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From Tovaangar to the University of California, Los Angeles: The Transfer of Gabrielino-Tongva Homelands from Time Immemorial to the Present

Theresa Stewart-Ambo and Kelly Leah Stewart

The year 2019 marked the centennial anniversary of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Lacking in many major university festivities were meaningful acknowledgments of how the university came to occupy Gabrielino-Tongva lands, also known as Tovaangar.¹ Tovaangar means *the world* in the Tongva language and geographically represents the Los Angeles Basin and the Southern Channel Islands.² Coinciding with this centennial was a stark reminder to the Tongva that higher education institutions, including UCLA, benefit from the historical and continued dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral homelands. Within the last decade, a niche of institutional, educational, and historical research has gained public attention for its critique of how postsecondary education institutions have continuously profited from the enslavement of Africans and the physical dispossession of Indigenous peoples.³ In 2013, for example, historian Steven Craig Wilder published *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, detailing the relationship between racism, chattel slavery, and higher education among the first US colleges and universities.⁴ In response, several institutions publicly acknowledged and atoned for the role of African enslavement in establishing their institution, some offering financial scholarships to descendants.⁵ Seven years later, the release of “Land-Grab Universities”

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by *High Country News* illuminated the relationship between US higher education and Indigenous dispossession. Focused on the transfer and profit from lands expropriated from Indigenous peoples for US higher education, the exposé identified how 10.7 million acres of confiscated Indigenous lands (80,000 land parcels) across twenty-four states were gifted to states under the 1862 Morrill Act for the benefit of higher education. Also known as the Land-Grant College Act of 1862, the policy generated \$17.7 million in funds for university endowments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶ Several land-grant universities responded to the *High Country News* exposé publicly and internally—including the University of California, Berkeley—by forming committees, task forces, and studies, and hosting events to better understand their institutions' colonial inheritance. However, broadly speaking, universities continue to resist recognizing the role of postsecondary education in the colonization and dispossession of Indigenous communities.⁷

Focusing on the University of California (UC) system and UCLA, we trace how the present-day UCLA campus came to occupy a portion of Tovaangar. Using primary and secondary sources, we map how communally held lands transitioned to private ownership, state ownership, and finally to land-grant university ownership. Specifically, we trace the seizure of lands by the Spanish Crown to construct Mission San Gabriel Arcángel in 1771, privatization of lands into ranchos under Mexican governance after 1821, and the subsequent subdivision and sale of private property to and by individual landowners under the authority of the United States after 1850. In efforts to justify the annexation of Indigenous lands, Spanish, Mexican, and American governments created and enacted legislation that dismissed and violated California Indian—in this case, Tongva—governing systems and concepts of land stewardship. Establishing these connections across time elucidates the ongoing relationship between the original inhabitants of Tovaangar, the Tongva people, and UCLA. By doing so, we reaffirm an irrefutable link between the original inhabitants of Tovaangar and UCLA.

Moreover, we place Tongva people at every turn to underscore that we never left our homelands or ceded our lands to Spanish, Mexican, or US governments or colonizers.⁸ This history underscores the responsibility of postsecondary institutions—in this case, the UC system and UCLA—to confront their colonial inheritance and address their responsibilities to local Indigenous nations and communities.⁹ Finally, we hope that (re)storying this narrative to one that centers Tongva people as part of UCLA's history will bring a level of healing to the Tongva community. By (re)storying, we are referring to the “process for Indigenous peoples [that] entails questioning the imposition of colonial histories on our communities” by engaging in acts of truth-telling that expose falsehoods and (re)write/right/rite the past for a prosperous Indigenous future.¹⁰

The first section of this paper provides a historiography on Tongva people and brief histories of California, Los Angeles, and UCLA to orient readers to existing research. We then describe the methodology and offer our positionality. The remainder of the paper discusses how UCLA obtained its current lands, tracking the movement from the Tongva to the Spanish missions, Mexican ranchos, and private purchases to become part of the UC system. Along the way, we discuss key events

in the colonization of California, settler-Indigenous relations, and federal and state policies—including invasion, abduction, genocide, and removal under three governing authorities—that created the conditions for land acquisition. Whether culpable or complicit, this research finds the UC system and UCLA to be entangled with three waves of deliberate dispossession and thus beneficiaries of a cascade of efforts to eliminate and disenfranchise California Native nations. We conclude our remarks with a brief discussion of the implications of this research and precisely how it can forward the futures of Indigenous peoples broadly and Tongva descendants specifically.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

Research on California, Los Angeles, the University of California, and UCLA that respectfully includes and accurately portrays the relationship between these institutions and Indigenous peoples, specifically the Tongva—while growing—remains limited. The following summarizes the extant literature to review how California Indians have been depicted in research.¹¹

First, the anthropological record on California Indians broadly—and Tongva peoples specifically—has proven invaluable yet problematic. This work is dominated by cultural and linguistic anthropologists, such as Alfred L. Kroeber, John P. Harrington, and C. Hart Merriam, who documented Indigenous cultures, epistemologies, and languages during the late 1800s and early 1900s.¹² While important to Indigenous peoples, these efforts have been condemned as “salvage ethnography,” an attempt by anthropologists to record California Indian cultures before they vanished.¹³ Compilations of this ethnographic research, including *The First Angelinos* by historian William McCawley and *The Gabrielino* by historian Bruce Miller, are highly referenced resources focused on the Tongva.¹⁴

A well-established line of research attending to the history of California and the City of Los Angeles records the invasion and colonization of the state, focusing on relations between invaders and Indigenous peoples. *Children of Coyote* by Steven Hackel, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants* by Kent Lightfoot, and others tackle the history of the Spanish mission period.¹⁵ Likewise, Douglas Monroy in *Thrown Among Strangers* and Stephen G. Hyslop in *Contest for California* discuss settler-Indigenous relations under Mexican authority.¹⁶ *An American Genocide* by historian Benjamin Madley and *Murder State* by historian Brendan C. Lindsay document the genocidal campaigns against California Indians between 1846 and 1873.¹⁷ Significant attention has also been paid to the history of Los Angeles and West Los Angeles. Most recently, historian Kelly Lytle Hernandez focused on the growth of Los Angeles and the carceral state in the book *City of Inmates*.¹⁸ *Westwood* by Marc Wanamaker is one of few texts to examine land transfer in West Los Angeles.¹⁹ In this paper, we draw heavily from legal historian William Wood, who comprehensively traced proclamations and policies related to Indigenous dispossession in California.²⁰ Finally, considerable attention has been given to the history of US higher education, the UC system, and UCLA. *UCLA: The First Century* by journalist Marina Dundjerski, reprinted for UCLA’s centennial, portrayed the university’s history in idyllic images and narratives.²¹ While referencing

efforts to increase the admission of Indigenous students and the establishment of American Indian studies in the late 1960s, Dundjerski does not mention the Tongva or their dispossession.²²

Notably, much of the scholarship in the areas of research mentioned was conducted under oppressive circumstances and reflects perspectives distorting the truth or presenting a biased view of Tongva people. These same sources refer to California Indians as uncivilized, inferior, lazy, and vanished.²³ Regarding the Tongva, much of existing scholarship perpetuates the Bering Strait and Shoshonean Wedge theories, both of which suggest that the Tongva arrived to Tovaangar by migration and undermine creation stories.²⁴ This scholarship has had severe consequences for California Indians, diminishing our presence and respect for our sovereign rights by state and federal governments, especially regarding the treatment and care of cultural items and ancestors.²⁵

While this research offered and will continue to offer invaluable knowledge to California Indians, we are compelled to cite Indigenous scholars who are profoundly reshaping these areas of study to reclaim colonial archives, (re)write histories rooted in resilience and tenacity, and foreground the agency demonstrated by California Indians in the wake of colonialism.²⁶ Over the last several decades, a proliferation of work has emerged addressing the contemporary experiences, interests, and concerns of the Tongva, including federal recognition, repatriation, climate change, identity, and lived experiences.²⁷ These individual and collective scholarly, political, and artistic efforts reinscribe the Tongva into the Los Angeles landscape—in some cases, literally—where we would otherwise be erased and rendered invisible.²⁸ We are ethically compelled to privilege their work whenever possible to assert Tongva people as the inherent and appropriate authorities of this knowledge and history.

We find the history of UCLA and Tovaangar to be “hiding in plain sight.”²⁹ Settler colonial logics aimed at erasing Indigenous peoples have not allowed these narratives to be intertwined. Drawing on historical research methods, we weave together primary and secondary sources to (re)story Tongva people into this history. Specifically, we bring together publicly available archival materials, including maps, newspaper articles, field notes, wills, probate proceedings, land sales, and more, to trace the movement of Tovaangar from time immemorial to the present day. Similar studies on universities’ relationships to Indigenous dispossession and enslavement at Rutgers University, Northwestern University, and the University of Newcastle provided inspiration and guidance.³⁰

Before proceeding, we acknowledge that we approach this work as two women of Gabrielino-Tongva descent who have lived and worked across Tovaangar and are UCLA alumnae. We anticipate resistance to this narrative, especially given the current political climate and attacks on teaching truths in schools using critical race theory. We also recognize that some might dismiss this work because of our positionality or use it as a rationale to invalidate our research and arguments. We contend that these anti-Indigenous, racist, and gendered logics undermine our intellectual labor as Indigenous women and the genealogy of Indigenous thinkers who have nourished our thinking and approach. Moreover, we cannot understate the need for Indigenous peoples to (re)story histories that have erased them and gesture to Indigenous feminist scholars who have argued that *our* stories be written by *our* people.³¹



FIGURE 1. Map of Tovaangar depicting ancestral villages. Designed by River Garza.

TIME IMMEMORIAL

Geographically, Tovaangar extends from Topanga Canyon in the northwest to the base of Mount Wilson in the north, San Bernardino in the east, and Aliso Creek in the southeast. Tovaangar encompasses the southern Channel Islands, including Santa Catalina and San Clemente. The waters of Tovaangar include the Los Angeles, San Gabriel, and Santa Ana Rivers, Ballona and Bolsa Chica Wetlands, and the Pacific

Ocean.³² Tovaangar encompasses approximately 4,000 square miles across portions of present-day Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, and Riverside counties.³³ Today, Azusa, Tujunga, Rancho Cucamonga, and Cahuenga carry Tongva names. For the Tongva, our stories tell us how Tovaangar has been—and will *always* be—*our home*.

Lands known as California have always been known for their ecological diversity, an abundance of plants and animals, and diversity in microclimates and geography. Gabrielino-Tongva occupied the richest and most fertile lowlands and coastal sections in Southern California, spanning coast-marsh, coastal strand, prairie, chaparral, oak woodland, and pine biotic zones.³⁴ This environmental diversity resulted in vibrant cultural practices. Food and animals in the region, such as acorns, pine nuts, rabbits, deer, and quail, were abundant and informed the diets of Tongva people. Proximity to the Pacific also allowed them to enjoy fish, shellfish, and sea mammals, which were also used for adornment and intra-island and island-mainland trade with neighboring communities.³⁵

Like other Indigenous peoples across California, the Tongva were also skilled craftsmen, using the surrounding environment for hunting, fishing, harvesting, weaving, and spiritual practices. Tongva people were talented weavers and used *Juncus textilis*, a species of rush, to make complex baskets with geometric designs. Deerskins and furs were used for aprons, capes, or blankets. Yucca was harvested and made into sandals and nets. Tule, which lined the rivers, marshes, and wetlands, served multiple purposes, including the construction of homes. Cooking materials made from soapstone and steatite were traded from the islands to the mainland and beyond. Items were made from bone or wood and decorated with shells inlaid with asphaltum, a naturally occurring oceanic tar. Tongva people also began making clay pottery during and after the mission period.³⁶

An estimated fifty or more villages spanned Tovaangar on both the mainland and the southern Channel Islands and ranged between fifty and two hundred individuals.³⁷ Villages were populated with traditional tule huts called *kiiy*, organized politically and socially by lineages, and led by a *tomyaar* who formed alliances with other villages and communities, mainly through marriage.³⁸ The boundaries of Tovaangar were not strict but porous and overlapping, and sharing took place with neighboring communities. For example, the Taraviam and Chumash to the north, Serrano and Cahuilla to the east, and Juaneño and Luiseño to the south often allied with the Tongva through marriage and extensive trade, making intertribal relationships necessary to accessing resources.³⁹

Since time immemorial, the Tongva have hunted, gathered, healed, and loved across Tovaangar. The Spanish imposed the name Gabrielino to identify Indigenous peoples baptized at the Mission San Gabriel Arcángel. Before invasion, no collective name was used by those Indigenous to the Los Angeles Basin who typically identified themselves by lineages and villages.⁴⁰ Despite widespread misconceptions that the Tongva do not exist today, we are a thriving community. We continue to live in our homelands, maintain deep relations with Tovaangar, and exercise our political and cultural sovereignty despite legal obstacles.⁴¹

SPANISH AND MISSION PERIOD, 1542–1821

Before contact, the Indigenous peoples of California were thriving nations living according to knowledge, kinship, spirituality, and social organization guided by creation stories, songs, and oral histories passed on since time immemorial. Historical demographer Sherburne F. Cook estimated that upward of 300,000 California Indians inhabited the region before Spanish encroachment, with roughly 60,000 individuals living along the coast between present-day San Diego and San Francisco.⁴² Contact with Spaniards—through the introduction of foreign fauna and flora and European diseases as well as the maltreatment of California Indians by explorers, soldiers, and missionaries—would forever alter California’s physical and spiritual landscape and was catastrophic for Indigenous communities.

The year 1542 marked the first documented contact between Spanish explorer Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and California Indians—the Kumeyaay—in San Diego. In search of Rio de la Senora, a route believed to cross North America, Cabrillo and his men entered California at San Diego Bay and briefly encountered the Kumeyaay. In October 1542, Cabrillo and company ventured to Santa Catalina Island, where they first reported contact with the Tongva. Three months later, Cabrillo died from a broken leg, and the expedition returned to Mexico. Spaniards did not interact with the Tongva again until nearly sixty years later. Then, in 1602, with Sebastián Vizcaíno, Spanish explorers entered San Diego Bay en route to Monterey Bay.⁴³

These explorers described the West Coast and its original inhabitants as “an unmapped land not yet broken to the uses of civilization and inhabited by very primitive people useless in the world as their fathers had been before them since the beginning of time.”⁴⁴ The rhetoric early explorers used to depict the lands as unmapped terrain would severely impact the social, political, and cultural lifeways of California Indians, including the Tongva, for generations to come. Land management under Spanish occupation also greatly influenced future interactions between California Indians and later Mexican and US invaders. Legal historian William Wood points out that the Spanish Crown professed that it would implement policies that would protect California Indian lands, similar to laws adopted elsewhere in the Americas. For example, the 1681 *Recopilación de Leyes de Los Reinos de las Indias* stated, “Lands [were] not to be assigned to Spaniards in a way that [was] prejudicial to . . . Indians,” and Indian lands could not “be sold or taken away from them.”⁴⁵ Toward the late 1700s, California Indian populations were brutally affected by diseases brought by Spanish explorers, and lands were ravaged by foreign livestock and invasive plant species. Scholars estimate that the Tongva numbered about 5,000 people by 1770.⁴⁶

Fearful of losing their holdings in California to Russians from the north or French and English colonizers, in 1768 the Spanish monarch Charles III ordered *visitador* José de Gálvez to occupy Alta California and defend it against invaders.⁴⁷ On July 1, 1769, Spain sent Gaspar de Portolá and company to Alta California. Franciscan padre Junípero Serra accompanied the Portolá expedition and immediately began establishing a system of Franciscan missions along California’s coastline. Between 1769 and 1823, Spain constructed twenty-one missions and numerous *asistencias*, beginning

with Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcalá in present-day San Diego (1769) and extending north to Mission San Francisco Solano in contemporary Sonoma (1823).⁴⁸ The fourth mission established along the chain of twenty-one missions was Mission San Gabriel Arcángel on September 8, 1771.⁴⁹

The primary goal of the missions was to centralize, convert, and civilize California Indians into colonial society through education, vocational training, and indoctrination into the Catholic faith.⁵⁰ California Indians also became a source of unfree labor for priests and soldiers. While each mission functioned differently, in most cases, mission padres and soldiers forcibly relocated California Indians to the missions, dictating that they perform the day-to-day functions of the establishment, including making adobe bricks, building structures, tending fields, herding cattle, cooking, and cleaning. Within the missions, California Indians also experienced inhumane and violent mistreatment by Spanish padres, soldiers, and *alcaldes* if they rebelled, often receiving more work, penance, whippings, or incarceration.⁵¹ Simultaneously, priests, soldiers, and colonists continued to spread deadly pathogens and introduce foreign animals and exotic plants to the landscape that were detrimental to Indigenous peoples and the diverse ecology.⁵²

Over twelve months, Portolá passed through Tongva territory three times. Although Cabrillo and Vizcaíno made contact and reported on the Tongva in the mid-1500s and early 1600s, Spaniards did not lay claim to Tongva territory until 1771, when two Franciscan missionaries and ten Spanish soldiers established Mission San Gabriel Arcángel.⁵³ Initially established along the San Gabriel River, the mission was moved in 1775 to its present location due to seasonal flooding.⁵⁴ Tongva peoples' lives drastically changed during the mission era. Spaniards forced them to make bricks and build adobes that would become Mission San Gabriel's lasting structure. Tongva men were trained as *vaqueros*—herding cattle that were depleting and sullyng water sources, eating sacred plants, and carrying seeds of invasive plant species in their fur.⁵⁵ Tongva women were used as domestic servants when not exploited and abused by soldiers. Moreover, according to Tongva and Acjachemen scholar Charles Sepulveda, Mission San Gabriel "systematically reduced the number of Tongva villages."⁵⁶ For example, when established in September 1781, El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles displaced the Tongva from their village of Yaanga.⁵⁷

According to scholar Jack D. Forbes, land designated as mission property was identified as "royal-government institutions, erected on land belonging [according to Spanish viewpoints] ultimately to the Crown although reserved to the [Natives] with the missionaries as trustees."⁵⁸ What is more important, Wood added, "when first established, the missions 'nominally occupied' the entire coast of California up to San Francisco—the land areas allocated to each mission abutted one another, covering all lands except those occupied by military posts."⁵⁹ Throughout California, the Tongva—and many other California Indians, such as the Kumeyaay, Chumash, and Quechan—did not docilely submit to Spanish missionaries and soldiers but rebelled and resisted in varied ways.⁶⁰ For example, Tongva art historian Yve Chavez notes that the Tongva subverted colonization through artwork and other acts of micro-resistance within the missions.⁶¹

Tongva people also undertook physical combat against missionaries and soldiers who claimed Porciúncula village between September and October 1771.⁶² The most notable Tongva resistance was the allied attack on Mission San Gabriel in October 1785. According to historian Steven W. Hackel, a small number of Tongva leaders, including Nicolás José, from the village of Sibapet, and the more renowned Toypurina, a twenty-five-year-old unbaptized woman from the village of Japchivit, initiated an uprising inside and outside the mission.⁶³ Multiple sources document that Toypurina was “angry with the priests because they were living on her ancestral land.”⁶⁴ These acts and words against land seizure, alongside narratives of abuse and mistreatment, offer rare glimpses of California Indian—specifically Tongva—perspectives at the time. By the eve of Mexican governance, the violence endured by California Indians had decreased their population dramatically, while survivors were physically weakened, creating a vulnerability that brought many California Indians to the missions and rendered their lands susceptible to theft.

MEXICAN PERIOD, 1821–1846

The end of the Spanish-Mexican War in 1821 marked another turning point for California Indians as Mexico gained independence from Spain. Missionization had dramatically weakened California’s Aboriginal population. Indeed, according to

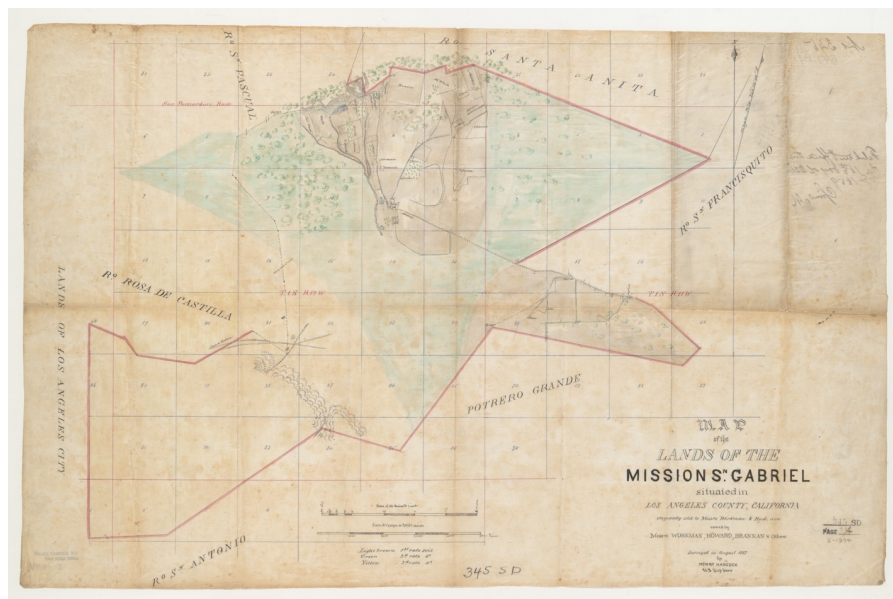


FIGURE 2. Map of the lands of the Mission San Gabriel: Situated in Los Angeles County, California, surveyed in August 1857 by Henry Hancock, US Deputy Surveyor, *Maps of Private Land Grant Cases of California* [ca. 1840–ca. 1892], Land Case Map E-1394, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Sherburne Cook, the population of California Indians saw an estimated 50 percent decline by 1834.⁶⁵

Under Mexican governance, however, political tensions between central Mexico and Alta California over land ownership led to the secularization of the missions between the 1830s and 1840s. Under the 1821 Plan of Iguala and the 1824 Constitution, Mexico granted Indigenous peoples citizenship, the right to vote, and the privilege of holding and selling property. These rights, however, were never fully realized for California Indians unless they met a strict set of criteria. Several attempts to dismantle the missions, such as the 1826 and 1831 decrees, were never fully implemented.⁶⁶ In 1826, Mexican governor of California José María de Echeandía initiated the emancipation of California Indians in the missions.⁶⁷ In 1829, Spanish missionaries were expelled by Echeandía from both the missions and California and replaced by Mexican-born priests in an effort to further sever ties between Mexico and Spain. During this time, land claimed by the Spanish Crown was distributed to prominent Mexican citizens by the new government's officials. Though limited, some lands were allocated to Tongva people who were Mexican citizens, including Victoria Reid.⁶⁸ Victoria, also known as Bartolomea, was a *maniisar*—daughter of the *tomyaar*—of the Tongva village of Comicrabit, located at Santa Monica Bay near present-day Pacific Palisades.⁶⁹ Following Mission San Gabriel's secularization, Victoria received a land grant of 128 acres in 1830 due to her status as a *maniisar*.⁷⁰

In August 1833, Governor José Figueroa and the Congress of Mexico began the formal secularization and dismantling of the missions through the issuance of an act, formally known as Decree by the Mexican Government Stipulating the Secularization of the California Missions, which privatized land ownership by dividing mission lands. Originally designed to convert the missions into California Indian pueblos and distribute land to “neophytes,” the law opened thousands of square leagues to private Mexican ownership and thus established the rancho system—the dominant economic and social institution of Mexican California. According to Hackel, under this act, mission lands were to “be abolished and the Indians granted [full] equality of citizenship.”⁷¹ Between 1834 to 1836, most of the twenty-one missions were secularized and plundered of their resources. Wood notes that, upon granting lands, the Mexican government primarily “granted the better, more productive missions land to Mexican individuals as ranchos.”⁷² As we know them today, the missions became parishes after 1834, when Figueroa implemented his plan for secularization, which lasted through the 1840s.⁷³

The secularization of missions met its share of opposition. According to Robinson, in 1843, Manuel Micheltorena, Mexican governor from 1842 to 1845, attempted to reinstate twelve of the missions to “reanimate ‘the skeleton of a giant.’”⁷⁴ Ultimately, Micheltorena failed, the missions were disbanded, and California Indians were left to secure residencies at ranchos, in pueblos, or beyond the reach of colonization. In 1845, Governor Pio Pico auctioned the remaining mission properties to acquire funds, with the maximum legal limit for private ownership being 50,000 acres dictated by a map or *disueño*. Pico also issued a proclamation interpreting the law such that “Indians were not only emancipated from the Missions but were to be removed from the lands occupied by the Missions as having no right to them.”⁷⁵

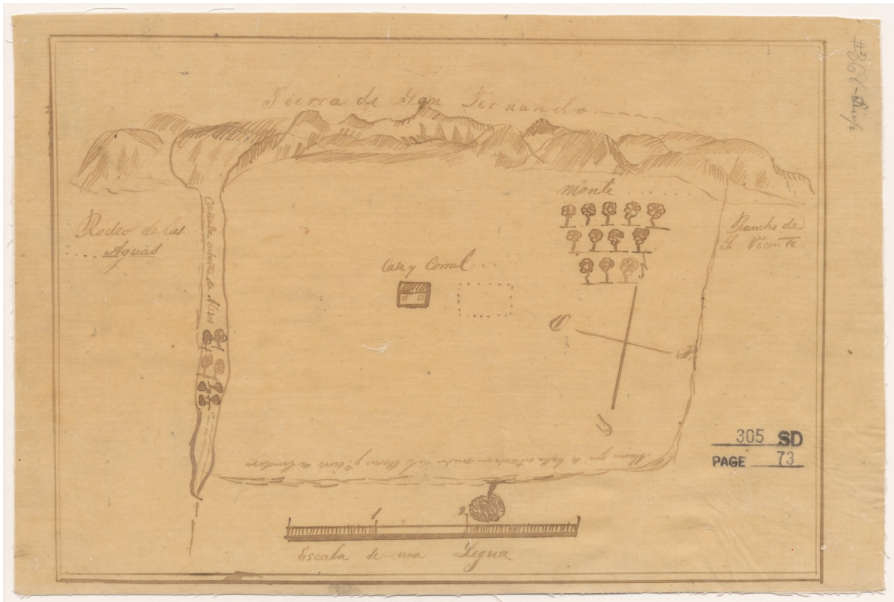


FIGURE 3. Diseño del Rancho San José de Buenos Ayres: Calif. Maps of Private Land Grant Cases of California [ca. 1840–ca. 1892], Land Case Map A-1352, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Among these properties was Rancho San José de Buenos Ayres (Ranch of the Beautiful Breezes)—the first identifiable land cession tied to UCLA—which Governor Micheltorena granted to Maximo Alanis in 1843. Alanis was a native of Real del Rosario in Sinaloa and a Spanish soldier who accompanied the Rivera y Moncada expedition to establish El Pueblo de Los Angeles in 1781. The 4,438-acre rancho included most of present-day West Los Angeles, overlapping Westwood, UCLA, Holmby Hills, and Bel Air.⁷⁶ The rancho boundaries extended from the foothills of the Santa Monica Mountains in the north to the present-day City of Beverly Hills to the east, from today’s Pico Boulevard to the south, and ended in the west near Sepulveda Boulevard. After retiring, Alanis built an adobe house next to a spring near UCLA’s northern border on Sunset Boulevard, where he resided until he died.⁷⁷

While most lands were distributed to Mexican citizens, some were allocated to California Indians. Historian Julia Lewandoski documents the tactical ways that California Indians filed petitions, hired lawyers, disputed encroachments, and enlisted allies to support land claims.⁷⁸ For example, some argue that Victoria Reid strategically married Hugo Reid to secure title to lands; others contend that Victoria Reid was exploited and subsequently cheated out of her land grant by her husband, who was known as an unsuccessful land proprietor. In addition to Reid, Tongva such as José Dolores Sepúlveda and Antonio Maria Lugo received land grants. Collectively, these examples illuminate the complexities of land acquisition and settler-Indigenous

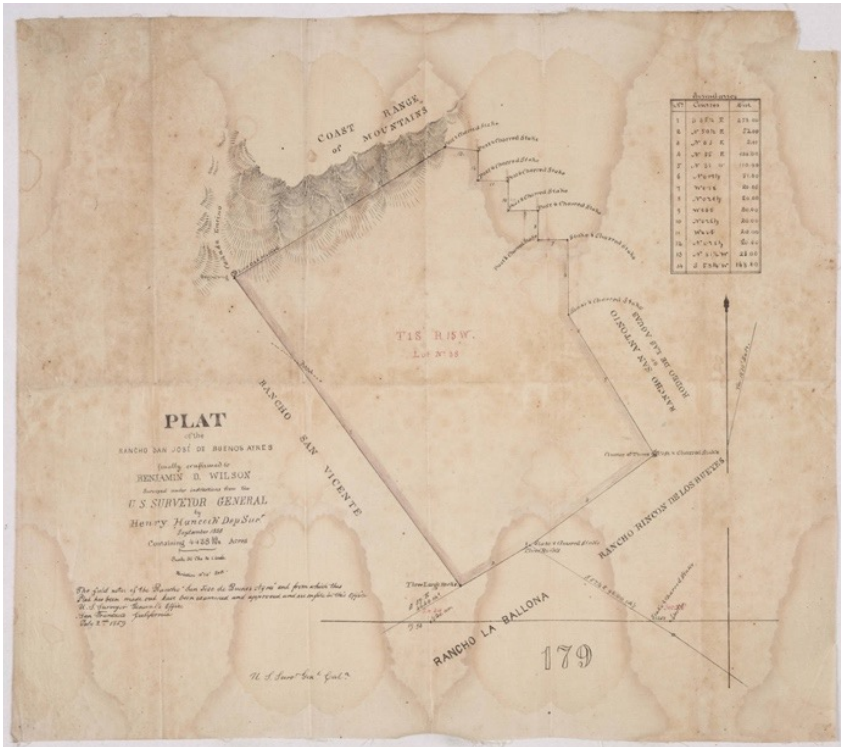


FIGURE 4. Plat of the Rancho San José de Buenos Ayres [1858], *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California*.

relationships in late-nineteenth-century Southern California.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, strategies, such as intermarrying with Spanish and Mexican settlers and hiding Indigenous heritage to lead outsiders to believe they were simply *gente de razón*, evince forms of resistance and survival. They also illustrate the determination of the Tongva people and others to maintain connections and protect their ancestral lands.

Unlike the Spanish mission period, few written records discuss Tongva perspectives during the Mexican rancho period or the constantly changing management of mission lands. Following secularization, many Tongva—particularly our ancestors and others—maintained their connection with their lands, working as farm and ranch hands, specifically tilling grapevines, pruning apple orchards, harvesting wheat, and steering horses and cattle. For example, John Rowland—recipient of the 20,000-acre Rancho La Puente, located on the Tongva village site of Awingna (our hometown)—indicated that Tongva people, who were assumed to have converted to Catholicism, worked as house servants. In contrast, nonconverts worked menial jobs on ranchos.⁸⁰ Tongva laborers were regarded as “retainers” because they worked at the mission for the padres and were retained in the same employment by the new landowners.⁸¹ Heather Valdez Singleton notes that “some [Tongva] moved from the mission to the burgeoning pueblo of Los Angeles looking for work.”⁸²



US PERIOD, 1850–PRESENT DAY

Following the Mexican-American War, Mexico ceded all or parts of present-day Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming to the United States in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This change in order was largely influenced by the discovery of gold in 1848. In 1849, at the first Constitutional Convention held in Monterey, California state leaders expressed their desire to develop a university.⁸³ While not the sole motivation for removal, this intended use of land signals a deliberateness on the part of the federal and state governments to dispossess California Indians from their homelands. Shortly after the Constitutional Convention, but before being granted statehood, the California legislature enacted the 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, which legally sanctioned indentured servitude of Indian children and adults to landowners and punished vagrancy by auctioning California Indians unable to provide bail.⁸⁴

After California entered the Union on September 5, 1850, California Indians experienced widespread massacres, kidnapping, enslavement, and land theft by vigilantes and federal and state governments—circumstances that made lands all the more vulnerable to seizure.⁸⁵ Between 1851 and 1852, the United States dispatched three treaty commissioners to the state to negotiate treaties that removed California Indians from their lands. Eighteen treaties were signed with no less than 119 Native nations over two years, wherein tribal groups ceded their lands in exchange for payment, reservation lands, and other promises. Nineteen reservations were designated, totaling 7.488 million acres (or 11,700 square miles), representing approximately 7.5 percent of California, totaling 155,779 square miles. However, in a closed session, the US Senate rejected all of the treaties.⁸⁶ Overlapping these efforts were California state militia operations against California Indians between 1846 and 1873, which received federal and state sponsorship.⁸⁷ Sherburne Cook estimates the number of California Indians across the state to have been 150,000 before the gold rush, 100,000 in 1850, and 50,000 in 1855, illustrating the devastating consequences these acts had for California Indians, including the Tongva.⁸⁸

Under US authority, Gabrielino-Tongva were few in number and recovering from violence endured during Spanish and Mexican governance. Many were fluent in Spanish and identified as Mexican. Simultaneously, Tongva people maintained familial and social networks and connections to their homelands. Many worked as *vaqueros* or ranch hands, using the skills they acquired at the missions or ranchos; others worked in homes as servants.⁸⁹ Simultaneously, Tongva people met severe discrimination by non-Indian residents, to the degree that the council of Los Angeles prohibited Tongva people from entering Los Angeles without employment.⁹⁰ In 1852, the *Los Angeles Star* captured sentiments regarding Tongva land ownership:

To place upon our most fertile soil the most degraded races of aborigines upon the North American Continent, to invest them with the rights of sovereignty, and to teach them that they are to be treated as powerful and independent nations, is planting the seeds for future disaster and ruin . . . We hope that the general government will let us alone—that it will neither undertake to feed, settle, or

remove the Indians amongst whom we in the South reside, and that they will leave everything just as it now exists, except affording us the protection which two or three cavalry companies would give.⁹¹

These remarks explain the settler logic and justification for seizing Tongva lands.

As the first course of action, Congress passed the California Private Land Act (An Act to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California) on March 3, 1851, which required all individuals claiming rights or title to lands derived from Spanish or Mexican governments to present claims to the Board of Land Commissioners within a two-year period.⁹² Claimants' titles upheld by the commissioners were issued a patent or deed from the United States, whereas lands without confirmed claims became public domain lands after March 3, 1853. The land claims process was incredibly convoluted, and has been seen as having extinguished Indigenous title to lands. However, Wood notes that the 1851 Act "mainly addressed individual land rights, and its main purpose was to establish a procedure for individuals holding private Spanish and Mexican land grants to have those grants confirmed by the US government," pointing out that Indigenous peoples were not required to go before the commission to preserve their land rights.⁹³

The California Private Land Act required that the United States confirm any claims to Rancho San José de Buenos Ayres. Alanis' recorded date of death remains unknown. However, his will was dated June 20, 1847, and admitted into probate on October 20, 1851. According to his will, Alanis left all his property to his children "subject the life estate in the widow." However, Alanis' children disputed the will, and the struggle over the title to the rancho coincided with the California Land Act. After the dispute was resolved, they "conveyed all their right(s), title and interest to Wilson Jones and William T. B. Sanford" on November 1, 1851, for \$1,600. Records indicate that Jones quickly sold his interest in the rancho to Benjamin "Don Benito" Wilson on July 7, 1852, for \$662.75. Wilson reportedly came to California in 1841 with the Rowland-Workman expedition, the first group of settlers to enter California by the southern route. In 1852, Wilson was appointed subagent for Indian affairs in Southern California and was notorious for urging Indian removal to reservations.⁹⁴ Wilson and W. T. B. Sanford received confirmation of the grant by the US District Court for the Southern District of California on February 18, 1857. How the lands were transferred from W. T. B. Sanford to Cyrus Sanford remains unclear. However, in 1858, Wilson acquired the remaining part of the ranch from C. Sanford, subsequently selling the lands to Samuel K. Holman on June 8, 1861, for somewhere between \$1,750 and \$3,500.⁹⁵

Continuing efforts to remove Indigenous peoples and acquire public lands, the federal government passed a series of laws in 1862—the Homestead Act, Railroad Act, and Morrill Act. Most significant to this paper is the Morrill Act of 1862, otherwise referred to as the Land-Grant College Act. Introduced by Senator Justin Morrill of Vermont, the act was formative in establishing a system of US colleges and universities.⁹⁶ Under the act, states were issued 30,000 acres of public lands for each senator and congressional representative. California, for example, was allotted 150,000 acres

valued at \$750,000. Moreover, states without publicly available lands were given scrips for lands in other states, including California. Recent scholarship establishes that the 1862 Morrill Act used violently and illegally acquired federal lands to provide a land base and finance land-grant institutions nationwide.⁹⁷

Early constitutional and legislative proceedings document every intention by California leaders to develop institutions of higher learning. When allocated lands by the federal government, California swiftly moved to form the University of California at Berkeley to take advantage of these lands. Documenting the acquisition of the UCLA site, James R. Martin wrote the following:

Four years later, on the third of March, Congress furthered their worthy plans by granting seventy-two sections of land “to the state of California for the use of a seminary of learning” and ten sections of public land for a public building fund. Again, on the second day of July, 1862, the University was further enhanced when each state of the Union was offered a certain amount of public lands for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college. California’s share was 150,000 acres, valued at \$750,000.⁹⁸

On March 23, 1868, California realized its promise to create a university by passing the California Assembly Bill No. 583, establishing the University of California to be located in Berkeley.⁹⁹ Notably, the time leading up to and following the 1862 Morrill Act consisted of strategic and violent ejection of California’s Indigenous population from their lands through physical removal and massacres coordinated and funded by state and federal governments. The 1870s brought rapid migration to Los Angeles because of the railroad’s completion, generating vast commercial development in the region. New settlers wanted the lands for themselves, and the United States failed to assert legal title to Indigenous people for their lands. Tongva people became increasingly vocal about their concerns and the failure of the US government to protect them.¹⁰⁰ The Los Angeles Normal School (later called the California State Normal School), established in 1882, was the teacher’s college that was the forerunner to the Southern Branch of the University of California.

In 1884, John Wolfskill bought Rancho San José de Buenos Ayres from Holman for \$40,000.¹⁰¹ John Wolfskill came to California in 1842. John and his brother, William, were fur trappers and forty-niners turned politicians and ranchers. John Wolfskill completed the purchase in cooperation with the City of Santa Monica developers, with 640 acres deeded for a national soldiers home.¹⁰² At this point, the rancho became known as Wolfskill Ranch. According to the Los Angeles Historical Society, “three years following, in 1887, during the height of the land boom, Wolfskill sold the Ranch to the Los Angeles and Santa Monica Land and Water Company for one hundred dollars an acre. In an effort to capitalize on the land boom, the Los Angeles and Santa Monica Land and Water Company planned to subdivide the ranch and create a townsite called Sunset.”¹⁰³ However, soon after, the Land and Water Company went bankrupt and the ranch was returned to Wolfskill in foreclosure proceedings. Wolfskill sold off several smaller parcels, one being the sale of 302 acres to the Los Angeles Country Club for a new facility in 1902.¹⁰⁴

Upon John's death in 1913, Wolfskill Ranch was said to be the most valuable property between Beverly Hills and the Pacific Ocean. According to real estate expert and architectural historian Jeffrey Hyland, the land remained undeveloped for years while Wolfskill's heirs "held out against prospective developers, believing their land would become more valuable as high-end development expanded westward."¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Los Angeles continued to grow. In 1913, William Mulholland's Los Angeles Aqueduct began siphoning water from the Owens River in the Owens Valley to the San Fernando Valley and Los Angeles Basin, to the great detriment of the Owens Valley Paiute.¹⁰⁶ Route 66 also opened eastern motor vehicle access across the United States, bringing more settlers to Southern California. By 1915, the population of Southern California exceeded that in Northern California, increasing the need for an institution of higher learning in the south. University of California regent Edward A. Dickson incessantly advocated developing a Southern California university to serve the increasing population. After much resistance, the University of California Board of Regents approved a southern headquarters for a university extension program in 1917, located in downtown Los Angeles at Hill and Second streets.



FIGURE 5. John Wolfskill home in Westwood, located at the present corner of Wilshire Boulevard and Beverly Glen Boulevard. Security Pacific National Bank Collection, Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection.

Tovaangar continued to develop, and Wolfskill Ranch remained “one of the last of the undivided land domains between Los Angeles and the west beaches.”¹⁰⁷ According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Arthur Letts, founder of the Broadway and Bullocks department stores, purchased Wolfskill Ranch for \$2 million in 1919. At the time, the boundaries of Wolfskill Ranch could be distinguished by Sunset Boulevard to the north, Pico Boulevard to the south, Beverly Hills to the east, and the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers to the west. Letts began subdividing the property into residential areas, selling a portion to Harold Janss (his son-in-law) and Edwin Janss—experienced real estate investors and owners of Janss Investment Corporation.¹⁰⁸ On May 23, the same year, Assembly Bill 626 transferred the Los Angeles Normal School to the Regents of the University of California to establish the Southern Branch of the University of California. Student enrollment rapidly increased, and the Southern Branch quickly outgrew its Vermont Avenue location east of downtown Los Angeles.¹⁰⁹

The 1920s marked considerable growth in Southern California, specifically Los Angeles, due to the oil, real estate, and motion picture industries. California Indians, including the Tongva, pushed back at the growth by forming the Mission Indian Federation.¹¹⁰ The Southern Branch required a new site to accommodate its development, and the UC Board of Regents supported a larger location. Regent Dickson visited Letts to discuss his idea. Dickson explained: “My thought was that if enough acreage could be secured for our future campus needs, we would locate our new University in the very center of this virgin area . . . the owner could then build up about it an ideal college town—complete with a business section, student housing, and restricted residential area.”¹¹¹ Letts, a former trustee of the Los Angeles Normal School, proved to be instrumental in securing the property. Letts thought the lands would “make a wonderful new home for the fledging Los Angeles campus of the University of California, then located on Vermont Avenue in Hollywood.”¹¹² However, Letts died of pneumonia in May 1923, and never saw his plans come to fruition. Harold Janss, Letts’ son-in-law and a real estate investor, inherited the land, and the Janss Investment Cooperation proposed that part of the property be the site of the Southern Branch. Before settling on Wolfskill Ranch, the Board of Regents scouted potential locations in Burbank, Pasadena, Fullerton, and Palos Verdes.¹¹³

In 1925, the Janss Investment Corporation offered 383 acres for the university site for \$1.1 million, with an estimated worth between \$3.5 and \$10 million. However, the regents required that the land come to the university at no cost to the University of California. Students and alumni eager for the growth of the Southern Branch supported a city bond measure, Proposition 2, to raise \$700,000 to purchase the Westwood property. Similar bond measures were passed by the cities of Santa Monica, Beverly Hills, and Venice, and the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors augmented the fund with a \$100,000 gift.¹¹⁴ The regents accepted the site’s title in February 1926, and construction began on the Southern Branch in 1927.¹¹⁵ On February 1, 1927, the UC Board of Regents adopted the name “University of California at Los Angeles,” affectionately known today as UCLA.¹¹⁶ Since UCLA’s establishment, the presence of the Tongva has been erased from the broader institutional memory.

CONCLUSION

The historical process that transitioned Tovaangar to the UCLA campus explicates how this flagship institution has benefited from the dispossession of the Tongva people. Tovaangar was seized by the Spanish Crown to construct Mission San Gabriel Arcángel in 1771, privatized into ranchos under Mexican governance after 1821, and subsequently subdivided and resold as private property under US rule after 1850. This article contributes to efforts to reclaim, reeducate, and rupture the historical narrative of higher education. While focused on UCLA to explain the impact on Tovaangar and the Tongva, this article has implications for other California Native and American Indian nations as well as the UC system and higher education more broadly. Given that all US colleges and universities benefit directly and indirectly from taking Indigenous peoples' lands, we conclude by asking: *what more can institutions do to redress their colonial inheritance?*

First, this essay demonstrates the consequences of colonialism and highlights the agency of Indigenous peoples to reassert the presence of Tongva people, which has otherwise been erased from institutional memory. Our intention here is twofold. One, by emphasizing the continued presence of Tongva people across Tovaangar and as part of UCLA's history, we assert that individual and collective relationships to these lands were seriously altered but never effectively severed. Currently, members and descendants of five Gabrielino-Tongva bands continue to sustain their connections with the Tovaangar, representing numerous villages and lineal connections. In doing so, we simultaneously emphasize that we never left our homelands. Two, stressing our continued presence also honors the tenacity of generations of Tongva who endured three waves of dispossessions. Regardless of how or whether UCLA chooses to acknowledge and publicly recognize this history, we are confident that reasserting our presence from an educational standpoint will bring some healing to the community.

Second, this essay offers a more accurate history to (re)educate academia and the public on a forgotten aspect of UCLA's history. As of 2020, more than 45,000 students are enrolled at UCLA and 280,000 across the UC system, respectively. Likewise, the UC system employs more than 42,000 faculty and 227,000 staff members, has over two million alumni, and hosts thousands of daily visitors.¹¹⁷ In addition, the City of Los Angeles and the State of California are home to 3.8 million and 39.5 million individuals, respectively, including more than 630,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives who self-identify as American Indian alone or in combination with another race.¹¹⁸ Given these demographics, we hope this work reverberates out to past, present, and future generations in these constituent groups to permanently alter understandings of and respect for Tovaangar—including the UCLA campus—and its first caretakers.

Third, we demonstrate that the colonial inheritance of the UC system and UCLA are enmeshed in broken promises, unratified treaties, genocidal policies, stolen lands, and settlers committed to establishing a colonial society and higher-education system in California—all of which came at the expense of Tongva land and life. This research provides a historical “footprint” that can be extended to other UC campuses. For example, UC Berkeley occupies Ohlone territory, UC Santa Barbara is on Chumash

homelands, and UC Santa Cruz sits on Amah Mutsen lands. While each of these tribal communities exercises its political and cultural sovereignty, dispossession has significantly diminished rights the Spanish, Mexican, and United States governments promised to them, as all of these communities have been denied acknowledgment by the federal government. We are optimistic that institutions will publicly recognize their relationship to these realities and earnestly commit to the Native nations they are dispossessing, especially by—though not limited to—providing free education, housing, and support services, and returning land.

Moreover, it is essential that we acknowledge that several UC branches represent a continuation of Spanish colonization by utilizing names of missions in the region; for example, UC San Diego, UC Santa Barbara, and UC Santa Cruz all bear the names of proximally located Spanish missions. The use of mission names for universities across the UC system is a continuous reminder of the trauma endured by California Indians at the hands of the Spanish Crown, missionaries, soldiers, and settlers. We draw attention to Hastings College of Law and Ryerson University, located in Toronto, Canada, which undertook renaming in light of their founder's support and involvement in violent genocidal colonial practices, to speculate on the possibility of renaming universities in California.

Fourth, this history underscores the responsibility of land-grant institutions—in this case, the UC system and UCLA—to confront their colonial inheritance and reconsider their responsibility to local Indigenous nations and communities. Some might argue that institutions are not complicit in this history, that they were not the preparators, and that lands were gifted and not unethically acquired. However, institutions are implicated through a web of relations dating far before their founding, and their complacency exacerbates Indigenous peoples' physical displacement and erasure. We hope this research encourages other postsecondary institutions to consider their responsibilities to local and removed Indigenous peoples. Moreover, universities must form tribal community–university relationships focusing on government-to-government relationships with Native nations. By tribal community–university relationships and partnerships, we mean the external, economic, curricular, and cocurricular relationships between American Indian nations and universities that recognize, reinforce, and respect tribal sovereignty and self-determination. Such relationships should not be rooted in mutuality but must redress colonial legacies by foregrounding nation-building goals and addressing capacity-building for the benefit of Indigenous peoples. Often, responsibility for building relationships with local Native nations are delegated to Indigenous staff and faculty members, students, or programs, which negates the very intention of fostering community-campus partnerships.¹¹⁹ At the very least, we hope this research serves as a mechanism to increase institutional accountability to Tongva people.

Finally, a significant aspect of this research is its temporal range, which extends from time immemorial to the present day. As such, the breadth of this work limits the depth necessary to fully capture this narrative and leaves substantial areas for future research. In California, the relationship between Native nations and postsecondary institutions is only beginning to be explored. We hope this essay provides a template

or footprint for other California Native and American Indian nations, UC campuses, and higher-education institutions, and invite communities and researchers within and beyond the fields of history, education, and Native American and Indigenous studies to join us in further exploration. We impress the need to develop consortias to tackle projects, much like the Universities Studying Slavery consortium at the University of Virginia. We also stress that community-driven and -engaged approaches be taken to foreground the interests and desires of Native nations in rewriting these histories.

To conclude, we turn to significant moments in UCLA's recent history. In 2017, six Gabrielino-Tongva students graduated from UCLA: four doctorates, one master's and one bachelor's degree recipients.¹²⁰ Among these degrees were the first doctorates awarded to two Tongva women by UCLA in nearly a 100-year history.¹²¹ To our knowledge, in 2022, three Gabrielino-Tongva students were enrolled at UCLA, all of whom are active participants in their respective bands and intend to use their degrees to benefit Tongva people and other Indigenous nations. The year 2017 also marked the official adoption of an institutional land acknowledgment statement by the American Indian Studies Center and Interdepartmental Program—written in partnership with members of the Gabrielino-Tongva community. In 2018, UCLA named Professor Mishuana Goeman as special advisor to the chancellor on Native American and Indigenous affairs—the first ever in the UC system.¹²² Chancellor Block has since appointed Professors Angela Riley and Shannon Speed to fulfill this role. Furthermore, Drs. David Shorter and Ananda Marin continue to build on partnerships through land-based pedagogy collaborations, specifically cultural revitalization projects. Finally, as we write, UCLA's American Indian studies faculty has finalized a land-usage agreement to allow—and rightfully so—the Tongva to gather medicinal plants at the university, gathering rights that have otherwise been denied because of the lack of federal acknowledgment.

Simultaneously, we remain critical of these appointments, practices, and partnerships as we await their prolonged engagement and deeper institutional commitments. Our hope is that this research deepens these commitments and compels UCLA, as a whole, to acknowledge in full its responsibilities to the Tongva. To this end, we return to where we started by acknowledging Tovaangar, the geographic and cosmological epicenter for Gabrielino-Tongva peoples since time immemorial. Whether UCLA is willing to recognize the realities presented in this essay publicly will never change the fact that these lands have and always will be Tovaangar—*our home and our world*.

Acknowledgments

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NOTES

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1. Notably, we use Gabrielino-Tongva or Tongva alone and interchangeably throughout this paper to name the first people of the Los Angeles Basin and Southern Channel Islands. Narcisa Higuera provided the endonym “Tongva” to anthropologist C. Hart Merriam in 1903. J. P. Harrington also recorded the terms Toongve and Toongvet, meaning “Tongva person.” An endonym is an internal name for a geographical place, group of people, individual person, language, or dialect used inside that particular place, group, or linguistic community. While the endonym is not used by all Gabrielino-Tongva, we use it to honor Narcisa and her descendants and to recognize the adoption of the name by many descendants as a unifying identifier.

2. Craig Torres, Tongva Elder. Kuruvungna Springs, Tongva territory. Torres lives in Santa Ana, California. Oral teaching at Teaching the Tongva Workshop, July 25, 2017.

3. Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013); Marisa J. Fuentes and Deborah Gray White, *Scarlet and Black: Slavery and Dispossession in Rutgers History*, vol. 1 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2016); T. Elon Dancy, Kirsten T. Edwards, and James Earl Davis, “Historically White Universities and Plantation Politics: Anti-Blackness and Higher Education in the Black Lives Matter Era,” *Urban Education* 53, no. 2 (2018): 176–95.

4. Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*.

5. The University of Virginia, Georgetown University, and Princeton University are a few of the institutions to offer scholarships to descendants of enslaved people. These scholarships should not be compared to those provided to tribal members, which are sovereign federal responsibilities or equity initiatives, and thus not a form of atonement.

6. Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone, “Land-Grab Universities,” *High Country News*, March 30, 2020, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities>. Adjusted for inflation, the original \$17.7 million raised amounts to \$495 million today. The Morrill Act was passed July 2, 1862, under the full name “An Act Donating Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.”

7. Theresa Stewart-Ambo, “We Can Do Better’: University Leaders Speak to Tribal-University Relationships,” *American Educational Research Journal* 58, no. 3 (2021): 459–91.

8. We later explain our position in relation to this topic as Gabrielino-Tongva women and note here that occasionally we use “we” to reference Tongva peoples.

9. We use the term Indigenous and Native nations through this paper to identify the inherent sovereignty of peoples Indigenous to what is now the United States, which has been sustained from time immemorial. We do not take any political or legal stance on nationhood in this paper.

10. Jeff Cornassel, “Indigenous Storytelling, Truth-telling, and Community Approaches to Reconciliation,” *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 35, no. 1 (2009): 139; Cutcha Risling Baldy, *We Are Dancing for You: Native Feminisms and the Revitalization of Women's Coming-of-Age Ceremonies* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 34.

11. We use the term California Indian to collectively refer to the Indigenous peoples of present-day California. Colonization resulted in the erasure and replacement of many tribal nations' traditional names, with Indigenous people in the regions referred to as Mission Indians or named specifically after the nearest Spanish mission (e.g., Gabrielino). We use the term to demonstrate the shared history of the territories' tribal nations.
12. Alfred L. Kroeber, "Chapter 44: The Gabrielino," *Handbook of the Indians of California*, vol. 78 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1925), 612–35; J. P. Harrington, *Culture Element Distribution: XIX, Central California Coast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942); C. Hart Merriam, *Studies of California Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).
13. Desirée R. Martinez, Wendy G. Teeter, and Karimah Kennedy-Richardson, "Returning the *tataayiyam honuuka'* (Ancestors) to the Correct Home: The Importance of Background Investigations for NAGPRA Claims," *Curator: The Museum Journal* 57, no. 2 (2014): 199–211.
14. William McCawley, *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Banning, California: Malki Museum Press, 1996); Bruce W. Miller, *The Gabrielino* (San Luis Obispo, California: Sand River Press, 1993).
15. Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Kent Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
16. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Stephen G. Hyslop, *Contest for California: From Spanish Colonization to the American Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).
17. Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846–1873* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2016); Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012).
18. Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press Books, 2017).
19. Marc Wanamaker, *Westwood* (Images of America Series) (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2010).
20. William Wood, "The Trajectory of Indian Country in California: Rancherías, Villages, Pueblos, Missions, Ranchos, Reservations, Colonies, and Rancherías," *Tulsa Law Review* 44, no. 1 (2008): 317.
21. Marina Dundjerski, *UCLA: The First Century* (Los Angeles: Third Millennium Publishing, 2011).
22. *Ibid.*, 182, 246.
23. John Downing Weaver, *Los Angeles: The Enormous Village, 1781–1981* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1980).
24. McCawley, *The First Angelinos*.
25. Martinez, Teeter, and Kennedy-Richardson, "Returning the *tataayiyam honuuka'* (Ancestors)," 199–211.
26. The California Indian Scholars and Studies Association (CISSA) is an organization established in 2020 for these purposes. For a more inclusive list of California Indian scholars engaging in this work, visit <http://www.californiaindianstudies.org>. These scholars include (alphabetically listed) Cutcha Risling Baldy, William Bauer Jr., Yve Chavez, Rupert Costo, Heather Ponchetti Daly, Mark Minch-de Leon, Mike Connolly Miskwish, Jack Norton, and Charles Sepulveda, to name a few.
27. Cindi Alvitre, Weshoyot Alvitre, Angie Behrns, Julia Bogany, Kelly Caballero, Tina Calderon, Jessa Calderon, Virginia Carmelo, Yve Chavez, Wallace Cleaves, Katie Dorame, Megan Dorame,

Mercedes Dorame, Barbara Drake, River Garza, L. Frank Manriquez, Desiree Martinez, AnMarie “Annie” Mendoza, Anthony Morales, Kimberly Morales Johnson, Charles Sepulveda, and Craig Torres are Gabrielino-Tongva leaders, activists, academics, and artists (re)writing and (re)storying narratives of California Indians and Tongva locally.

28. L. Frank and Kim Hogeland, *First Families: A Photographic History of California Indians* (Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2007); Claudia K. Jurmain and William McCawley, *O, My Ancestor: Recognition and Renewal for the Gabrielino-Tongva People of the Los Angeles Area* (Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2009).

29. We borrow from Lee and Ahtone’s reference in “Land-Grab Universities” to argue that the history of universities is seemingly hidden, but actually not hidden and easy to find.

30. John Maynard, *Callaghan: The University of Newcastle: Whose Traditional Land?* (Newcastle: The Wollotuka Institute, University of Newcastle, 2015); Fuentes and White, *Scarlet and Black*; Ned Blackhawk, Loretta Fowler, Peter Hayes, Frederick Hoxie, Andrew Koppelman, Carl Smith, Elliott West, Laurie Zoloth, and A. Gourse, *Report of the John Evans Study Committee* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 2014).

31. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021); Karen Gayton Swisher, “Why Indian People Should Be the Ones to Write about Indian Education,” *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (1996): 83–90.

32. Charles Sepulveda, “Our Sacred Waters: Theorizing Kuuyam as a Decolonial Possibility,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 7, no. 1 (2018): 40–58.

33. McCawley, *The First Angelinos*.

34. Lowell John Bean and Charles R. Smith, “Gabrielino,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8, ed. R. F. Heizer (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 538–49; Ramon A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Kroeber, “Chapter 44: The Gabrielino,” 621.

35. Wendy G. Teeter, Desireé R. Martinez, and Karimah O. Kennedy-Richardson, “Cultural Landscapes of Catalina Island,” *California’s Channel Islands: The Archaeology of Human-Environment Interactions* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2013), 410–37.

36. McCawley, *The First Angelinos*; Bean and Smith, “Gabrielino,” 542.

37. McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 3.

38. Whenever possible, we use the Tongva language when referring to place names, practices, and peoples. We acknowledge that in some instances the spelling of terms may be contested as the Tongva language was documented and reconstructed by linguists. With the support and guidance of Dr. Pamela Munro, we have settled on the use and spellings of the terms.

39. Duane Champagne and Carole Goldberg, *A Coalition of Lineages: The Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2021), 17–48.

40. Kroeber, “Chapter 44: The Gabrielino”; Martinez, Teeter, and Kennedy-Richardson, “Returning the *tataayiyam honuuka*’ (Ancestors),” 199–211.

41. Damon B. Akins and William J. Bauer Jr., *We Are the Land: A History of Native California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021).

42. Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 43.

43. Florence Connolly Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769–1986* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 157; Hyslop, *Contest for California*, 47.

44. John Steven McGroarty, *California: Its History and Romance* (Los Angeles: Grafton Publishing, 1911), 65.

45. Wood, “The Trajectory of Indian Country,” 320.

46. Edward D. Castillo, "Blood Came from Their Mouths: Tongva and Chumash Responses to the Pandemic of 1801," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23, no. 3 (1999): 47; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 648.
47. Yve Chavez, *Indigenous Artists, Ingenuity, and Resistance at the California Missions after 1769* (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2017), 20; Hyslop, *Contest for California*, 2012.
48. Notably, Mission San Francisco Solano was established and constructed under Mexican colonial rule. See Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 41.
49. Hyslop, *Contest for California*, 2012.
50. Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2013); Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 24 (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), 260–93.
51. Miranda, *Bad Indians*; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 228; Benjamin Madley, "California's First Mass Incarceration System: Franciscan Missions, California Indians, and Penal Servitude, 1769–1836," *Pacific Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2019): 14–47.
52. M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 63.
53. Castillo, "Blood Came from Their Mouths," 48.
54. R. Louis Gentilcore, "Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51, no. 1 (1961): 46–72; Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 648; W. W. Robinson, *Land in California, The Story of Mission Lands, Ranchos, Squatters, Mining Claims, Railroad Grants, Land Scrip, Homesteads* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 75.
55. Albert L. Hurtado, "California Indians and the Workday West: Labor, Assimilation, and Survival," *California History* 69, no. 1 (1990): 2–11; Natale A. Zappia, *Traders and Raiders: The Indigenous World of the Colorado Basin, 1540–1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
56. Sepulveda, "Our Sacred Waters," 49.
57. *Ibid.*, 49.
58. Jack D. Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada* (Happy Camp, California: Naturegraph Publishers, 1993), 28.
59. Wood, "Trajectory of Indian Country," 322.
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