonzales-Aguila child was born.

Despite this disruption in the transmission of Indigenous knowledge, the women were raised with a strong sense of kinship, something that their grandfather, Louis Florian Gonzales, had instilled in their mother, which she passed onto them. The unconditional love they had for their parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles also crossed over into unconditional love for their Tribal identities and being descendants of the first caretakers of Southern California. While there

was initially some confusion about Tribal affiliation in their youth, the Gonzales-Aguila women have always been incredibly proud of their California Indian ancestry. Reflecting on unconditional love from kin and their Indigenous identity, they shared the following:

> **Yolanda:** And I'm very proud, very proud.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Very proud to be California Indian, especially the type of people, our grandpa, our mom, our aunts, and uncles. Type of people [they were]. They worked hard. Good people.
>
> **Yolanda:** Very loving.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Very religious, very giving, very loving.
>
> **Dolores:** Loving, very loving.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Just their ways. I mean Emma's ways; she could look at you like you were hers. Same way as Aunt Jeanette.

The sisters also acknowledged how their mother demonstrated unconditional love by keeping stories of her time at SBIIS secret. Speaking about the trauma we—past, present, and future—have experienced as Indigenous Peoples is often painful to relive. We often carry those experiences in silence out of the unconditional love engrained in us as a people because we do not want others to feel or bear what we have. By keeping her experiences silent, their mother ensured that they had a life where they were unaware of the abuses she may have endured.

In looking to the future, while they understand their mother's silence was an act of unconditional love, they no longer want the silenced knowings to remain quiet:

> **Yolanda:** It would help the next generation to understand everything that our inheritance…
>
> **RoseAnna:** For me, it's like, don't ever forget all what they went through because they suffered a lot. To be taken away from your parents at that age, how sad. It makes me sad.
>
> **Dolores:** I think I hope they learn from the knowledge of everything, all your research, and the families and people you've interviewed, and you're learning more things about our past, our history.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Even the hurt we feel, knowing my mom's childhood like, it hurt her. It hurt her so much.

> **Dolores:** I think that…Yeah. I hope it just makes the next generations even stronger to know what our ancestors went through because otherwise... It's our history. It's our history, and it should never be lost. Shouldn't be lost, and stories should always be told.
>
> **RoseAnna:** Keep telling their stories like us, keep telling people, "This is what happened to the Natives." And still, all the upcoming stories, all the graves and stuff of the poor little children.

The Gonzales-Aguila sisters have learned that when we don't talk about our history as Indigenous Peoples—about the trauma our Ancestors endured and the agency they enacted to refuse assimilation into settler society—we lose it. In some cases, that is a permanent loss; in others, it takes seeking out other family members who know the history.

Summary of Teachings: Unconditional Love

Unconditional love permeated this study. From topic selection to the driving force behind co-researchers electing to contribute to the study, unconditional love was a driving force. California Indians were taught unconditional love by Creator, who sacrificed their life to ensure that our people lived in reciprocal relations with all of the natural world. Passed onto the Honuukvetam—the ancient ones, also called Ancestors—Creator's teachings taught California Indians how to care for each other and the land, waters, animals, and plants. When colonizers invaded our shores, our people took teachings from Creator and the Honuukvetam and shared them with settlers, teaching them how to live on and with all inhabiting our lands. Settlers have never reciprocated the unconditional love given by California Indians. Despite this, many California Indians still utilize the teachings of unconditional love. They demonstrate this teaching by preserving Ancestral teachings for future generations and sharing our ways of knowing, being, and doing with those who continue to settle on our lands.

Conclusion

Elders often say that when a woman weaves a basket, she places all of her hopes, dreams, stories, and love into that basket, preserving them for future generations. Those same baskets leave a narrative—intergenerational Ancestral teachings—that only her descendants can unravel. The oral histories of this study are my co-researchers' and my basket. We have taken the hardships our Ancestors endured—along with their hopes, dreams, love, and stories—to weave a metaphorical basket for future generations made from teachings passed down to us and our reflections on those experiences. This chapter overviewed the often-violent acts of settler colonialism that our Ancestors faced while demonstrating their agency and love for our people. It also examined the immense undertakings of Indigenous survivance by California Indians who hoped for a better future for their children and grandchildren.

Furthermore, it discussed the unconditional love given to us by Creator and Ancestors to secure a future where we could come together to share stories and honor their sacrifices. While this study is just the tip of the iceberg in the work we must undertake as Indigenous men and women working towards healing for our Tribal communities, it gives us all great hope. This study offers hope for a future where our people no longer hold onto the silenced knowings. Instead, creating a world where we can share our knowledge and experiences openly, having healed the intergenerational trauma by speaking about the things we have carried in silence for far too long. This hope is our basket. And we leave it for future generations to unravel.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

In December 2020, I planted *Salvia apiana*, more commonly known as California white sage—a sacred medicinal plant for California Indians, in a garden on the patio of my apartment at Graduate Housing on the UC San Diego campus. It took several tries for my sage to take root, and soon became a symbol of my doctoral journey and a way to (re)connect with the Ancestral knowledge I carry. I had intellectualized the growing process, researching the best conditions for planting, watering, sunlight, and growth. After two failed attempts, I reached out to my great-great-grandmother, Maria Francesca Lisalde—our family's last known knowledge keeper of California Indian medicinal plants, in prayer for guidance. As I silenced my thoughts and opened my mind and heart to Ancestral teachings, Grandma Francesca told me that I needed to stop trying to use western knowledge to tend to an Indigenous plant. She let me know that no amount of colonial knowledge would assist me in developing a reciprocal relationship with my sage. Grandma Francesca told me to sing and ask the sage about their needs when tending, which—in reality—was her asking me to sing and tend to my relationship with her. So, over the last two years, I've sung the only Tongva song that I know—the Ancestor's Song—to my sage, who I have affectionately named Grandma Francesca, and I watched her flourish.

As my sage grew, so did my understanding of the research I was conducting. The work became less about conducting research to earn a doctoral degree and more about connecting to and building relationships with the people—my co-researchers and the hundreds of Native youth who attended St. Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS) and their descendants—from whose stories and experiences I would be learning. Those relationships are rooted in our unique lineages and shared experiences as the descendants of the original and rightful caretakers of Southern California and SBIIS survivors, and they needed to be *tended* to through use of

Indigenous knowledge systems and structures. Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing were of extreme importance in this study, given the vulnerability in reflecting on and sharing stories about the genocide of California Indians and the violent history of Indian boarding schools in the state. Our Ancestors entrusted us with their stories—stories filled with the anguish of colonization and the strength and agency of our people. Opening ourselves to this knowledge meant channeling the unconditional love, Ancestral teachings, strength, and survivance our Ancestors passed onto us through stories and songs.

This phenomenological study examined the intergenerational experiences with and impacts of colonization and colonial schooling on Southern California Indian survivors and descendants of St. Boniface through the review of archival documentation and collection of oral histories. The following chapter presents an overview of the study, beginning with an overview of the purpose of the study, research questions, and methodological approach. Subsequently, a summary of teachings and a review of the study's implications are presented—via seven reflections across both areas. Finally, this chapter concludes by reviewing the strengths and weaknesses of the study, followed by a discussion on areas for future research.

Purpose of the Study, Research Questions, and Methodology

Research on the schooling of Southern California Indians continues to fixate on the history and impacts of federally run Indian boarding schools in the region, such as Sherman Indian School (see: Bahr, 2014; Bauer, 2010; Gilbert, 2010; Gonzales, 2002; Trafzer & Gilbert, 2012). Meanwhile, there continues to be limited literature about the experiences of Southern California Indians who attended Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools in Southern California (see: Harley, 1994, 1999; Rathbun, 2006, Stewart, 2018). Likewise, there is an absence of literature that examines the intergenerational impacts Catholic-run mission Indian

boarding schools have on survivors' descendants. This study aimed to expand existing research to include oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants that explore the legacy and effects of colonization and colonial schooling on Indigenous Peoples in Southern California. The study aimed to understand the experiences of SBIIS survivors and the lasting impacts of settler colonialism and colonial schooling on survivors' descendants. Explicitly, the study utilized the *settler colonialism* and *Indigenous survivance* frameworks to examine acts of colonialism committed against California Indians during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras. Moreover, the study intended to highlight California Indian acts of survivance and agency in light of colonial nations' violent assimilative and genocidal policies and practices by centering California Indian voices and stories.

A phenomenological methodology was utilized to examine the Southern California Indian boarding school experience phenomena. Specifically, this study gathered oral narratives from SBIIS descendants to explore California Indian perspectives and experiences regarding colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling; Indigenous survivance and agency; and processes for receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge. As such, the study aimed to answer the following research questions:

- What are the oral narratives about California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and colonial schooling in Southern California?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe acts of colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling?
    - In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants demonstrate Indigenous survivance and agency?

Through the application of oral history data collection processes, this study employed settler colonialism, Indigenous survivance, and silenced knowings theoretical frameworks to examine

the intergenerational impacts of colonial schooling as enacted by Spanish, Mexican, and the U.S. governments and the Catholic Church. In addition to selected theoretical frameworks, this study was guided by constructivist and Indigenous research paradigms. Data analysis for this study employed Grounded Theory coding processes—specifically open, axial, and theoretical coding—to identify themes across oral histories.

Teachings and Implications: Seven Reflections for Seven Generations

The following sections provide a summary of teachings and review the implications of the study. As discussed in the previous chapter, academia has a long history of questioning the legitimacy and significance of Indigenous ways of knowing, being, and doing. Frequently, researchers enter Indigenous communities and appropriate our knowledges, repurposing our theories and practices as transformative breakthroughs. Meanwhile, Indigenous Peoples have to consistently defend the validity of knowledge systems that our communities have honed since creation. As this study aimed to unsettle colonial structures reinforcing anti-Indigenous, racist, and gendered logics aimed at discrediting California Indians' knowledge systems (Stewart-Ambo & Stewart, 2021), I have elected to forego constructing a discussion section that upholds colonial ideals and practices. Instead, I have chosen to present teachings in a manner that reflects Indigenous concepts of relationality through seven reflections.

The decision to present teachings and implications via seven reflections is inspired by Shawn Wilson's (2008) methodological approach in the book *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. In the text, Wilson (2008) shares information alternating between the prevailing writing style and via letters to his children. Moreover, Wilson (2008) explains that:

> ... 1. the shared aspect of an Indigenous ontology and epistemology is relationality (relationships do not merely shape reality, they are reality). The shared aspect of an Indigenous axiology and methodology is accountability to relationships. 2. The shared aspects of relationality and relational accountability can be put into

> practice through choice of research topic, method of data collection, form of analysis, and presentation of information. (p. 7)

As expressed by Wilson, relationality and relational accountability are vital aspects of Indigenous research methodologies, stating that "Research by and for Indigenous peoples is a ceremony that brings relationships together" (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 8). Furthermore, colonial methods of writing to an unknown individual are not reflective of relational accountability as "Indigenous epistemology is all about ideas developing through the formation of relationships. An idea cannot be taken out of this relational context and still maintain its shape" (S. Wilson, 2008, p. 8). It is essential to recognize that this study was grounded in relationships between co-researchers, our Ancestors, and me. Thus, relational accountability must be considered when presenting teachings and implications to ensure that they are offered in a manner that demonstrates the relationships between generations of California Indians that contributed to this dissertation.

Teachings and implications summaries will be presented via a series of seven reflections. I chose the number seven because of its significance to Indigenous Peoples. Notably, the belief that the present reflects seven generations in the past and today impacts seven generations forward. While this study examined a substantial period that surpasses seven generations in the past, I am offering seven reflections to the seven most recent generations impacted by settler colonialism—split between three discussion reflections and four implication reflections. My decision to offer seven reflections is an expression of unconditional love to the Ancestors who contributed to this study—via my co-researchers—and for present and future generations that will be impacted by and learn from the emerging teachings. These reflections honor co-researchers and their Ancestors for the stories they shared and the teachings they provided during this study. Corresponding with research sub-questions, reflections one through three overview

emergent teachings while collaboratively connecting to the study's overarching research question. As implications often reflect the impacts on and hopes for the future, reflections four through seven will overview the study implications by reflecting on implications for research, policy, practice, and community. Reflections are indicated by the use of italicized font.

Summary of Teachings

The following sections overview teachings that emerged during oral history sessions with Jacque Tahuka-Nunez (Juaneno Band of Missions Indians, Acjachemen Nation), Dr. Theresa Lynn Gregor (Iipay Nation of Santa Ysabel and Yoeme), Dr. Sean Christian Milanovich (Cahuilla, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians), Yolanda Aguila Rubio (Tongva and Payómkawish), RoseAnna Vidaure (Tongva and Payómkawish), and Dolores Maria Aguila Gonzales Stewart (Tongva and Payómkawish). The previous chapter divided study teachings into three classifications—Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Survivance, and Unconditional Love—based on theoretical frameworks and Grounded Theory coding processes. In this section, the overview of teachings is separated into three reflections, each corresponding with one of three research sub-questions connected to the above-mentioned classifications. Collectively, the sub-questions answer the following overarching research question:

- What are the oral narratives about California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and colonial schooling in Southern California?

An overview of study teachings' connection to the overarching and sub-research questions and to the corresponding reflections are found in Table 4.

Reflection # 1: Ancestral Teachings from the Honuukvetam

The following reflection is for our (my co-researcher and my) Ancestors. This reflection is addressed to my great-great-grandmother, Maria Francesca Lisalde, a well-known healer and

Table 4: Teachings Organization for Reflections One to Three

Teaching	Overarching Research Question	Sub-Research Question	Reflection
Indigenous Survivance *Ancestral Knowledge* Teachings from Creator; Relationships with Land, Water, Plants, & Animals; Silenced Knowings; Uncovering Ancestral Teachings *Preservation of Knowledge* Ancestral Knowledge in the Archive; Informant Work as Preservation & Activism; Learning Culture from the Arthives *Sharing Culture & Stories* Visiting Neigboring Nations; Educating Outsiders; Teaching the Next Generation	What oral narratives exist about California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and colonial schooling in Southern California?	In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge?	Reflection One *Teachings from the Honuukvetam* Reflection to the Ancestors. *Written to Maria Francesca Lisalde in honor of all the Ancestors, and as a member of the first of seven generations.*
Settler Colonialism *Removal from Ancestral Lands* Missions, Asistencias, Ranchos & Reservations; Unratified Treaties *Negative Perceptions* Less than Human; Prejudice & Racism; Perceptions of Self *Colonial Schooling* Stolen Children; Physical & Sexual Abuse; Running Away *California Indian Identity* Tribal Affiliation; Nation vs. Reservation; Lateral Violence; Colonizer Ancestors		In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe acts of colonialism, settler colonialism, and colonial schooling?	Reflection Two *Stories from 'Eyoo-shuuk and 'Eyoo-kwaa' Three Generations Past* Reflecction to our Great-Grandparents. *Written to Louis Florian Gonzales in honor of the first generation of St. Boniface Indian Industrial Schools students, and as a member of the second of seven generations.*
Unconditional Love *From Creator* Gifts of: creation, traditional medicines, songs and stories, plants and animals, land and water; Reciprocity; Respect; Responsibility; Forgiveness *From the Ancestors* First Teachers, Reciprocity; Respect; Responsibility; Unconditional Love *For Others* Service to Others; Compassion; Understanding; Acceptance; Forgiveness *For Future Generations* Pride in Indigeneity; Protection from Harm & Violence; Carrying Traumas in Solitude		In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants demonstrate Indigenous survivance and agency?	Reflection Three *Unconditional Love from 'Eyoo-shuuk and 'Eyoo-kwaa'* Reflecction to our Grandparents. *Written to Carmelita Marylouise Gonzales in honor of the second generation of St. Boniface Indian Industrial Schools students, and as a member of the third of seven generations.*

midwife in Saahatapa—offering her healing to neighboring Tribal communities. This reflection aims to answer the following research question:

- In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe receiving and transmitting Indigenous knowledge?

While this letter is addressed to Francesca, she represents the generations of Ancestors whose stories and knowledge have nourished and contributed to this study.

Dear Ne-shuuk Francesca,

Míiyu! Miyiiha! Nooma' 'oom-kaakan. Netwaanyan'e Kelly Leah Stewart. (Hello! Hello! I am your granddaughter. My name is Kelly Leah Stewart). The family sometimes calls me Calistra. Thank you, Grandma Francesca, for leading me to my co-researchers. Through Ancestral guidance, I was blessed to learn from them and (re)connect with the Ancestral teachings each of you passed on to us but had long gone dormant. You and the other Ancestors ensured that we would continue California Indian knowledge transmission practices. Because the Ancestors contributed to this study, it was imperative to share what has been learned from these teachings—our Ancestors' teachings.

First, Ancestral teachings are carried within all California Indians, no matter how disconnected we may believe we are. Despite the colonizers' best efforts, they could not entirely disrupt or disassemble access to Ancestral teachings because we carry them within. Ancestral teachings follow the natural order and the lessons Creator left for our people. They also come from the land, water, animals, and plants—our relatives. We don't often hear those teachings because colonizers tried to teach us that these aren't living beings. To receive Ancestral teachings from the land, water, animals, and plants, it is necessary to (re)connect with them. They call to us. We need to speak to them, sing to them, and provide them the same nourishment and love that they give to us when we drink of them, eat of them, and take of them. We have

always had reciprocal relationships with our relatives, and they will remember and hear us when we tend to them.

Second, many Ancestors worked strategically and intentionally with anthropologists to preserve our knowledge and teachings. Ancestors worked as informants, taking these researchers around our communities and teaching them about our traditions, ceremonies, languages, and stories. Some researchers took our knowledge, repackaged it, and gave it a new name—denying our people access to and taking credit for our knowledge systems. They misleadingly believed our people would one day become extinct and wanted a historical record of our existence. They didn't know that one day we would get access to the gifts we shared with them. The world has entered an era where knowledge is carried in the palm of our hands. Stories, songs, pictures, and more are stored in what we call "the cloud." Many California Indians today can access archival materials that researchers kept—sometimes hid—away in storage rooms on university campuses.

Moreover, our southern neighbors—the Acjachemen—and other relatives have learned from archive resources. Not from the anthropologists but from the Ancestors who left breadcrumbs and road maps in the recordings of our stories, songs, and histories. Hearing those recordings is powerful for many of us because we get to listen to the voices of our parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. They provide insight into what life was like for our Ancestors when colonizers arrived and worked their way through our lands. Anthropologists only got part of the teachings. They couldn't record the Ancestral teachings that we carry within and that are only accessible or make sense when we learn them in, from, and with our Tribal Nations.

Because of this, we have continued sharing our stories, history, and teachings with the same love and care as previous generations. A few years ago, I read a journal by Virginia DeSoto Gonzales, your great-granddaughter-in-law, that spoke of how the Mountain Cahuilla used to come down to the Gonzales Ranch. She talked about how you would prepare food for all of the visitors and how everyone would sing bird songs. I was happy to read that we sang songs and shared food and stories. Many of my co-researchers shared similar stories, and I think it would make the Ancestors proud to know that despite all of the violence you all endured, we are still thriving. It may have taken us a while, and it wouldn't have been possible without the sacrifices the Ancestors made and the road map of Ancestral teachings they left behind, but we're doing it.

'Wiishmenokre! (Love),

Calistra

Reflection # 2: Stories from 'Eyoo-shuuk and 'Eyoo-kwaa' Past

The following reflection is for our Great-Grandmothers and -Grandfathers, the first generation to be sent to Saint Boniface. This reflection is addressed to my great-grandfather, Louis Florian Gonzales, a first-generation St. Boniface Indian Industrial School survivor. This reflection aims to answer the following research question:

- In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants describe acts of colonialism and settler colonialism?

Dear Nekwaa' Louis,

Míiyu! Miyiiha! I know it's been a while, but good to talk to you again. Thank you m, Grandpa Louis, for reminding me why I started doing this work but showing up in the archival documents. For anyone who doesn't think our Ancestors call to us, they'd change their minds after learning that your pictures came up frequently when I was struggling with my archival

research. Because you have been so involved in this work, especially guiding the parts of this work that examine settler colonial actions, I wanted to have a conversation with you about what my co-researchers and I discovered.

As you are aware, from your struggles getting access to water for the Gonzales Ranch, settlers and colonial nations worked hard to remove California Indians from our ancestral homelands. First, the Spanish removed us from our villages to live at the missions through their soldiers and Catholic Church missionaries. They forced Christianity upon us and forced us to build their structures and tend the land for them. Once Mexico gained independence, many of our people moved to ranchos that once belonged to us. Our men worked as vaqueros during this time. While we were able to return home during this short period, we didn't have the ability to care for or tend to the land the way that Creator and the Ancestors' taught us because it had been given to Mexican settlers.

The U.S. government entered treaties with California Tribal Nations when California became a state. Among other things, the U.S. government promised land in the form of reservations. Our people didn't understand American concepts of land ownership. Their views conflicted with Ancestral teachings that tell us we are of the land and must live in good relations with the land. However, California Indian leaders at that time signed the treaties, believing that the U.S. government would honor them and ensure that future generations had a future. The government did not ratify the treaties, let alone honor them. While reservations were established in California—many in lands that removed us from our ancestral villages—they did not reflect our village systems and structures. They devastated our kinship structures and understanding of our connections to our tribal identities. Throughout these periods, settlers worked to sever our connections to Ancestral teachings by claiming they were uncivilized. In doing so, they

villainized us and stripped us of our humanity. They kept track of our blood quantum—as if we were animals, relishing in the dilution of our bloodlines because it meant that we would no longer exist one day. As a result, our people experienced extreme racism and prejudice, and being Indian was often a death sentence.

During the U.S. period, boarding schools were established. Some were run by the government, while others were administered by religious organizations, like the Catholic Church. For our people, mission Indian boarding schools severely impacted our communities. Our children were taught that everything that made them who they were—our clothing, language, ceremonies, teachings, and more—was immoral. This severely impacted our children's self-esteem as they tried to take on settler ways that conflicted with our Ancestral teachings. But many of our people didn't have a choice in sending their children to these schools. Native children were stolen from their homes, parents were coerced into sending them, and others had no choice but to send them because they thought the schools could offer more than they could. As you are aware from your own time at SBIIS, many children experienced physical and sexual violence at the hands of the school's administrators—people charged with caring for and educating them.

All of these actions, as shared by my co-researchers, brought great harm to our people. I'm losing Ancestral teachings; we started to lose our identity as California Indians. Many of our people married settlers so their children would have settler blood and be somewhat accepted in society. While this may have allowed California Indians to fit into settler society, it created a great sense of guilt amongst mixed peoples as they carried the blood of our colonizers. Others lost connection to their Tribal Nations, not understanding that they didn't come from a specific reservation but were members of a great nation of people with shared culture and values.

Despite all of these hardships and efforts to disrupt and disassemble our ways of knowing, being, and doing, we still remember who we are and from where we come. While I'm sure none of this is surprising or new to you, because you lived through this, our generation must understand how settler actions impacted our people. To move forward—to heal—we must acknowledge what was done, hold those who harmed us accountable and teach our people how to overcome the trauma to move forward. If we don't, the cycle of pain will never end, our Ancestors' sacrifices will have been in vain, and we won't thrive.

'Wiishmenokre! (Love),

Calistra

Reflection # 3: Unconditional Love from 'Eyoo-shuuk and 'Eyoo-kwaa'

The following reflection is for our Grandmothers and Grandfathers. This reflection is addressed to my grandmother, Carmelita Marylouise Gonzales, a second-generation St. Boniface Indian Industrial School survivor. This reflection aims to answer the following research question:

- In what ways do oral narratives from SBIIS survivors and descendants demonstrate Indigenous survivance and agency?

Dearest Neshuuk Carmelita,

Growing up, I received several birthday cards and little notes from you where you would leave a message sharing how you were and telling me that you loved me. I didn't realize how much I would miss those little things. I came to this research because of my love for you and how much I missed you after you passed, so it only seems appropriate that I share what I've learned from and with my co-researchers.

Creator taught us the power of our agency in the teachings they imparted to us. Creator gave us the land and waters, our plant and animal relatives, and one another, and taught us how to be in good relations with each other and tend to those relationships. Creator gave us

everything we needed to survive, and we use those teachings to navigate settler society, calling on our Ancestors when we need strength. They taught us how to tap into and use Ancestral teachings so that we would never lose our connection to them despite settlers trying to invalidate our ways of knowing, being, and doing—stealing them for their benefit and monetary gain.

Through Creator's teaching, we learned how to enact our agency through displays of unconditional love for others. California Indians demonstrated agency by teaching settlers how to live on our lands, what foods provided nourishment, and how to live in reciprocal relationships with our four-legged relatives. We gave them compassion and understanding, but they didn't reciprocate. Settlers were taught that their ways were the only way to live and that they had to civilize us through their knowledge and provide us salvation through their God and religion. They colonized us and the land, waters, plants, and animals. Colonizers saw us as less than human and stripped us of our humanity at every turn. But we didn't let them take Creator and the Ancestors' teachings from us.

Colonizers took California Indian children and forced them into schools where they had to learn settlers' ways of knowing, being, and doing. They cut our hair, changed our clothing, gave us new names, and forbade us from speaking our languages and practicing our ceremonies. Many children were physically abused, sexually assaulted, and psychologically harmed. You know all of this, Grandma. You lived it. Like you, many California Indian children refused to accept the abuses of their caretakers and chose to escape their abusers to return home. As you remember, you and many other children planned your getaways when the priests and nuns were occupied with other duties. These children risked their lives to return home to the families that loved them unconditionally.

Instead, we took their knowledges and made them our own, finding ways to combine them with our own to ensure a future for our people. As a result, we continue to have pride in our Indigenous roots. We continued to be good people, be in good relations with all that Creator gave us, and honor the sacrifices the Ancestors made. Today's generation wants future generations to know who we are and where we come from. Many California Indians today are doing research in the universities that settlers never intended for us to attend, sharing our knowledge and experience with those who tried to silence, erase, and exterminate us. We are teaching them that our ways of knowing, being, and doing are valid and essential if we are to survive in this world. We are telling the world about the true history of the genocide of California Indians, reminding settlers that while they diminished our numbers, they did not diminish our spirits or our desire to ensure future generations' survivance.

Through research, they expose how settlers, colonial governments, and Christian churches strategically implemented policies and procedures to eliminate us. These individuals—academic and community scholars, Culture Bearers, and activists—are holding colonizers accountable for their actions, demanding that they honor the treaties, provide reparations to survivors and descendants, and rematriate the lands so we may care for them as Creator and the Ancestors taught us. California Indians have enacted their agency at every opportunity, and because of that our Tribal Nations have survived.

Grandma, today our people are working through the traumas of the past to heal. So many Ancestors endured so much pain and carried their hurt and anger so that we would not carry hate in our hearts. Because of that, our people have overcome so many barriers put in place for our communities. While we have right to be angry at settlers for committing genocide against

our people, but we cannot let that take precedence over the love we have always had for one another and our autonomy to live our lives in accordance with Ancestral teachings.

'Wiishmenokre! (Love),

Calistra

Implications of the Study

While implications for social justice and educational leadership are woven throughout these reflections, it should be noted that colonial institutions and society's perspectives on these concepts significantly differ from those of Indigenous Peoples. Applying these concepts to Indigenous Peoples is what Tuck and Yang (2012) call a colonial equivocation and is one of six settler moves to innocence. Tuck and Yang (2012) state that settler moves to innocence "are those strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 10). Colonial equivocation is "the homogenizing of various experiences of oppression as colonization" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 17). While Tuck and Yang (2012) utilize the term in reference to IBPOC Peoples' experiences of oppression being similar to colonization experiences, the term equally applies to the homogenizing of marginalized peoples' views of social justice and leadership. Social justice and leadership for Indigenous Peoples are not the same as social justice and leadership for other communities. As the original caretakers of these lands to experience settler colonial acts of violence and genocide, our understanding of social justice and leadership are directly connected to Tribal sovereignty, rematriation of the land, and our Ancestral teachings. They are incommensurable to other groups' understandings or definitions of these terms. The following sections overview the implications of the study. The discussion of implications has been broken down into four

Table 5: Organization of Implications for Reflections Four to Seven

Teaching	Implication	Impacts				Reflection
		Research	Community	Policy	Practice	
Indigenous Survivance						
Ancestral Knowledge Teachings from Creator; Relationships with Land, Water, Plants, & Animals; Silenced Knowings; Uncovering Ancestral Teachings	*Ancestral Knowledge* Teach us how to be in good relations with the world, and can be used to inform environmental policies.	X	X	X	X	Reflection Seven *Hopes for the 'Eyoo-kaakan and Beyond* Reflection to the seventh generation and beyond.
Preservation of Knowledge Ancestral Knowledge in the Archive; Informant Work as Preservation & Activism; Learning Culture from the Archives	*Preservation of Knowledge* There is value in the knowledge living in the archives. Our Ancestors residing in the archives call to us. California Indians need access to all of the Ancestral Teachings in archives.	X	X	X		Reflection Four *Responsibilities of 'Eyoo-yook and 'Eyoo-nak* Reflection to our Parents.
Sharing Culture & Stories Visiting Neighboring Nations; Educating Outsiders; Teaching the Next Generation	*Sharing Culture & Stories* Preserves culture for future generations, while educating non-Californa Indians about our culture and knowledge systems.		X		X	Reflection Five *Responsibilities of 'Eyoo-yooxo' and 'Eyoo-pa'* Reflection to the our generation.
Settler Colonialism						
Removal from Ancestral Lands Missions, Asistencias, Ranchos & Reservations; Unratified Treaties	*Removal from Ancestral Lands* Impacts the return and rematriation of California Indian Lands. Impacts federal recognition bids by non-recognized Tribal Nations.	X		X		Reflection Five *Responsibilities of 'Eyoo-yooxo' and 'Eyoo-pa'* Reflection to the our generation.
Negative Perceptions Less than Human; Prejudice & Racism; Perceptions of Self	*Negative Perceptions* Demonstrates that race is a colonial structure. Impacts policies pertaining to discrimination.	X	X	X	X	Reflection Six *Hopes for the 'Eyoo-taarxem* Reflection to the fifth generation's children.
Colonial Schooling Stolen Children; Physical & Sexual Abuse; Running Away	*Colonial Schooling* We can learn from the ways that Indian boarding schools disrupted Indigenous knowledge systems structures. Informs policy in relation to border detention centers.			X	X	Reflection Four *Responsibilities of 'Eyoo-yook and 'Eyoo-nak* Reflection to our Parents.
California Indian Identity Tribal Affiliation; Nation vs. Reservation; Lateral Violence; Colonizer Ancestors	*California Indian Identity* Nation-building and Federal Recognition Impacts federal recognition bids by non-recognized Tribal Nations and Tribal sovereignty.		X	X	X	Reflection Five *Responsibilities of 'Eyoo-yooxo' and 'Eyoo-pa'* Reflection to the our generation.
Unconditional Love						
From Creator Gifts of: creation, traditional medicines, songs and stories, plants and animals, land and water; Reciprocity; Respect; Responsibility; Forgiveness	*From Creator* Teach us how to be in good relations with the world, and can be used to inform environmental policies.	X	X	X	X	Reflection Seven *Hopes for the 'Eyoo-kaakan and Beyond* Reflection to the seventh generation and beyond.
From the Ancestors First Teachers, Reciprocity; Respect; Responsibility; Unconditional Love	*From the Ancestors* Teaches us responsibility to care and educate others. Informs policies and practices for teaching about California Indians, by California Indians.		X	X	X	Reflection Six *Hopes for the 'Eyoo-taarxem* Reflection to the fifth generation's children.
For Others Service to Others; Compassion; Understanding; Acceptance; Forgiveness	*For Others* Teaches us compassion, understanding, and respect for those different from us and can inform social justice movements and policy on equity, diversity, and inclusion.		X	X	X	Reflection Six *Hopes for the 'Eyoo-taarxem* Reflection to the fifth generation's children.
For Future Generations Pride in Indigeneity; Protection from Harm & Violence; Carrying Traumas in Solitude	*For Future Generations* Offers healing to past, present, and future generations. Allows us to engage in truth-telling and work towards reconciliation.	X	X	X	X	Reflection Seven *Hopes for the 'Eyoo-kaakan and Beyond* Reflection to the seventh generation and beyond.

reflections, each highlighting and weaving together implications for the areas of research, community, policy, and practice. An overview of implications and their connection to teachings and impacts on the areas of research, community, policy and practice can be viewed on Table 5.

Reflection # 4: To the 'Eyoo-yook and 'Eyoo-nak

The following reflection is for our Mothers and Fathers, the children and grandchildren of the first and second generations of Saint Boniface survivors. This reflection is addressed to my mother, Dolores Aguila Gonzales Stewart, and my Aunts, Yolanda Rubio and RoseAnna Vidaure, in honor of all the parents of this generation.

Dear Mama, Auntie Londa, and Auntie Chana,

Thank you all for being co-researchers in this study. Talking about our Ancestors' traumas is never easy, but you each went into this fearlessly and with great love for those who came before. As we're approaching the end of this journey, I wanted to take the time to share with you how our work together will impact academia, state and federal policies, and inform practice. As you are aware, as Coastal California Indians, our Tongva and Payómkawichum Ancestors were hit particularly hard by colonization. Our lands—from the coast mountains—were among some of the most ecologically diverse lands in the state, and as a result, settlers wanted to live where we lived. Because of this and our connections to missions San Gabriel and San Luis Rey, we lost a lot of our knowledge and culture as our Ancestors assimilated into colonial society to ensure the survivance of our family. As we've conducted this research, we've learned that there is a substantial amount of knowledge living in the archives at various universities, museums, and institutions across the nation—possibly the globe. I say these knowledges are living because they represent and quite literally comes from the Ancestors who are always with us—they are our relatives. Colonizers have used these knowledges, often in a

harmful way, to inform research on our communities, but they have consistently denied us access.

While many people question the material in the archive, with some saying these Ancestors sold their souls to anthropologists, there is great value in the archives, and our Ancestors are calling us to liberate them and their baskets, clothes, stories, songs, histories, and—in many cases—their remains. As you've witnessed from the baskets Theresa and I are making, much can be learned from our relatives. To learn from the Ancestors in the archive and the Ancestral teachings they carry, California Indians need access to them so that we may care for them, talk to them, and love them. Universities, museums, and private institutions housing our Ancestors need to develop memorandums of understanding with Tribal Nations so that we may visit them and learn from them. This is what has been done by the Tongva Basket Weaving Collective leaders, and they have developed a promising method and relationships that others can follow. Moreover, they can inform legislation and policies, like NAGPRA and Cal-NAGPRA, so that our relatives can return to our Tribal Nations.

We can also access Creator's teachings by learning from the Ancestors living in the archives. Creator gifted us with creation, medicines and foods, songs and stories, plants and animals, and the land and waters—all of whom are our relatives. They also taught us how to be in good relations with our relatives and care for and tend to them through respect and reciprocity. These teachings are of extreme importance as we are experiencing remarkable global climate changes that could have been prevented if colonizers had listened to the Ancestral teachings of Indigenous Peoples. Ancestral teachings have the ability to inform research, policy, and practice by sharing sustainable ways to live in good relations with the land and all of her gifts.

'Wiishmenokre! (Love),

Calistra

Reflection # 5: To the 'Eyoo-yooxo' and 'Eyoo-pa'

The following reflection is for our Brothers and Sisters, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the first and second generations Saint Boniface survivors. This reflection is addressed to my siblings, Ramona Rodriguez, Theresa Stewart-Ambo, and Lane "Buddy" Stewart, in honor of all of my co-researchers' siblings.

Hi Mona, Theresa, and Buddy,

I know we usually communicate through text messaging, but I thought we'd give Buddy a break from the Jason Momoa memes and gifs by writing an old-school letter to you all. As you are aware, I've spent the last several months working with a fantastic group of individuals—my co-researchers—to reflect on the experiences of our Ancestors with colonization and colonial schooling. As well as looking into the ways our people have sustained our knowledge transmission practices. I've learned so much from my co-researchers, and I wanted to share the impacts that I believe it will have for us and future generations.

Over the years, each of us has struggled with what it means to be a California Indian—to be Tongva and Payómkawichum. Unlike some of our Native friends, we don't have a reservation to call home because our lands in Los Angeles and Oceanside were some of the most sought lands. Camp Pendleton alone should tell us the value of our lands! We've also struggled with the understanding that our tribes are not federally recognized and how government policies impact our Indigenous identity because they don't recognize us as a Tribal Nation. This study –and my co-researchers—have taught me that regardless of what the government claims, our people are the rightful caretakers of the lands we each call home. This study has provided evidence for

those claims through oral histories that can be cross-referenced with federal documents. This information can substantially help our nations, along with others, in our bids for federal recognition and the return of our lands. The federal government currently has standards that tribes must meet to gain recognition, but they don't often include land claims. As Theresa and I have learned from writing our Tovaangar to UCLA article, the history of land claims is hiding in plain sight. They tell the story of our Ancestors' connection to the land and our forced removal. This study has the possibility of challenging existing legislation to demonstrate that our people always have—and always will be—the rightful keepers of these lands.

Furthermore, this study has taught me that we are responsible for challenging the way that educators teach about our people. While California has enacted legislation eliminating the mission system project, many educators continue to default to these outdated and inaccurate lessons. This study exposes the history of colonial schooling in California through truth-telling about the genocide of our people. The Ancestors worked strategically to preserve cultures and Ancestral teachings for our generation, and we must ensure that the sacrifices they made, so our knowledge was not in vain. It is our responsibility to learn our Ancestral teachings, not only for our descendants but so that we can educate others about our communities. While we may not be on the frontlines, we can advocate and vote for legislation, policies, and practices to tell accurate histories. We can also remind educators of the genocide of our people and share our culture with them so that they change their lessons from narratives that show us as victims of colonization to stories that show the strength, resilience, and survivance of California Indians.

'Wiishmenokre! (Love),

Kelly

Reflection # 6: Hopes for the 'Eyoo-taarxem

The following reflection is for our children, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews, the great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren of the first and second generations Saint Boniface survivors. This reflection is addressed to my niece and nephews, Juan M. Rodriguez, Jr., Emily Hernandez-Stewart, Elier Hernandez-Stewart, and Bryson L. Stewart, in honor of all of my co-researchers' children, nieces, nephews, and grandchildren.

Dear Juanito, Emily, Eli, and Bryson,

Since the day you came into my life, like our Ancestors before, the work I do has been for you. I have tried to be the best Auntie I can be and to spend time with you to teach you about the world. You have—and are—growing up in a world riddled with hatred and division that often masks the side of the world filled with immense love, compassion, and understanding. People are discriminated against based on race, gender, sexuality, ability, and more. This resulted from colonization, which established a hierarchy of haves and have-nots. As you navigate this world, I hope that you speak up for those different from you and meet them from where they come from and not where you are. I hope that you use your agency to advocate for policies that prevent discrimination of any kind. In doing so, I hope you know—and believe—that you are meant to be here. You can hold the spaces that colonizers intended us to be excluded from. Gather stories, advocate for policy changes, and practice unconditional love and understanding, for only through those two things can we see positive changes in the world.

I also want you to draw on the Ancestral teachings you carry within. The Ancestors are our first teachers and the most important of all who come into your lives. These are the teachings of reciprocity, respect, and responsibility, and they teach us how to care for and tend to others. You are the future, and you have the ability to make systemic changes for the good of all. You

can ensure that everyone is treated equally while being appreciated for their differences and ensuring that they belong.

'Wiishmenokre! (Love), Your favorite Auntie,

Kelly

Reflection # 7: Hopes for the 'Eyoo-kaakan and Beyond

The following reflection is for the seventh generation, the great-great-great- and great-great-great-great-grandchildren of the first and second generations of Saint Boniface survivors. This reflection is addressed to my great-niece, Abigail Gabriela Rodriguez, in honor of the seventh generation.

Dear Abby Gabby,

You are my hope for the future and a member of the seventh generation. To our people, seven is a significant number. Our people believe that the actions of today are the result of seven generations past and influence seven generations in the future. As I write this, you are three years old—soon to be four. You don't know what it means that you're Tongva and Payómkawish. Your life is just beginning! But you are here because of the resilience of Ancestors seven generations past. You represent the hopes and dreams of seven generations past, and you will carry the hopes and dreams of seven generations forward.

When I initially drafted this letter, I reflected on your tenacious spirit. While most of that comes from your mom, dad, grandma, and grandpa, a little, you inherited from me. If you're reading this as an adult, you'll understand that this is why you constantly butt heads with me, but you also appreciated that I loved you regardless of your being feisty. We get that feistiness from Great-Great-Grandma Carmelita and GG Dolores. For all of us, you represent the future, and

you will carry the Ancestral teachings that have been passed onto us by Creator from the moment they breathed life into us.

It is vital that you use this knowledge in a good way. By the time you are an adult, Mother Earth may be in dire straits. Settlers across the globe have ignored and dismissed the Ancestral teachings that teach us how to be in good relations with all of the natural world. It is your responsibility to our relatives—the land, water, plants, and animals—to take care of them. Use the knowledge of respect, reciprocity, and sustainability to teach others how to be in good relations. Through sharing this knowledge, policymakers can pass laws that protect Mother Earth and all her resources and end generations of exploiting her.

Also, know the seven generations before you have worked hard to overcome the harm colonizers brought to our shores. We have acknowledged the sources of our pain and reconciled with the realization that it was not our fault. Creator gave and taught us the importance of unconditional love. We showed that love to settlers, but they did not reciprocate it. We chose to turn that love into action for our people. Today, there are two pieces of legislation in Congress—you'll learn who they are when you're older—aimed at establishing a Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding Schools. That commission will conduct research on Indian boarding schools—like the ones Grandpa Louis and Grandma Carmen went to—to expose the atrocities against Indian youth. The results of that commission will take years—maybe generations—to fully understand. When the time comes, it is your responsibility to honor the Ancestors by advocating for reparations to our people.

'Wiishmenokre! (Love),

Auntie Cali (Kelly)

Recommendations for Future Research

While substantial research has been conducted on Indian education, there remained an absence of literature examining the experiences of Southern California Indians at Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools and the impacts that these institutions had on subsequent generations. This study aimed to fill those gaps in the literature by examining Southern California Indians' experiences with Indigenous education and settler colonial schooling. The study determined that colonial schooling was a continuum that began with settler invasion by Spain and continued through Mexican and American colonization. Moreover, through the collection of oral histories, this study offered valuable insight into the ways in which California Indians—despite three waves of colonization—resisted and refused assimilation into settler society and how enacted acts of Indigenous survivance and agency in retaining our knowledge systems. Although teachings that emerged in this study hold great significance for Southern California Indians and broader settler societies, they also exposed other areas where research is necessary.

First and foremost, St. Boniface Indian Industrial School operated from 1888 to 1952, where approximately four generations of students—predominately Southern California Indians—attended the institution. Research conducted thus far, including this study, focuses on the stories and experiences of the first two generations of students who attended between 1890 and 1935. To understand the full impacts that the institution had on California Indian students—particularly after the school opened its doors to other racialized groups in 1935—it is essential to collect oral histories from survivors who attended after 1935. Not only will this allow us to understand the experiences of California Indians during this time, but it also opens the door to examining the impacts of Catholic mission schools on other racialized and marginalized communities.

Second, the co-researchers in this study expressed how speaking about the experiences of their Ancestors at SBIIS provided them with immense healing. The traumas experienced by California Indian youth at boarding schools are not frequently discussed amongst survivors and descendants. As co-researchers conveyed, many SBIIS survivors kept the physical, emotional, and mental abuses they endured hidden away—only revealing them in moments of extreme vulnerability or as they prepared to walk on to their next journey. While co-researchers often left oral histories with more questions than answers, the ability to reflect on their Ancestors' experiences was highly cathartic for them. Future studies on Indian boarding schools, SBIIS in particular, need to examine the intergeneration journey towards healing—specifically looking at the ways that survivors and descendants utilize an embracement of Ancestral teachings as a form of healing.

Finally, SBIIS was just one of three Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools in California. Research on Fort Yuma Indian School in Yuma, CA and St. Anthony's Indian Industrial School in San Diego, CA—both of which predate St. Boniface—is meager. Through the three institutions, the Catholic Church formed a network that oversaw Indian education in southern California for nearly twenty years before the U.S. establishment of the first federal Indian boarding schools. Despite the Catholic Church's stronghold on Indian education, little research has been conducted on Fort Yuma and St. Anthony's. Future research needs to expand the existing narrative on Indian education in California to include these institutions. Moreover, future research needs to explicitly map out the church's role in educating California Indians to hold them accountable for the harm they inflicted on our people as they continued the work they started in the colonization of California at the Spanish missions.

Conclusion

Given the current climate for addressing and atoning for past injustices, this study offered valuable insight into the unique experiences of Southern California Indian communities while providing context to a long history of wrongs inflicted against us by colonial nations and their settlers. More specifically, given the discovery of Indigenous remains at residential school sites, this study provided a forum for SBIIS survivors' descendants to discuss the traumas of the past and the intergenerational impacts they've had on descendants and will have on future generations. Moreover, FIBSI, the CTHC, and the pending H.R. 5444 and S. 2907 legislation will provide multiple avenues for healing and reparations to California Tribal Nations. However, these initiatives require additional evidence-based research—by California Indians—that documents the injustices committed against our people to move towards those goals. This study aimed to provide the initiatives and commissions with the required documentation and evidence.

Moreover, the emergent teaching of unconditional love offers vital insight into how we—as a society, can move forward to work toward navigating truth-telling and healing. Unconditional love was a teaching that emerged mid-study after my oral history session with Dr. Sean C. Milanovich. While it seems such a commonsense practice, it is not often given in today's world, which is driven by capitalistic desires and filled with greed and self-indulgence. In the (re)telling of colonial history, Indigenous Peoples are frequently described as having lost stewardship over our lands because we were unintelligent and uncivilized. Instead, as (re)told by multiple co-researchers, Indigenous Peoples—California Indians in particular—were colonized because we gave settlers unconditional love. Still, it is that same love that ensures the survivance of our people. Unconditional love from Creator and the Ancestors gave—and continues to provide—California Indians the courage and strength to push back against settler efforts to

annihilate our people. As we move forward with telling the *true* history of the colonization of these lands and the genocide of our people, unconditional love from Creator and Honuukvetam is what will continue to help Indigenous Peoples as we move towards forgiving settlers and those who continue to harm our communities. Moreover, unconditional love—to our people and ourselves—as demonstrated by Creator will help Indigenous Peoples, specifically California Indians, as we begin to heal from nearly 500 years of trauma.

Finally, this study offered Southern California Indians an opportunity to heal by openly discussing and reflecting on the traumas experienced by our Ancestors at the missions, ranchos, and mission Indian boarding schools. We—the descendants of SBIIS survivors—were reminded of the need to heal through the emergence of Ancestors at former residential school sites. Ancestors' resurfacing reminded us of the trauma endured and sacrifices made by our Ancestors to ensure our existence and thrivance. Their emergence was also a call to us to gather collectively to demand justice and reparations for prior—and current—wrongs and abuses we have experienced at the hands of colonial nations, the Catholic Church, and settlers. Ancestors want their stories shared and, through those stories, for our communities to heal, and this Study is one of the avenues to achieve healing.

APPENDIX A: LETTER IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 5444

THE TRUTH AND HEALING COMMISSION ON INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL POLICIES ACT

Míiyuyam. My name is Kelly Leah Stewart. I am Gabrielino-Tongva and Payómkawish (Luiseño). My Ancestors—while not recognized by the U.S. federal government—are the original inhabitants of the Los Angeles Basin, along with parts of San Bernardino, Orange, Riverside, and North San Diego counties. I am also a descendant—by blood and through marriage—of thirty-three former St. Boniface Indian Industrial School students, three of whom are interred at the St. Boniface cemetery located in Banning, California. Two generations of my family attended St. Boniface between 1890 to 1935, with some being part of the first cohort of students at the institution.

Additionally, I am currently a doctoral candidate in the Joint Degree Program in Education Leadership at the University of California San Diego and California State University, San Marcos, where I am writing my doctoral dissertation on St. Boniface. My dissertation examines the actions taken by the U.S. government, Catholic Church, and settlers to eradicate California Indian knowledge transmission practices in efforts to assimilate mission Indians into Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. colonial societies. Furthermore, my research examines St. Boniface's impact on former students and subsequent generations of descendants, explicitly centering on California Indian acts of survivance. I am the first California Indian woman and descendant of former students to explore the legacy of St. Boniface. In addition to my forthcoming dissertation, I previously researched the institution in my master's thesis, *(Re)writing and (Re)righting California Indian Histories: Legacies of Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School, 1890 to 1935*, which examined my family's experience at the school.

I am writing to express my support for *H.R. 5444 the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act*. Since its establishment, the U.S. federal government—along with state governments and multiple churches across the nation—enacted various policies—and invented legislation—designed to sever Native American peoples' connections to Indigenous knowledge systems to gain access and title over our lands illegally. On multiple occasions, the U.S. government ignored Indigenous sovereignty and ways of governing by violating and hiding various treaties established between the U.S. government and Tribal Nations.

In terms of colonial schooling and Indian boarding schools, the U.S. government provided substantial financial support and resources, which were then used to steal Native youth from their tribal communities to force them into federal and religious day and boarding schools, where Native youth experienced genocide through colonial education. In these institutions, Native youth were stripped of their indigeneity, used as sources of forced labor, and provided an inadequate education. As such, the U.S. government has a moral, financial, and legislative obligation to atone for their wrongs by offering resources and legislation to support Native communities as we begin to investigate the atrocities committed against Indigenous youth in our efforts to move towards healing from the traumas enacted against us at the hands of this government and to (re)claim our sovereignty as the original peoples of the land on which we allow you to reside.

As the descendant of over thirty former Indian boarding school students, the legacy of these institutions—institutions created by your forefathers—has significantly impacted me, my family, and my Tribal Nations. My great-great uncles, Paul and Emmanuel Gonzales were two of the over one hundred California mission Indian youth to be forcibly taken to St. Boniface Indian

Industrial School, formerly located in Banning, California. A few short years later, my great grandfather, Louis Florian Gonzales, would also be taken to the school to obtain the "education" promised to our people. During his time at St. Boniface, Louis was stripped of our Tongva and Payómkawish culture. As the last family member to be connected to our traditional knowledge systems taught to him by his mother, Maria Francisca Lisalde—a known midwife and healer for Native families in San Timoteo Canyon, our family lost our culture for three generations.

My grandmother, Carmelita Gonzales, and her siblings (Leonard, Gilbert, Raymond, Dora, and Emma) were forced to attend St. Boniface, further decimating our connections to our Ancestral knowledge and education systems. My grandmother, who was taken to the school before she even turned five, shared with many of her children and grandchildren about how she would run away from the school because she feared the priests and nuns at the school and wanted to return home to her family at the Gonzales Ranch. My great aunt, Emma, shared with me how the only thing she received in terms of the *promised* western education was a penmanship course alongside endless religious indoctrination. She also spoke about how she was given different charges, of which butter churning was one. Before her death, she reflected on how she never got to taste the butter she churned as it was reserved for the priests and nuns.

Upon completing their time at St. Boniface, my thirteen and fourteen-year-old great uncles, Leonard and Gilbert, were sent to help build the Riverside Mission Inn. They didn't get to return home to reconnect with their family; they were forced to help create what has become one of the biggest tourist attractions in Riverside. My uncle Raymond may have had it the worst out of all the children. He was a sickly child and required healing through traditional plants that only his grandmother knew how to use. He would have inherited her knowledge and experience

and carried on her work as a healer, but the U.S. government and Catholic Church stole that education from him—from all of us.

The negative impacts of Indian boarding schools didn't end with their closing or Native youth being permitted to attend public schools with white and racialized children. My mother's generations, my generation, my nieces and nephews' generation, and my great nieces' generation carry the legacy of these institutions—for our family, we carry the legacy of St. Boniface and our Ancestors' time at the school. My mother spent most of her life knowing she was Native, being forced to work with state and government agencies so that she could (re)claim ties to her Tribal Nations via the federal census and California Indian Judgement Rolls. While she carried the oral histories of our family to meetings with Bureau of Indian Affairs staff, they required her to find documents providing "proof" of her Native heritage—records they had in their possession, often at a tremendous financial burden to her. Denying her access to the documents that would confirm what she knew to be true only gave her fuel to fight them and to prove that the oral histories she brought them were correct.

I carry the legacy of my Ancestors' experiences with me daily. They are the reason why I've chosen to undertake the traumatic and heartbreaking work of being a scholar who does boarding school research. Every day—through every archival document I review, every article I read, and every story I collect—I relive the experiences of my great-grandfather and his brothers and my grandmother and her siblings. As a youth, I was ashamed to tell friends that I was Native. The U.S. government has done such an excellent job of erasing California Indians that I knew friends and teachers would not believe me if I told them I was Native. I was also ashamed that I had no knowledge of our traditions and couldn't speak our languages. I carried a shame forced upon my family due to Indian boarding schools. My research started as a way to atone for

my rejection of my indigeneity. But as the years have passed, it has become a way of (re)connecting with the Ancestral wisdom that I carry within me. It has become an act of refusal. Refusal to be silent and refusal to let my Ancestors' sacrifices be in vain. While we may never fully get back what was stolen from us, I am doing everything in my power to make sure the cycle of shame that was reinforced at the boarding schools ends with me. My nieces and nephews will carry stories of our Ancestors' resilience and refusal at St. Boniface.

I want to note that as California Indians, we not only carry the legacy of U.S. federal and Catholic mission boarding schools, but we also carry the legacy of Spanish and Mexican colonization via the missions and ranchos, respectively. We carry the last effects of the genocide financially sponsored by the California government, which the U.S. government reimbursed. My Tongva and Payómkawish Ancestors are the original inhabitants and caretakers of some of the most ecologically diverse and rich land in Southern California. While your government continues to deny us our very existence by denying us recognition—and despite three waves of colonization and three attempts to physically remove us from our lands—we are still here, and we are not going anywhere.

So, I hope when you approve this legislation in the House and the Senate, you also include the Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos in investigations of California's Indian boarding schools. Why? Because colonial schooling—the stripping of our culture and our knowledge transmission practices—began with Spanish contact and continues today. To fully atone for the wrongs done to California Indians, you have to start from the beginning. In bringing California into your nation, you inherited the atrocities committed by Spanish and Mexican government officials, religious leaders, and settlers. Thus, it is now your responsibility to right those wrongs.

I want to close by reinforcing my support of *H.R. 5444 the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act.* This government has benefited from Indigenous peoples and our land for far too long. It is time that the government honors the treaties—ratified and unratified—and helps obtain the answers we have sought for generations as we move forward in our healing.

Thank you to the Natural Resources Subcommittee for Indigenous Peoples of the United States for holding this space for us and collecting these testimonies.

Sincerely,

Kelly Leah Stewart
Gabrieliño-Tongva/Luiseño

Doctoral Candidate, JDP in Educational Leadership—UC San Diego / CSU San Marcos
Graduate Research Assistant, Indigenous Futures Institute
Master of Arts, American Indian Studies—University of California, Los Angeles

APPENDIX B: LETTER IN SUPPORT OF S. 2907

THE TRUTH AND HEALING COMMISSION ON INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL POLICIES ACT

Dear Members of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs,

Míiyuyam. My name is Kelly Leah Stewart. I am Gabrielino-Tongva and Payómkawish (Luiseño). My Ancestors—while not recognized by the United States (U.S.) federal government—are the original inhabitants of the Los Angeles Basin, along with parts of San Bernardino, Orange, Riverside, and North San Diego counties, and are the original caretakers to some of the most fertile and ecologically diverse land in the US. I am also a descendant—by blood and through marriage—of thirty-three former St. Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS) students, three of whom are interred at the school cemetery located in Banning, California. Two generations of my family attended SBIIS between 1890 to 1935, with many of my Ancestors being a part of the first cohort of students at the institution.

Additionally, I am currently a Doctoral Candidate in the Joint Degree Program in Education Leadership at the University of California San Diego and California State University, San Marcos, where I am writing my doctoral dissertation on SBIIS. Employing archival and oral history research methods, my dissertation examines the actions taken by the US government, Catholic Church, and settlers to eradicate California Indian knowledge transmission practices in efforts to assimilate mission Indians into Spanish, Mexican, and American colonial societies. Furthermore, my research examines SBIIS's impact on survivors and descendants, explicitly centering on California Indian acts of survivance. I am the first California Indian woman and descendant of former students to explore the legacy of SBIIS in academic research. In addition to my forthcoming dissertation, I previously conducted research on the institution in my master's

thesis, *(Re)writing and (Re)righting California Indian Histories: Legacies of Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School, 1890 to 1935,* which examined my family's experience at the institution.

I am writing to express my support for *Senate Bill 2907*—the *Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act*, and have previously provided written support and testimony for S.2907's sister bill in the US House of Representatives, *H.R. 5444*—the *Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act*. Since its establishment, the U.S. federal government, along with state governments and multiple churches across the nation, enacted various policies—and invented legislation—designed to disrupt Native American peoples' connections to Indigenous knowledge systems to gain access and title over our lands illegally—violating a millennium of Indigenous governance systems, which pre-date the foundation and governing systems of the U.S. On multiple occasions, the U.S. government ignored Indigenous sovereignty and ways of governing by violating and hiding various treaties established between the U.S. government and Tribal Nations, specifically the Thirteen *unratified* (*hidden*) treaties of California, which would have given many unrecognized tribes in California—specifically the many Coastal Tribal Nations associated with the Spanish missions—federal recognition status.

In terms of colonial schooling and Indian boarding schools in California, the U.S. government—for over two generations—provided substantial financial support and resources to both religious organizations (i.e., the Catholic and Protestant churches) and government schools under the guise of providing an education to Native youth. U.S. government financial support and resources were used to steal or forcibly take Native youth from their tribal communities to sequester them to federal and religious day and boarding schools, where Native youth

experienced genocide through colonial education. In these institutions, Native youth were stripped of their indigeneity, used as sources of unfree labor, and provided an inadequate education. Often, financial support was not utilized to educate Native youth; instead used to line the coffers of individuals, institutions, and religious organizations charged with providing a western education to our youth. As such, the U.S. government has a moral, financial, and legislative obligation to atone for their wrongs and complacency in this history by offering resources and legislation to support Native communities as we begin to investigate the atrocities committed against Indigenous youth—at federal and religious Indian boarding schools—and in our efforts to move towards healing from the traumas enacted against us at the hands of the U.S. government and to (re)claim our sovereignty as the original peoples of the land on which we allow you to reside.

As the descendant of over thirty former Indian boarding school students, the legacy of these institutions—institutions created strategically by your forefathers—has significantly impacted me, my family, and my Tribal Nations. My grand-uncles, Paul and Emmanuel Gonzales, were two of the 100+ California mission Indian youth to be coerced or forcibly taken to SBIIS. A few short years later, my great-grandfather, Louis Florian Gonzales, would also be taken to the school to obtain the *education* promised to our people. During his time at SBIIS, Grandpa Louis was stripped of nearly every ounce of our Tongva and Payómkawish culture. As the last family member to be connected to our traditional knowledge systems, taught to him by his mother, Maria Francisca Lisalde—a known midwife and healer for Native families in San Timoteo Canyon (located in present-day Redlands, CA), our family lost our culture for three generations.

My grandmother, Carmelita Gonzales, and her siblings (Leonard, Gilbert, Raymond, Dora, and Emma) were also forced to attend SBIIS, further decimating connections to our Ancestral knowledge and education systems. My grandmother, who was taken to the school before she even turned five, shared with many of her children and grandchildren how she would run away from the school because she feared the priests and nuns at the school and wanted to return home to her family at the Gonzales Ranch. My grand-aunt, Emma, shared with me how the only thing she received in terms of the *promised education* was a Paul Merchant penmanship course alongside endless religious indoctrination. Aunt Emma also spoke about how she was given different charges, of which butter churning was one. Before her death, she reflected on how she never got to taste the butter she churned as it was reserved for the priests and nuns overseeing the school – many of whom were already pocketing the financial support provided by the U.S. government rather than using it to give the robust *education* promised to our people.

Upon completing their time at SBIIS, my thirteen and fourteen-year-old granduncles, Leonard and Gilbert, were sent to help build the Riverside Mission Inn. Uncle Leonard and Uncle Gilbert didn't get to return home to reconnect with their family. Instead, they were forced—in connection to SBIIS's outing programs—to help create what has become one of the most frequented tourist attractions and wedding destinations in Riverside, CA. My grand-uncle Raymond may have had it the worst out of all the children. He was a sickly child and required healing through traditional plants and medicines that only his grandmother knew how to cultivate and utilize. Uncle Raymond would have inherited her knowledge and experience and carried on her work as a healer, passing down generations of California Indian knowledge and wisdom held by Grandma Francisca. But the U.S. government and Catholic Church stole that Indigenous education from him—*from all of us.*

The negative impacts of Indian boarding schools didn't end with their closing or Native youth being permitted to attend public schools with white children in urban areas after 1935 and beyond. My mother's generation, my generation, my nieces and nephews' generation, and my great nieces' generation—four subsequent generations—carry the legacy of these institutions—for our family, we carry the legacy of SBIIS and our Ancestors' time at the institution.

My mother, Dolores Aguila, spent most of her life knowing she was California Indian, being forced to work with state and government agencies—most frequently the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—so that she could (re)claim ties to our Tribal Nations via federal census and California Indian Judgement Rolls. While Dolores carried the oral histories of our family—narratives passed down for generations and that recounted stories of our Ancestors *always* calling Southern California home—to meetings with BIA staff, they required her to find physical documents—records they had in their possession—to provide *proof* of her Native heritage; something that often came at a tremendous financial burden to her and our working-class family. The denial of access to documents that would confirm what she knew to be true and the rejection of the oral histories she took to BIA offices by staff only gave my mother fuel to stand her ground and to prove that the oral histories were correct and matched their records. My mother has led the charge in ensuring my siblings and I, along with our many cousins, have never forgotten that we descend from the *first* and *true* Americans of Southern California.

I, too, carry the legacy of my Ancestors' experiences at SBIIS. My Ancestors are why I have chosen to undertake the traumatic and heartbreaking work of being a scholar conducting Indian boarding school research. Every day—through every archival document I review, article I read, and story I preserve—I relive the experiences of my great-grandfather and his brothers, my grandmother and her siblings, and every survivor, victim, and descendant of SBIIS. As a youth, I

was ashamed to tell friends that I was Tongva and Payómkawish. Over multiple generations, the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. governments had done such an excellent job in their attempts at erasing California Indians from the physical and symbolic landscape of our Ancestral homelands—and in replacing pride in our indigeneity with shame—that I knew my friends and teachers would not believe me if I told them I was California Indian and that they were residing on the lands my Ancestors have called home since creation. I was also ashamed that I had no knowledge of our traditions and couldn't speak our languages. Practices that were stolen from us in the missions and further removed from us at SBIIS. I carried a shame forced upon my family due to these colonial structures and systems.

Conducting academic research on Indian boarding schools began as a way to atone for the rejection of my indigeneity, to find answers as to why my family had lost connections to our traditional ways and knowledge, and to rid myself of a shame—passed down intergenerationally—that was forced upon my family by on-going colonial structures and systems. But as the years have passed, it has become a way of (re)connecting with and (re)claiming the Ancestral wisdom that I carry within me and exposing generations of falsehoods through truth-telling and (re)storying the Indian boarding school narrative of Southern California. It has become acts of refusal and healing. Refusal to be silent and refusal to let my Ancestors' sacrifices be in vain. It is also healing generations of loss and shame and breathing life back into the Ancestral knowledge and teachings we carry within. While we may never fully get back what was stolen from us, I am doing everything in my power to make sure the cycle of shame that was reinforced at the boarding schools ends with me. My nieces and nephews will carry stories of our Ancestors' resilience and refusal at SBIIS and our enduring survivance as a people and as a family.

I want to note that as California Indians, we carry not only the legacy of U.S. federal and Catholic mission Indian boarding schools but also the legacy of Spanish and Mexican colonization via the missions and ranchos, respectively. We carry the lasting effects of the genocide financially sponsored by the California government, which the U.S. government reimbursed. As previously stated, my Tongva and Payómkawish Ancestors are the original inhabitants and caretakers of some of the most ecologically diverse and rich land in Southern California. Our people today continue our stewardship over our homelands. While the U.S. government continues to deny us our very existence by denying us recognition—and despite three waves of colonization and three attempts to physically remove us from our homelands—we are still here, and *we are not going anywhere*.

When you approve this legislation in the Senate—which every U.S. Senator should be morally obligated to vote yes on—and the sister legislation is approved in the House of Representatives, followed by President Biden signing this *Act* into law; I hope that committee members and investigators also include the Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos in investigations of California's Indian boarding schools. Why? Because colonial schooling—the stripping of our culture and knowledge transmission practices—began with Spanish contact and continues today. To fully atone for the wrongs done to California Indians, you have to start from the beginning. In bringing California into your nation, you inherited the atrocities committed by Spanish and Mexican government officials, religious leaders, and settlers. Thus, it is now your responsibility to right those wrongs. Additionally, I hope you call in California Indian tribal leaders and emerging scholars—such as myself—to be a part of these conversations and investigations because *truth and healing* cannot occur unless we are given a seat at the table.

I want to close by reinforcing my support of *Senate Bill 2907*—the *Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act.* The U.S. government has benefited from Indigenous peoples and our land for far too long. It is time that the government honors the treaties—ratified and unratified—and helps Native peoples obtain the truthful answers that we have sought for generations as we move forward in our healing.

Thank you to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs for holding this space for us and collecting written support and testimonies.

Sincerely,

Kelly Leah Stewart
Gabrieliño-Tongva/Luiseño

Doctoral Candidate, JDP in Educational Leadership—UC San Diego / CSU San Marcos
Graduate Research Assistant, Indigenous Futures Institute
Master of Arts, American Indian Studies—University of California, Los Angeles

APPENDIX C: RECRUITMENT EMAIL

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

RECRUITMENT EMAIL

Subject Line: Seeking Participants for mission Indian School Study

Dear **(name),**

You are receiving this email because have been identified as either a former St. Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS) student or a descendent of a former SBIIS student.

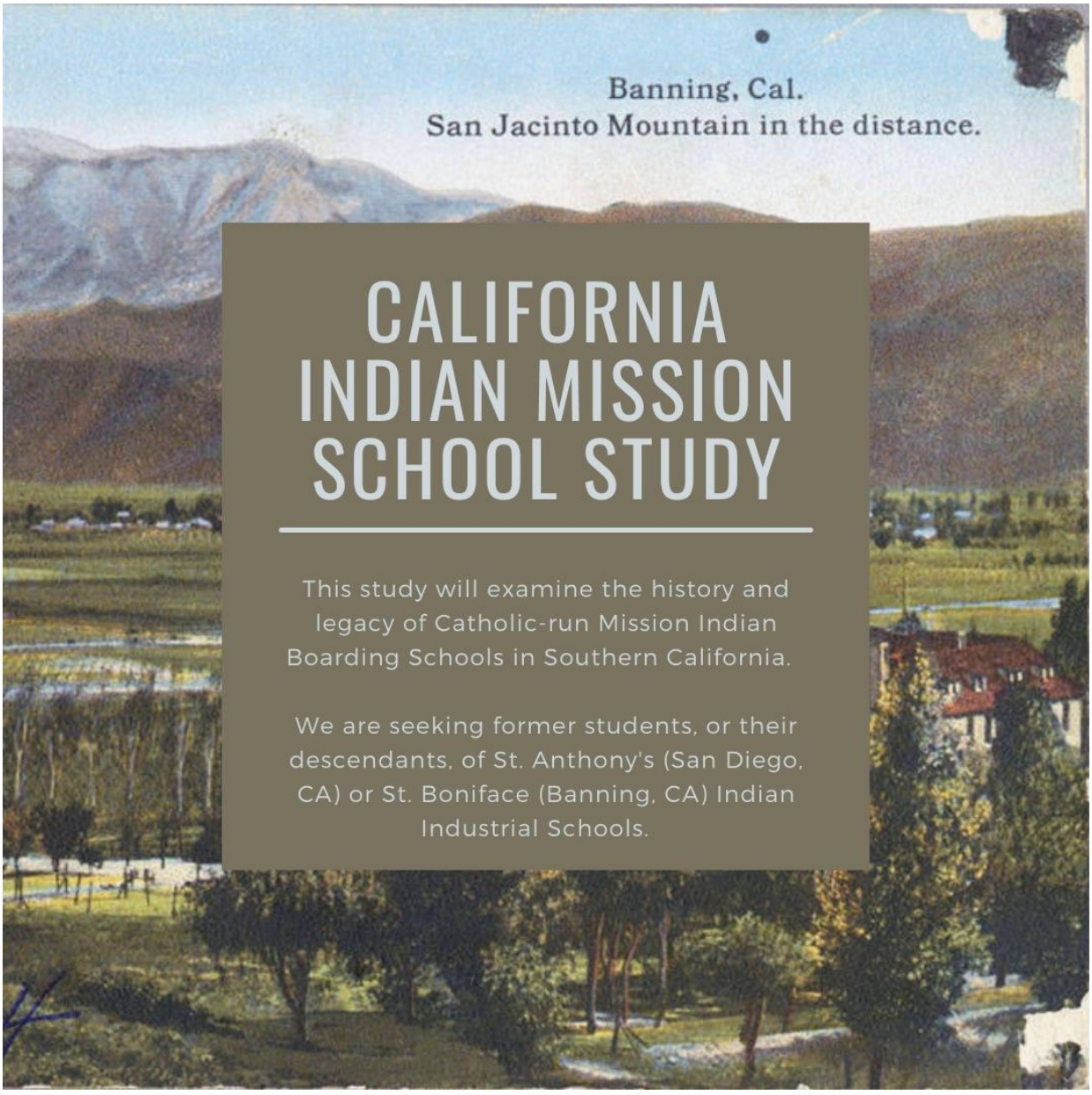
Under the supervision of Professor Alan J. Daly, Kelly Leah Stewart, a doctoral candidate in the Joint Degree Program in Educational Leadership at the University of California San Diego (UCSD) and California State University, San Marcos is looking for participants for her doctoral dissertation research study entitled *Indigenous Survivance: (Re)membering and (Re)storying California Indian Education Experiences*. This study will examine the educational experiences of Southern California Indians during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras.

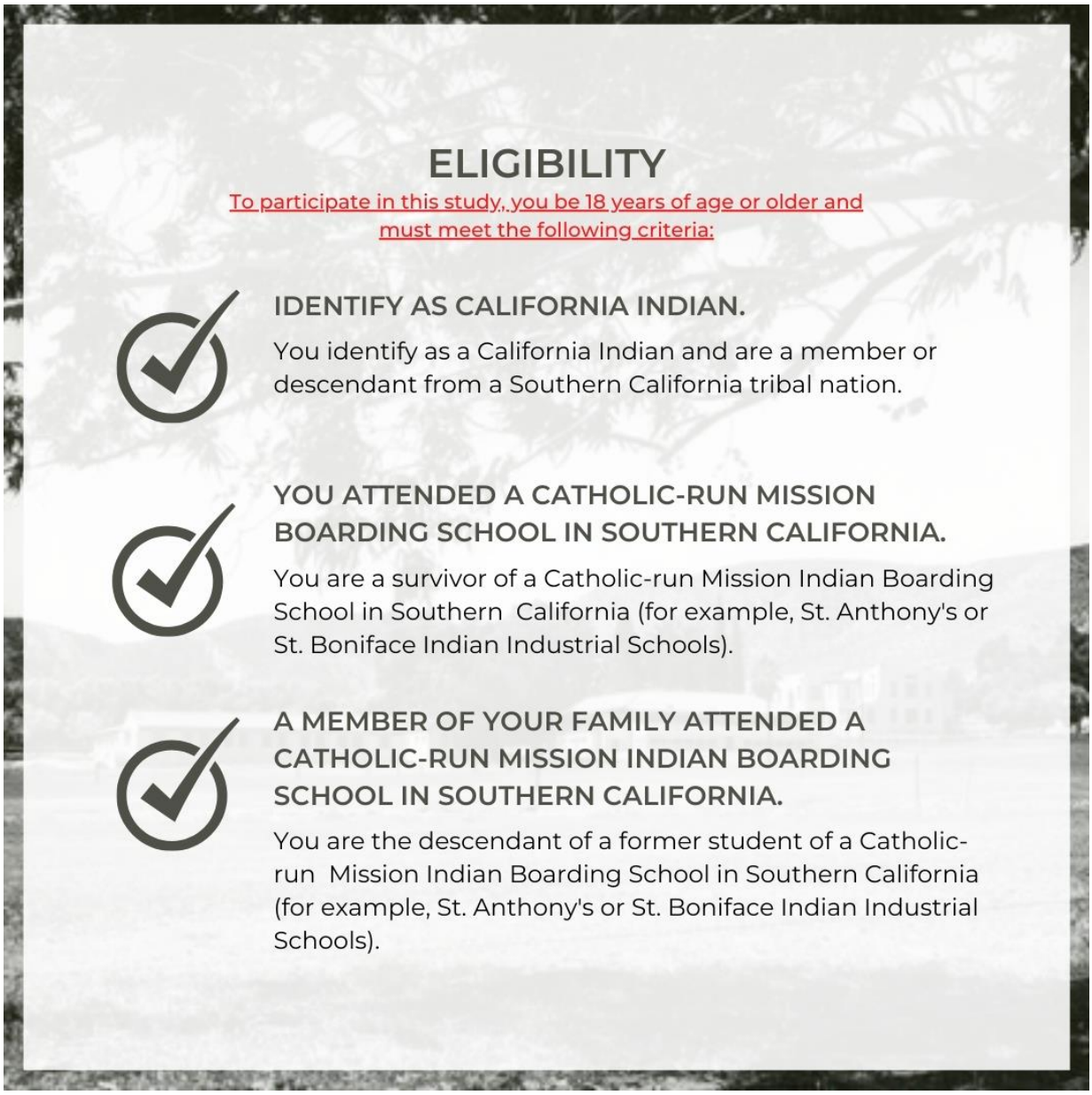
Participation in this study will consist of three semi-structured interviews with the principal investigator, as well as a culminating SBIIS alumni/descendants community gathering. If you are interested in participating or have any questions about the study, please email Kelly Leah Stewart at [redacted]r@ucsd.edu or call (626) [redacted].

Sincerely,

Kelly Leah Stewart
Gabrielino-Tongva/Luiseño
Doctoral Candidate, JDP Educational Leadership, UC San Diego / CSU San Marcos

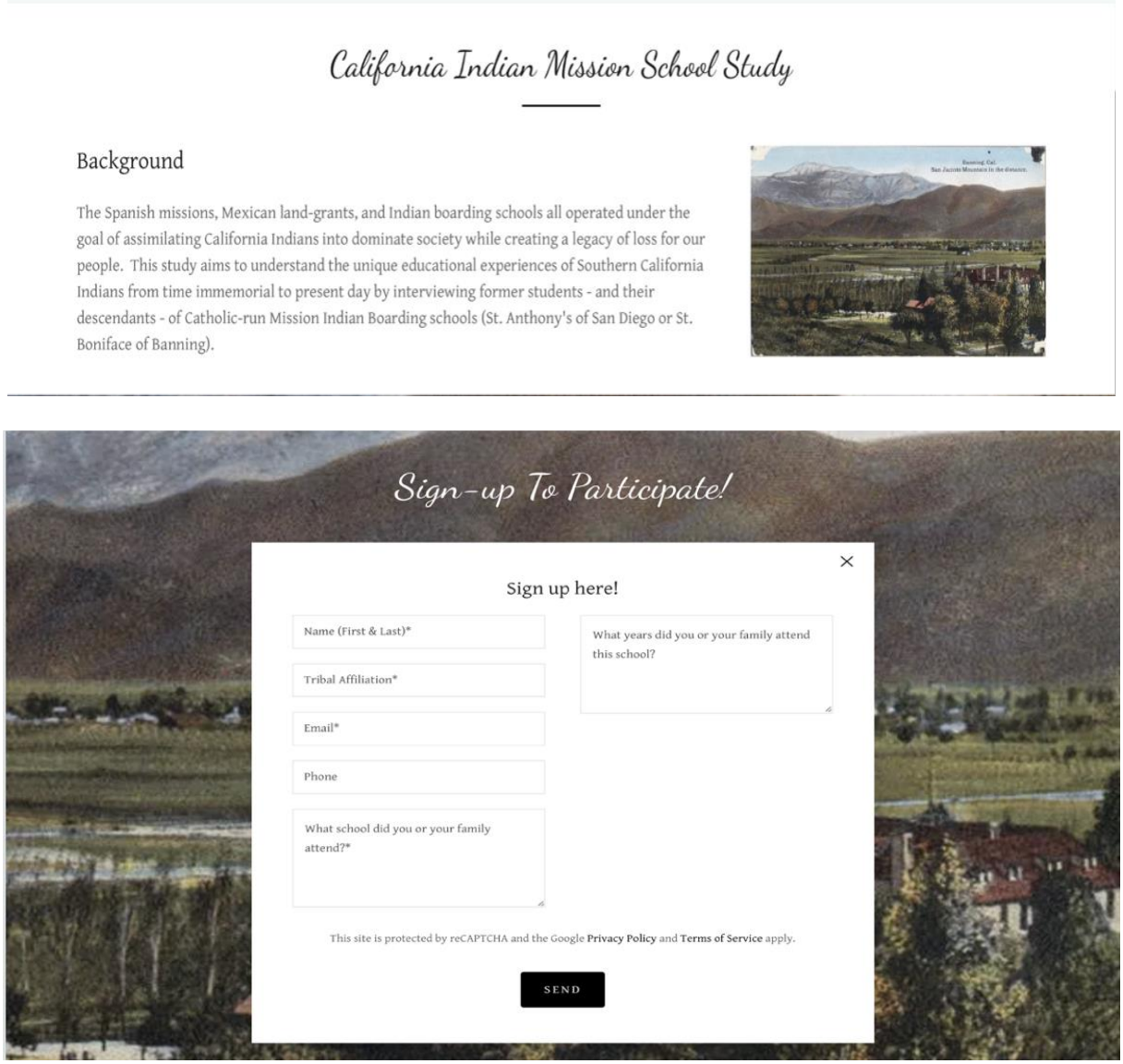
APPENDIX D: PRECRUITMENT FLYERS

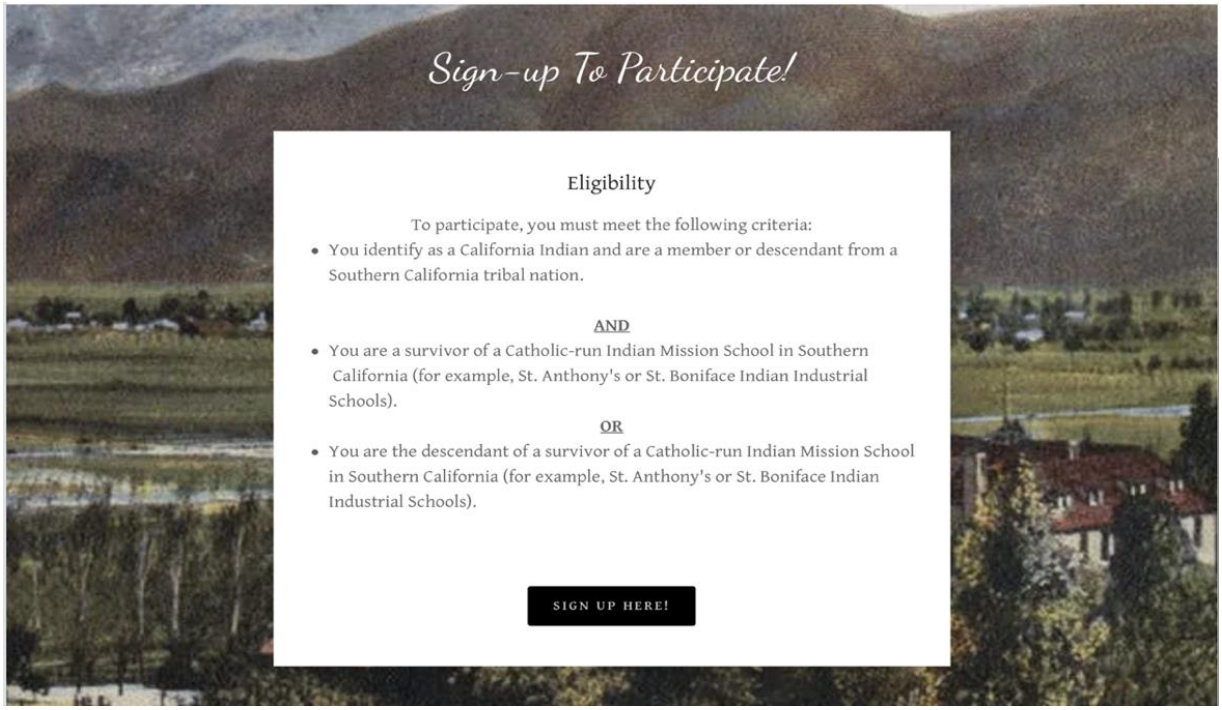



ELIGIBILITY
To participate in this study, you be 18 years of age or older and must meet the following criteria:
IDENTIFY AS CALIFORNIA INDIAN.
You identify as a California Indian and are a member or descendant from a Southern California tribal nation.
YOU ATTENDED A CATHOLIC-RUN MISSION BOARDING SCHOOL IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.
You are a survivor of a Catholic-run Mission Indian Boarding School in Southern California (for example, St. Anthony's or St. Boniface Indian Industrial Schools).
A MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY ATTENDED A CATHOLIC-RUN MISSION INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.
You are the descendant of a former student of a Catholic-run Mission Indian Boarding School in Southern California (for example, St. Anthony's or St. Boniface Indian Industrial Schools).


CONTACT US
for more information
Email Address
@ucsd.edu
Website
https://
.com/cims-
study

APPENDIX E: SNOWBALL SAMPLING RECRUITMENT WEBSITE




Sign-up To Participate!
Eligibility
To participate, you must meet the following criteria:
• You identify as a California Indian and are a member or descendant from a Southern California tribal nation.
AND
• You are a survivor of a Catholic-run Indian Mission School in Southern California (for example, St. Anthony's or St. Boniface Indian Industrial Schools).
OR
• You are the descendant of a survivor of a Catholic-run Indian Mission School in Southern California (for example, St. Anthony's or St. Boniface Indian Industrial Schools).
SIGN UP HERE!

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Indigenous Survivance: (Re)membering and (Re)storying California Indian Education Experiences

Kelly Leah Stewart (Gabrielino-Tongva/Luiseño), Principal Investigator (B.A. Psychology, M.A. American Indian Studies), under the guidance of *Alan J. Daly*, Faculty Sponsor, from the *Joint Degree Program* in *Educational Leadership* at the University of California San Diego (UCSD) and California State University, San Marcos (CSUSM) are conducting a research study.

You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you have been identified as either a former St. Boniface Indian Industrial School (SBIIS) student or a descendent of a former SBIIS or St. Anthony's Indian Industrial School (SAIIS) student. Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

Why is this study being done?

This study will examine the educational experiences of Southern California Indians during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras. The purpose of the study is to explore the educational experiences and legacy of Southern California Indians who attended or descend from individuals who attended Catholic-run mission Indian Boarding schools (St. Anthony's Indian Industrial School of San Diego, CA or St. Boniface Indian Industrial School of Banning, CA).

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

Participation in this study will consist of three semi-structured interviews with the researcher and a culminating SBIIS/SAIIS alumni/descendants community gathering. If you consent to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

- Participate in a series of three interviews that will each be 60 to 90 minutes in length.
    - Interviews will require you to reflect on the following:
        - Interview One: Focused Life History
        - Interview Two: The Details of Experience (Specifically, personal and familial experiences with education in the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools, as well as within your Tribal Nation.)
        - Interview Three: Reflection on the Meaning (Specifically, personal and familial experiences with cultural and education at the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and Catholic-run mission Indian boarding schools, as well as within your Tribal Nation.)
- Have access to a computer, phone, or tablet to participate in calls via Zoom.

- Interviews will take place in the comfort of your own home.
- Participate in a community focus group where study participants will review archival documentation and interviews collected by the researcher.

How long will I be in the research study?

Participation will take approximately ***4.5 hours*** for three interviews scheduled over a ***2-to-3-month period*** and about ***4 to 6 hours*** for the community focus group (to be held at the culmination of data collection).

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?

There are no anticipated risks or discomforts.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?

You may benefit from the study by learning about your family history from relatives and through stories regarding Ancestors that you may not have known before the study. In addition, the research results may allow society to obtain knowledge regarding how California Indians continued their traditional knowledge transmission practices after years of assimilative educational experiences through the missions, ranchos, and Catholic-run boarding school era. Finally, this study has the potential to provide foundational data for healing and reconciliation initiatives overseen by the state, federal, and tribal governments.

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained utilizing a password-protected network.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?

Your rights are as follows:

- You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study, and you may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time.
- Whatever decision you make, there will be no penalty and no loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled.
- You may refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and remain in the study.
- You may choose to consent or decline to be video recorded.
- You will have authority over what information from this interview is or is not shared via the dissertation and presentations.

Who can I contact if I have questions about this study?

If you have any questions, comments, or concerns about the research, you may contact one of the researchers. Please contact:

- Kelly Leah Stewart, Principal Investigator: (626) [redacted] or [redacted]@ucsd.edu
- Alan J. Daly, Faculty Sponsor: [redacted]@ucsd.edu

- **UCSD Office of the Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP):**

If you have questions about your rights while taking part in this study, or you have concerns or suggestions, and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers about the study, please call the OHRPP at (858) 246-4777 or write to:

Attn: Human Research Protections Program (HRPP)
University of California, San Diego
9500 Gilman Drive, Mail Code 0052
La Jolla, California 92093-0052

By signing below, you have read and understand the information provided and consent to participate in this study.

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Researcher Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX G: VIDEO RELEASE FORM

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

VIDEO RELEASE FORM

Project Name: *Indigenous Survivance: (Re)membering and (Re)storying California Indian Education Experiences*

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Individual Interviewed: _____

Age: _____

Contact Information: _____

As part of this project, a video recording will be made of you during your interview. ***Video recording is entirely voluntary.*** Please indicate below the uses of these video recordings to which you are willing to consent. In any use of the video recording, your name will not be identified without your permission. You may request to stop the recording at any time or to erase any portion of your recording. By giving your consent, you do not give up any copyright or performance rights that you may hold.

Please ***initial*** for all that apply and list preferred restrictions in the box provided:

____ I consent to the use of video recordings, except for any restrictions noted below.

____ The researcher and her committee members may review the video recording.

____ Video recording may be reviewed by the researcher and research team members.

____ Video recording may be reviewed – and excerpts may be shared – at meetings, conferences, or public presentations of researchers related to this study.

Restrictions:

____ I ***do not*** consent to the use of video recordings.

By signing below, you acknowledge that you have read the above description and give your consent to use video recording as indicated above.

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Researcher Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX H: AUDIO RELEASE FORM

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

AUDIO RELEASE FORM

Project Name: *Indigenous Survivance: (Re)membering and (Re)storying California Indian Education Experiences*

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Individual Interviewed: _____

Age: _____

Contact Information: _____

As part of this project, an audio recording will be made of you during your interview. ***Audio recording is entirely voluntary.*** Please indicate below the uses of these audio recordings to which you are willing to consent. In any use of the audio recording, your name will not be identified without your permission. You may request to stop the recording at any time or to erase any portion of your recording. By giving your consent, you do not give up any copyright or performance rights that you may hold.

Please ***initial*** for all that apply and list preferred restrictions in the box provided:

____ I consent to the use of audio recordings, except for any restrictions noted below.

____ The researcher and her committee members may review the audio recording.

____ Audio recording may be reviewed by the researcher and research team members.

____ Audio recording may be reviewed – and excerpts may be shared – at meetings, conferences, or public presentations of researchers related to this study.

Restrictions:

____ I ***do not*** consent to the use of audio recordings.

By signing below, you have read the above description and give your consent to use audio recording as indicated above.

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Researcher Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCRIPT—SESSION ONE

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

INTERVIEW SCRIPT

INTERVIEW ONE: FOCUSED LIFE HISTORY

Noşúun lóoviq (Thank you), **PARTICIPANT NAME**, for participating in this oral history conversation. My name is Kelly Leah Stewart. I am a doctoral candidate in the Joint Doctoral Program in Educational Leadership at the University of California San Diego and California State University, San Marcos. I am Gabrielino-Tongva and Luiseño, and my maternal family comes from the village of Sahatapah, known today as San Timoteo Canyon in Redlands, California. My Ancestors were among the first students to be enrolled at Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School, a Catholic-run mission Indian boarding school, formerly located in Banning, California. I am beyond honored and humbled that you accepted my invitation to take part in this research, and looking forward to hearing your story, the story of your family, and more importantly, to learn from you and with you.

You were invited here today because – similar to me – you either self-identified or an individual identified you as a survivor or descendant of a survivor of SBIIS. Over the subsequent oral history sessions, we will engage in conversations surrounding the Southern California Indian boarding school experience of survivors of SBIIS and the institution's impact on descendants of former students. These conversations aim to construct a narrative of California Indian education history by examining pre-contact Indigenous education and colonial schooling during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras. Specifically, during these sessions, we will engage in conversation about the perspectives and experiences of SBIIS's California Indian survivors and their descendants while examining how we – as recipients of the

legacy of this institution's colonial schooling tactics – have (re)tained, (re)vitalized, and continue to engage in Indigenous knowledge transmission practices despite exposure to three waves of colonial schooling. Today's session will focus on the *focused life history*.

Overall, as time permits, we will engage in three oral history conversations over the next three months, of which this is the first session. Today, our conversation will last approximately 90 minutes unless you choose to extend the time. With your permission, this session will be recorded and transcribed utilizing the Zoom video recording and live audio transcription features. Recording these conversations will ensure that I don't miss anything you say while also preserving a copy of this conversation for you and your family, as well as future generations. After the session, you can notify me when you would like a copy of the recording and transcripts.

At any point during this oral history recording, if you do not feel comfortable responding, you do not have to answer; just alert me, and I can move on to the next conversation point. You may also request that the video and or audio recording be paused or stopped entirely at any time. All of the information that you share will be confidential and anonymous. Your name will not appear on any document resulting from this study unless you elect to have your name shared.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Let's begin.

APPENDIX J: ORAL HISTORY PROTOCOL—SESSION ONE

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

Oral History Protocol: Session One – Focused Life History

Objective: The purpose of this oral history session is to examine how Indigenous knowledge transmission practices and identity have influenced and guided participants' lives.

Topic	Interview Question	Time Allotted
• Introduction / Logistics	• Welcome • Overview of oral history ○ Refer to Appendix G	5 minutes

• Ground Rules	• Review of Informed Consent (first session only)
	  ○ Refer to Appendix D
	• Review of Video recording(s)
	  ○ Refer to Appendix E
	• Review of Audio recording(s)
	  ○ Refer to Appendix F
		5 minutes

• Participant Demographics	• Please share the following:
	  ○ Your name
	  ○ Tribal affiliation(s)
	  ○ Current occupation
	  ○ Any additional information you might feel is vital for me to know about your tribal background.
		10 minutes

• Family Background	• Tell me about your family background, such as your grandparents, parents, where they were from, what they did for a living, etc.? ○ Do you have siblings? If so, tell me about them. • What stories do you have about other relatives that have been influential in your life?	20 minutes

	• What stories did you hear, or do you have, about earlier Ancestors whom you never knew?
	  o How were stories about your grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, cousins, siblings, and extended family passed onto you?
	  → How do or how have you passed on these stories to other family members?	

• California Indian Identity	• Tell me about your Tribal Nation.
	  o Where is your tribe located?
	  o How are Indigenous knowledge systems (e.g., give examples) transmitted among each generation in your tribe?
	
	• Please describe or share a story that explains the role that your (***fill in participant's tribe(s) name(s)***) heritage plays on your identity.
		20 minutes

• Colonization of California	• How do you define or understand the term colonization? • In what ways, if any, was your tribe impacted by the colonization of California by Spain, Mexico, and the United States? o Were your tribe's knowledge system transmission practices impacted by Spanish, Mexican, or American colonization? If yes, can you please explain or share a story about the colonization of California?	20 minutes
• Additional Information	• Are there any additional information or stories you feel are vital for me to know about you, your life, your family, or your tribal community?	5 minutes
• Thank you & Next Oral History Conversation	• Thank participant(s) for their time and arrange to send copies of their recording and transcription. • The next session will focus on the *details of experience*. We will converse about	5 minutes

	Indigenous education (pre- and post-contact) and colonial schooling during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras. Are you available to join me for this conversation? If yes, when would you like to schedule our next session?	

APPENDIX K: INTERVIEW SCRIPT—SESSION TWO

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

INTERVIEW SCRIPT(S)

INTERVIEW TWO: THE DETAIL OF EXPERIENCE

Míiyu (Hello) **PARTICIPANT NAME**, it is lovely to see you again.

Allow me to recap. You are here today because you either self-identified or an individual identified you as a survivor or descendant of a survivor of SBIIS. Over the subsequent oral history sessions, we will engage in conversations surrounding the Southern California Indian boarding school experience of survivors of SBIIS and the institution's impact on descendants of former students. These conversations aim to construct a narrative of California Indian education history by examining pre-contact Indigenous education and colonial schooling during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras. Specifically, during these sessions, we will engage in conversation about the perspectives and experiences of SBIIS's California Indian survivors and their descendants while examining how we – as recipients of the legacy of this institution's colonial schooling tactics – have (re)tained, (re)vitalized, and continue to engage in Indigenous knowledge transmission practices despite exposure to three waves of colonial schooling. Today's session will focus on the *details of experience.*

Before today, we engaged in one of three oral history conversations. Today will be session our second session. Today, our conversation will last approximately 90 minutes unless you choose to extend the time. With your permission, this session will be recorded and transcribed utilizing the Zoom video recording and live audio transcription features. Recording these conversations will ensure that I don't miss anything you say while also preserving a copy

of this conversation for you and your family, as well as future generations. After the session, you can notify me when you would like a copy of the recording and transcripts.

At any point during this oral history recording, if you do not feel comfortable responding, you do not have to answer; just alert me, and I can move on to the next conversation point. You may also request that the video and or audio recording be paused or stopped entirely at any time. All of the information that you share will be confidential and anonymous. Your name will not appear on any document resulting from this study unless you elect to have your name shared.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Let's begin.

APPENDIX L: ORAL HISTORY PROTOCOL—SESSION TWO

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

Oral History Protocol: Session Two – The Detail of Experience

Objective: The purpose of this oral history session is to examine how Indigenous knowledge transmission practices and identity have influenced and guided participants' lives.

Topic	Interview Question	Time Allotted
• Introduction / Logistics	• Welcome • Overview of oral history o Refer to Appendix G	2.5 minutes

• Ground Rules	• Review of Informed Consent (first session only)
	  o Refer to Appendix D
	• Review of Video recording(s)
	  o Refer to Appendix E
	• Review of Audio recording(s)
	  o Refer to Appendix F
		2.5 minutes

• Spanish missions	• To your knowledge, were any of your family members enslaved at the Spanish missions?
	  o If yes, what oral narratives have been passed down to you about their experiences at the missions?
	  o If no, what oral narratives have been passed down to you about how they came to learn about or were able to escape association with the missions?
	• What oral narratives have been passed down to you about how your family and Tribal Nation were continuing Indigenous knowledge transmission practices during this time?
	  o Can you give an example of California Indian knowledge transmission practices that continued during this time?
	  o Can you give an example of California Indian knowledge transmission practices that were discontinued during this time?
		25 minutes

• Mexican Ranchos	• To your knowledge, were did of your family members work on a Mexican rancho?
	  ○
	  ○ If yes, which rancho did they work on and what oral narratives have been passed down to you about their experiences on the rancho?
	  ○ If no, what oral narratives have been passed down to you about how they came to learn about or were able to escape association with the local ranchos?
	
	• What oral narratives have been passed down to you about how your family and Tribal Nation were continuing Indigenous knowledge transmission practices during this time?
	  ○ Can you give an example of California Indian knowledge transmission practices that continued during this time?
	  ○ Can you give an example of California Indian knowledge transmission practices that were discontinued during this time?
		25 minutes

• Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School	• To your knowledge, which of your family members attended St. Boniface?
	  ○ What was your relation to this individual(s) and what oral narratives have been passed down to you about their experiences at SBIIS?
	
	• What oral narratives have been passed down to you about how your family and Tribal Nation were continuing Indigenous knowledge transmission practices during this time?
	  ○ Can you give an example of California Indian knowledge transmission practices that continued during this time?
	  ○ Can you give an example of California Indian knowledge transmission practices that were discontinued during this time?
		25 minutes

• Additional Information	• Are there any additional information or stories you feel are vital for me to know about you, your life, your family, or your tribal community?	5 minutes
• Thank you & Next Oral	• Thank participant(s) for their time and arrange to send copies of their recording and transcription.	5 minutes

History Conversation	• The next session will focus on the *reflection on the meaning.* We will reflect on our last two sessions and discuss what it all means in terms of the past, present, and future of California Indian educational experiences, both Indigenous and colonial. • If yes, when would you like to schedule our next session?	

APPENDIX M: INTERVIEW SCRIPT—SESSION THREE

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

INTERVIEW SCRIPT(S)

INTERVIEW THREE: REFLECTION ON THE MEANING

Míiyu (Hello) **PARTICIPANT NAME**, it is lovely to see you again.

Allow me to recap. You are here today because you either self-identified or an individual identified you as a survivor or descendant of a survivor of SBIIS. Over the subsequent oral history sessions, we will engage in conversations surrounding the Southern California Indian boarding school experience of survivors of SBIIS and the institution's impact on descendants of former students. These conversations aim to construct a narrative of California Indian education history by examining pre-contact Indigenous education and colonial schooling during the Spanish mission, Mexican rancho, and American boarding school eras. Specifically, during these sessions, we will engage in conversation about the perspectives and experiences of SBIIS's California Indian survivors and their descendants while examining how we – as recipients of the legacy of this institution's colonial schooling tactics – have (re)tained, (re)vitalized, and continue to engage in Indigenous knowledge transmission practices despite exposure to three waves of colonial schooling. Today's session will focus on *reflection on the meaning.*

Before today, we have engaged in two of three oral history conversations. Today, our conversation will last approximately 90 minutes unless you choose to extend the time. With your permission, this session will be recorded and transcribed utilizing the Zoom video recording and live audio transcription features. Recording these conversations will ensure that I don't miss anything you say while also preserving a copy of this conversation for you and your family, as

well as future generations. After the session, you can notify me when you would like a copy of the recording and transcripts.

At any point during this oral history recording, if you do not feel comfortable responding, you do not have to answer; just alert me, and I can move on to the next conversation point. You may also request that the video and or audio recording be paused or stopped entirely at any time. All of the information that you share will be confidential and anonymous. Your name will not appear on any document resulting from this study unless you elect to have your name shared.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Let's begin.

APPENDIX N: ORAL HISTORY PROTOCOL—SESSION THREE

University of California San Diego
California State University, San Marcos

Oral History Protocol: Session Three – Reflection on the Meaning

Objective: The purpose of this oral history session is to examine how Indigenous knowledge transmission practices and identity have influenced and guided participants' lives.

Topic	Interview Question	Time Allotted
• Introduction / Logistics	• Welcome • Overview of oral history o Refer to Appendix G	5 minutes

• Ground Rules	• Review of Informed Consent (first session only)
	  o Refer to Appendix D
	• Review of Video recording(s)
	  o Refer to Appendix E
	• Review of Audio recording(s)
	  o Refer to Appendix F
		5 minutes

• Meaning-making	• In oral history interview one (the *Focused Life History*), we focused on your life experiences as a California Indian role that your Indigenous identity has played in your life. In oral history interview two (the *Detail of Experience*), we discussed the experiences of Southern California Indians at the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and Saint Boniface Indian Industrial School. Today, we're going to reflect on both of these oral history interviews to unpack those conversations and make meaning of your experiences and the experiences of your Ancestors.	70 minutes
• Additional Information	Are there any additional information or stories you feel are vital for me to know about you, your life, your family, or your tribal community?	5 minutes

• Thank you	• Thank participant(s) for their time and arrange to send copies of their recording and transcription. • The next phase of this study will be to gather all participants to engage in verifying the credibility and validity of the data collected. Participation is optional. If you would like to participate, lets discuss potential dates of availability.	5 minutes

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