PALA: A HISTORY OF A SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIAN COMMUNITY

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PREFACE

Over the past two decades Scholars who study Native Americans have turned toward twentieth-century topics seeking better to understand the modern Indian experience. Increasingly ethnohistorians, utilizing research methods employed in both anthropology and history, have looked at topics not only on reservations but also in cities and rural areas off reservation lands. Additionally, authors have focused on subjects that include government run Indian schools and their legacy of acculturation. Partially in response to the questions raised by the issue of acculturation, historians are now examining the development and continuity of cultural identity, the importance of place, the rediscovery or re-identification with traditional customs, and the strategies Native Americans employ—occasionally described as "agency'—both individually and collectively to survive. Moreover, native peoples must continually struggle to assert themselves culturally, politically, socially, and economically within the context of a larger society dominated by others.

Writing a history of the Pala Indians presented a number of interesting challenges. Most compelling, perhaps, was the fact that no definitive piece has ever been written about Pala or its people. Because it is the only Indian reservation in California to have a Franciscan mission, *asistencia* San Antonio de Pala, within its boundaries, Pala's relationship with Euro-American Christian culture has been a consistent part of its people's lives for nearly two hundred years. And as the one-time location of the Bureau

of Indian Affair's agency and sub-agency, Pala remains a leading representative and advocate for Indian rights and action groups throughout southern California.

Today the Pala Band of Mission Indians officially claim themselves to be of Cupeño- Luiseño heritage. Culturally these two groups have dominated the reservation's practice of indigenous customs. Still, these were not the only two groups to inhabit what is today San Diego County. Due to the nature of the Spanish Mission period and the implementation of the United State's reservation system, the Pala Indians have adopted cultural practices from many different tribal and linguistic. For over two hundred years the practice of cultural assimilation and forced removal has, in the end, created a viable community of varying cultures. Together with the Luiseño and Cupeño, remnants of Cahuilla, Diegeño (Kumeyaay), and Juaneño cultures persist at Pala. Because of the reservation's identification with the Cupeños and Luiseños, in addition to federal recognition, these two Native American cultures and traditions provide the concentration of contemporary cultural material for this study. Just as other Native Americans who live in the United States today, the people of Pala have traditionally been forced to contend with enormous hardships based on ethnic, cultural, and religious stereotypes.

In many respects such factors as forced removal and assimilation, physical encroachment, and economic marginalization have compelled Pala's residents to define themselves as a distinct group. Subsequently, a long and much revered heritage has persisted to this day. Their Cupeño and Luiseño traditions play an integral role in the world-views of the people of Pala, and perhaps more important, how they react to certain conditions in their lives. If we are to understand the people of Pala today we are compelled to understand them as they were before their lives were altered irrevocably. Without seeking a window into their past lives, our view of their present and future will

never be illuminated. Still, many questions remain. How effectively can the Pala Indians contend with ever changing issues in a region marked by continuous growth? How do the Pala Indians' experiences parallel those of other Native American groups? More important, perhaps, how might they differ from others in the past, present, and the future? Based upon these assumptions, I seek to demonstrate how these people's traditional identification with Pala, this being the valley and the river that flows through it, helps to define them as a distinct group today.

Determining how best to organize the data for this study proved at times difficult. The organization is chronological and thematic. While there has never been a "definitive" history written about Pala or its people, this work is by no means a definitive piece. It is merely an attempt to discuss and interpret certain events that have occurred in and around Pala over countless generations. .

I visited the Pala Reservation for the first time twenty years ago to attend Easter mass at the old mission chapel. It was not the first time I had been to an Indian reservation, nor was it the first time I had been to one of California's Franciscan missions. Pala, however, was the first Indian reservation I returned to almost annually and sometimes several times a year. A childhood friend and his family attended Sunday services there. Over these twenty years and countless visits to the reservation I, too, have developed a sense of place in the Pala Valley. Unlike the people I have met there through the years, Pala is not my home, but it has long been a place that holds my own memories. These memories and the hope for better ones to come inspire me to continue to seek out and to define this sense of place that I have identified.

Various Indian, primarily Cupeño and Luiseño, and Spanish words have been used throughout the body of this work. In order to emphasis their meaning or importance within the text, where appropriate, these words have been designated with italics.

Many people have helped me in this project over the past six years, some of whom I will surely forget to mention. Those I am thankful for remembering include, Bill Doty, Archivist at the Pacific Coast Branch of the National Archives, Laguna Niguel, CA; Father Virgilio Biasiol, O.F.M., Director of the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Santa Barbara, CA; Margaret Dubin, Managing Editor, News From Native California, Berkeley, CA; and Walter Brem, Assistant Curator of the Bancroft Collection-Latin Americana, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Special thanks are also due to the Leavey-Lemons-McCarthy family who first invited me to the Pala Rey Ranch over twenty years ago and continue to extend enormous help and hospitality. Also at the Pala Rey Ranch, I thank its long time foreman, Rodney Guild, whose knowledge of the region and its history has helped me on numerous occasions.

I am particularly indebted to Gerald Vizenor, Professor of American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, a man who, with no obligation, took pity on a struggling doctoral student and showed him the kind of friendship and guidance rarely bestowed upon such a person. I would also like to thank my brother David Bradley Karr, whose own studies in history and anthropology have inspired me. Another individual to whom I am indebted is Leroy Miranda, Jr., Director of the Cupa Cultural Center on the Pala Reservation, whose understanding of his people's history and culture is, to me, awe inspiring.

A group of scholars to whom much is owed is my dissertation committee—Dr. Donald N. Brown, Dr. Michael M. Smith, Dr. Joseph A. Stout, Jr., and Dr. L.G. Moses. Without their patience, trust, helpful insight, good humor, and most of all, knowledge, I would surely be lost. I aspire to someday reach the same level of professionalism they have all achieved.

Finally, I express my gratitude to my wife and fellow graduate student, Carrie Elizabeth Miller, who has for the past six years been the first line of defense between myself and total embarrassment. Her psychologist's insight and lawyer's keen eye have made this and other studies better at every stage. With much love, this work is dedicated to her.

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NOMENCLATURE

ARCIA	Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
CCC-ID	Civilian Conservation Corps – Indian Division
IRA	Indian Rights Association
RG	Record Group
WNIA	Women's National Indian Association

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Among the testimonies given at a 1986 joint senate hearing before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, a representative of the San Luis Rey Indian Water Authority stated the following:

> It is our goal to help you see, as we see, that the San Luis Rey River was a special gift to us, an offering from another power which gave us physical and spiritual strength, purpose and life to our tribes and to our people . . . To deny us water is to deny us life.[1]

Similar to other Native Americans throughout North America, the Indians on the Pala Reservation in California's northern San Diego County have for centuries identified with the lands upon which they live. In part, this identity is drawn from the waters of the San Luis Rey River that slowly meanders through the nearly 12,000 acre reservation.[2]

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[1]Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Indian Water Claims in San Diego County, California, 99th Cong., 2nd Sess., 11 August 1986, 39-41; Congress, House, Subcommittee on Water and Power Resources, *San Luis Rey Indians Water Rights Settlement Act*, 99th Cong. 2nd Sess., 9 September 1986, 88-90.

[2]This premise is further corroborated in Testimony of San Xavier Reservation, Hearing of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., 4 August 1992, discussed in Austin Nuñez and Mary G. Wallace's essay "Solutions of Symbols? An Indian Perspective on Water Settlements," in McGuire, *Indian Water in the New West*, 37-38.

Five miles east of Oceanside and south of the rolling hills of the Camp Pendleton Marine Corps Base is located Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, founded by Franciscan friars two centuries ago. Some twenty-five miles inland, just beyond the Pala Basin where Couser Canyon Road and California State Highway 76 cross, is the Pala reservation. Straddling the San Luis Rey River, the reservation is surrounded by the river valley's many dry, chaparral-covered foothills and mountains which carry eastward through the Pauma Valley up to the tall cedars atop Palomar Mountain. Throughout this region are numerous other Indian reservations, all of them unique, yet sharing similar cultures and a similar need for water.[3]

At the heart of the reservation, next to the small village of homes where so many of Pala's residents live, is the *asistencia* San Antonio de Pala, that Franciscans founded in 1816. Established as an auxiliary to the more coastally oriented Mission San Luis Rey, San Antonio de Pala has, since its inception, ministered continually to the Indian population throughout the region.[4] Through a somewhat vague consensus historians and preservationists have elevated the *asistencia* at Pala to full mission status, and of the twenty-one other Franciscan missions that span much of California's coastal

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[3]William Bright, A Field Guide to Southern California Indian Languages, University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, no. 7 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 389-408. It should be noted that some recent publications, including Lisbeth Haas' Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), have chosen to use the aboriginal place-name for the Luiseño (*Quechla*) as described in Minna and Gordon Hewes, eds. and trans., "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Indian Life Written by Pablo Tac, and Indian Neophyte (Rome, 1835)" Americas 9 (1952/53): 94.

[4]George Wharton James, Picturesque Pala: the Story of the Mission Chapel of San Antonio de Padua Connected with Mission San Luis Rey (Pasadena: The Radiant Life Press, 1916).

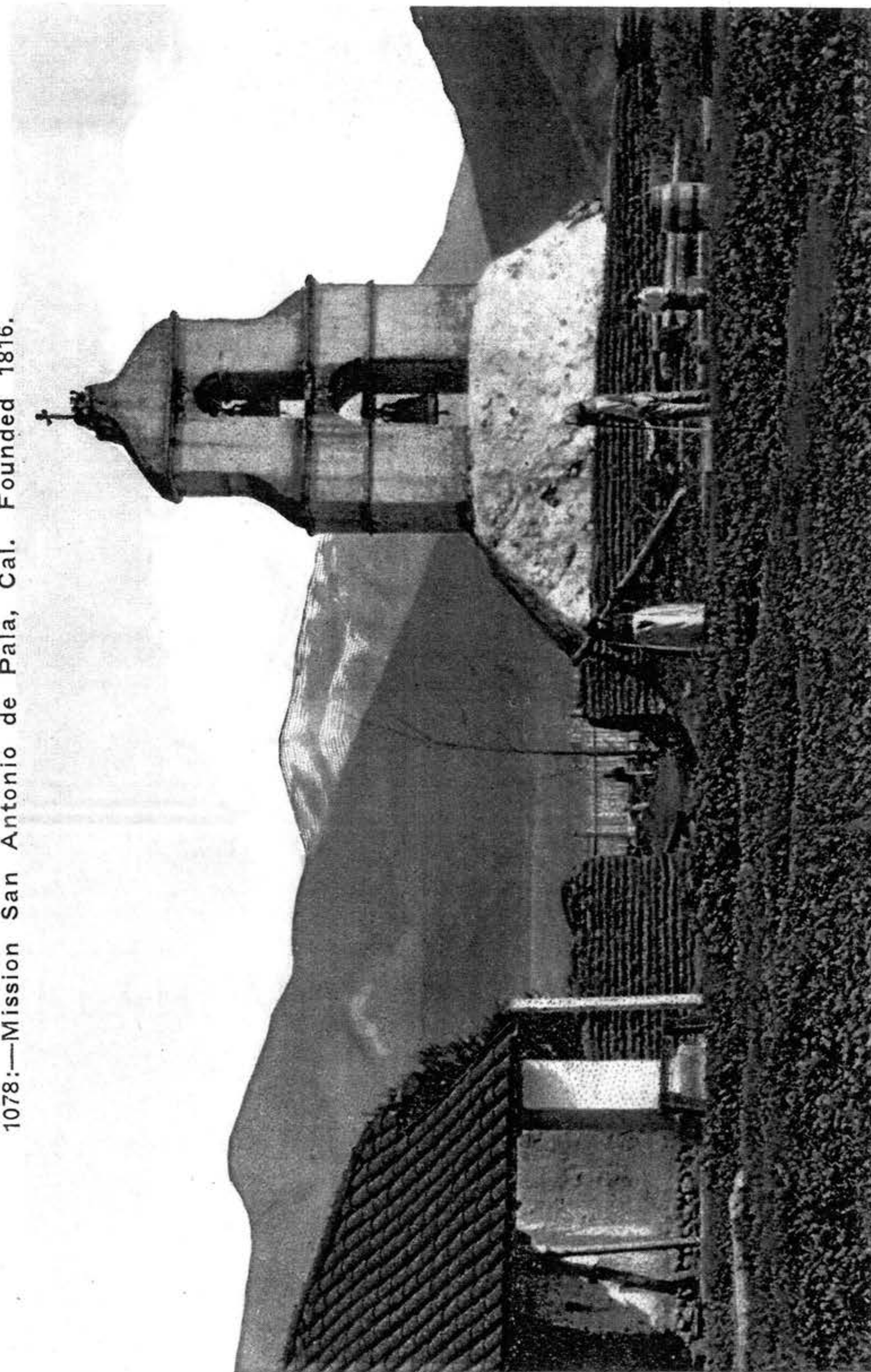

Figure 1. Pala Mission Chapel. Courtesy M. Kashower Company, Los Angeles, CA.

region, it is the only one actually on an Indian reservation. Though Pala is unique in this respect, like most of the California missions, it also is adjacent to a river where these people today live, just as their ancestors did before the arrival of any Europeans through successive Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American Eras.

This traditional identification with the San Luis Rey River at Pala is, perhaps, best understood by its people's creation stories. Passed down from generation to generation, these voices from Pala, which has retained its traditional Luiseño name, meaning water, tell us not only about a people's past culture, but also about their understanding of the world in which they live today.[5]

> *Whaikut Piwkut* was the man, the sky or Milky Way, whit[e]ish-gray. *Harurai Chatutai* was the woman, the earth . . . She was with child . . . Then came forth the children in order of their birth . . . *Yula Nahut*, . . . *Chakwut Wakut*, . . . *Nosish Ayaraka*, . . . [and] *Pala*, . . .[6]

In another Luiseño story, one of the Temecula people, a chief named *Nahachish*, traveled throughout his peoples' land giving place-names to various locations he visited:

> He sang a song. He sang that he was going to leave that part of the country, but he did not know where to go. He

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[5]Calvin Martin, ed., The American Indian and the Problem of History (New York: Oxford University Press), 14-21. In the introduction to this still controversial edited work, Martin reminds his readers that too often scholars of Indian history have placed Native Americans solely within the confines of Western human theory. More specifically, Martin contends that Indian peoples continue to be "equated with the white at the level of basic human motivation and self-interest." "Europeans ranked, classified, and comprehended Native Americans within this grid right from the start," Martin argues, "rendering them intelligible in our terms—turning their behavior into our behavior under hypothetically similar circumstances." He quickly counters this theory, however, noting that among native peoples "theirs was a different code of existence, a different cultural universe, taking its cue from a very different 'site of symbolic production.' "

[6]Constance Goddard DuBois, The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 8, n. 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1908), 138-141. This oral account is one of several creation stories as told by the Luiseño Indian, Lucario Cuevish and transcribed by DuBois.

> went to *Picha Awanga*, *Pichanga*, between Temecula and Warner's Ranch, and named that place . . . He went into a ravine and called it *Sovoyama*, because it felt chilly . . . In the cañon he drank water and called it *Pala*, water, . . .[7]

Similar to these Luiseño stories is this portion of a Cupeño creation story:

> In the beginning *Mukat* and *Temayawit* appeared. In the water, . . . from there they went outside through the door, . . . Bringing their tobacco, their canes, their head sticks. They appeared where it was bare, where there were no relatives. They made their children. *Mukat* made the people who live today. *Tamayawit* made those who dwell in the water.[8]

Although these voices, both ancient and moden, for many people who do not know the Pala Indians speak only of false jeremiads and a mythic past, particularly for those living on reservations today, they carry a far less cynical meaning. As water remains a scarce resource throughout the American West and as millions of people compete for the prosperity it ensures, increasingly American Indians and non-Indians alike, are compelled to live and work within the parameters of two worlds. One of these defined by human law and the other by nature.[9] Scholars have documented well many of the pressing concerns involving Indians, water, and the various legal, economic, and environmental issues numerous tribes still face. But few have looked beyond the

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[7]Ibid., 151-152. Similar to a creation story, this place-name story was told to DuBois by the Luiseño Indian Salvador Cuevas.

[8]Jane H. Hill and Rosinda Nolasquez, eds., Mulu'Wetam: The First People, Cupeño Oral History and Language (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1973), 1a. In her notes, Hill explains that ethnographer Paul Louis Faye, who collected this story between December 1919 and January 1920, while not naming his informant, probably interviewed Salvadora Valenzuela, whose mother told the same story to William Duncan Strong in 1929.

[9]Jon C. Hare, ed., Indian Water Rights: An Analysis of Current and Pending Indian Water Rights Settlements (Oakville, WA: Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation and Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1996). Hare's edited work provides a brief overview of individual Native American groups involved in either

doctrinaire assumptions surrounding these broad topics, seeking instead to understand better native peoples as they often see themselves, as a part of the environment they inhabit. They draw a defining notion of who they are from their surroundings.[10]

Like other communities throughout southern California, jobs, school, religion, and family constitute Pala's cultural fabric. Yet high unemployment, lack of education, and traditionally few economic resources place additional strains on an already burdened community.[11] Clearly the people of Pala represent a viable community and culture.

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litigation or alternative dispute resolution with competing state and municipal water districts.

[10] Norris Hundley, Jr., "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Indian Water Rights: Confusion Elevated to Principle," Western Historical Quarterly, 9 (October 1978), 455-482. In addition to Hundley's thorough discussion at Indian water rights, there are numerous other studies, too many in fact to name them all, that look at similar issues, some include: Sarah F. Bates, et al., eds., Searching Out the Headwaters: Change and Discovery in Western Water Policy (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993); Lloyd Burton, American Indian Water Rights and the Limits of the Law (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991); Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1942), 248-53, 316-19; David H. Getches, Water Law in a Nutshell (West, 1990, 2nd ed.); Thomas R. McGuire, et al., eds., Indian Water in the New West (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), "Indian Water Rights Settlements: Rhetoric of Implementation," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 15, no. 2 (1991): 139-69; Joseph R. Membrino, "Indian Reserved Water Rights, Federalism, and Trust Responsibility," Land and Water Law Review 27, no. 1 (1992): 1-31; Donald Pisani, "Irrigation, Water Rights, and the Betrayal of Indian Allotments," Environmental Historian 10, no. 3 (1986): 157-176, "Enterprise and Equity: A Critique of Western Water Law in the Nineteenth Century," Western Historical Quarterly (January 1987): 15-37, To Reclaim a Divided West (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992). For a good account of this alternative view concerning native people's relation to water see, Simon J. Ortiz, "More Than Just a River: The Chunah of a Native Childhood Flows Strong," Native Americas 16, nos. 3 and 4 (1999): 88-89, and Vine Deloria, The Metaphysics of Modern Existence (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 135. Similar discussions include Charles Bowden, Killing the Hidden Waters (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); Hundley, The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s-1990s (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 1-24.

[11] See Veronica E. Valarde Tiller, ed., American Indian Reservations and Trust Areas (Albuquerque: Tiller Research Inc., 1996), 276-277; Department of Commerce, Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics: American Indian and Alaska Native Areas ([Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census of

Their future, like there past, is invariably tied to their neighbors. Although physical encroachment and forced assimilation no longer pose significant threats to the community, there remains a constant struggle to assert their identity as a people. Currently Pala faces serious challenges over the outcome of water rights disputes and waste disposal, both affecting not only the flow of a river, but also the course of a people's culture and identity as well.

Population, 1990), 1, 12, 38, 63, 89, 170, 374, 578, 782, 986, 1190, 1394, 1598, 1802, 1951, 1972; Congress, Indian Water Claims in San Diego County, 40.

CHAPTER II

PALA AND PREHISTORY

Establishing precisely when the area of Pala was first inhabited by California's indigenous population is difficult if not entirely impossible. It is likely, however, that the area, much like the rest of southern California, has been inhabited by various cultures for perhaps as many as 12,000 years. A regional synthesis of coastal southern California prehistory divides northern San Diego county's period of human occupation into four widespread cultural horizons—the San Dieguito or Early Man, the La Jolla/Pauma or Millingstone Assemblages, the Transition or Hiatus, and the San Luis Rey. Refined by numerous scholars over a period of decades, these four horizons, each with significant local variation, emphasize the archaeological content of cultures, the relationships among them, and how or why they changed, determined through analysis of their use of hand-fashioned implements and consumption of wild game, seeds, and acorns.[12] The San Dieguito culture group generally is best characterized as game hunters with seed-grinding implements noticeably scarce. Occupying the region perhaps as early as 7,500 B.C. to approximately 5,500 B.C., the cultural complex is associated with a general artifact assemblage, including hammerstones, chipped-stone knives, crescents, scrapers, and engraving tools.[13]

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[12]Michael J. Moratto, California Archaeology (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, Inc., 1984), 146-165.

Throughout much of southern California, San Dieguito and similar occupations were followed by various expressions of the La Jolla and Pauma, or Millingstone Complexes, from roughly 5,500 B.C. to 1,000 B.C. These culture groups were largely coastal peoples who likely divided their time more evenly between hunting and seed-gathering. These two complexes are defined in part by the following attributes: manos and metates for processing plants and seeds, flexed burial, large and crude projectile points, and no pottery.[14]

After about 1,000 B.C. Millingstone Horizon groups began to differentiate due in part to trait diffusion, immigration, and localized adaptation to environmental changes. Among coastally oriented groups these adaptations included a shift toward land-based gathering, resulting in a weak maritime economy. At some time during these adjustments acorn processing, evidenced by mortars and pestles, was introduced, likely from the north. Because of this new subsistence focus, land-use patterns shifted away from the previously favored coastal zone toward interior upland areas.[15]

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[13]Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser, The Natural World of the California Indians (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 159-164; Richard L. Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land: American Indians in San Diego, 1850-1880 (Newcastle, CA: Sierra Oaks Publishing Co., 1987), 5-7.

[14]Heizer and Elsasser, The Natural World of the California Indians, 165-166; Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land, 7-8; Moratto, California Archaeology, 151-152; D.L. True, "An Early Complex in San Diego County, California," American Antiquity vol. 23, no. 3 (January 1958): 255-63. Based upon True's research, Moratto explains the identification of a complex similar to both La Jolla and San Dieguito in northern San Diego County. The name "Pauma Complex" was assigned to materials excavated from nearly twenty-five sites in the Pauma Valley. He further states, "All things considered, the Pauma Complex may be an inland variant of the La Jolla Complex . . . Pauma site locations, paucity of stratified deposits, large numbers of surface sites with millingstones may imply seasonal occupation by La Jollan groups whose main settlements were on the coast."

[15]Moratto, California Archaeology, 154-155; William J. Wallace, "A Suggested Chronology for Southern California Coastal Archaeology," Southwestern Journal of

Although inland San Diego County appears to experience a hiatus in cultural sequence during the time of occupation between the Millingstone groups and the late prehistoric period (approximately 1,000 B.C. to 1,000), this may in fact indicate only reduced activity rather than complete abandonment of inland tracts.[16] The late period in San Diego County's northwestern region is represented by the San Luis Rey Complex. Divided into two phases (San Luis Rey I and II), this larger complex can be specifically correlated with distinct linguistic groups. In addition to millingstones and bedrock mortars, archaeological sites also revealed triangular arrow points, bone awls, stone and shell ornaments, and cremations. Tentatively dated by archaeologists at 1400-1750, San Luis Rey I was followed by San Luis Rey II (ca. 1750-1850) which featured earlier assemblage along with pictographs, cremation urns, and pottery vessels, which are believed to have diffused into the San Diego area from the arid interior. Based upon these early findings, the former stage suggested that the technology and art of pottery making was still spreading in southern California at the time of European entry. Later archaeological studies determined the initial dating period to be too conservative, not allowing enough time for subsequent cultural-historical development. Inferred subsistence activities during this complex include hunting and gathering with an emphasis on the processing of acorns. Significantly, this complex likely represents the

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Anthropology 11 (1955): 221-223. Wallace explains that "the shift from the milling- and hand-stone combination to the mortar-pestle" represents the "major cultural change during this period." This shift is particularly significant because mortars and pestles are regarded as more efficient for grinding and mashing acorns which represent "the great staple of the historic California Indian."

[16]Ibid., 154; 221; True, "An Early Complex in San Diego County," 257. True suggests this hiatus may have been due in part to severe drought.

immediate ancestors of the Luiseño, including those from Pala, who first encountered sixteenth-century Spanish explorers.[17]

Although precontact ethnographical materials are scarce, a reasonable, albeit incomplete, description of late eighteenth-century Luiseño culture before missionization is possible.[18] Both the Luiseño and Cupeño are Takic speaking members of the larger

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[17]Ibid., 154-155; Clement W. Meighan, " A Late Complex in Southern California Prehistory," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10 (1954): 215-227; Wallace, "Southern California Coastal Archaeology," 226; Heizer and Elsasser, The Natural World of the California Indians, 167; Paul G. Chace, "An Ethnographic Approach to the Archaeology of the Luiseño Indians," San Bernardino County Museum Association Quarterly vol. 12, no. 2 (1964): 1-30. Meighan's article is significant to this study as it discusses in detail a particular archaeological site (SD-132) located along Frey Creek just west of the present Pala village.

[18]Alfred L. Kroeber, A Mission Record of the California Indians, 1-27, Constance Goddard DuBois, The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California, 69-186, Philip Stedman Sparkman, The Culture of the Luiseño Indians, 187-234, in Frederic Ward Putnam and Kroeber, eds., University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology vol. 8, nos. 1, 3, and 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1908); Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 78 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 636-668; Willaim Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 26 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929), 274-349 ; John Peabody Harrington, A New Original Version of Boscana's Historical Account of the San Juan Capistrano Indians of Southwest California, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 92, no. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934); Ruth Underhill, Indians of Southern California, A Publication of the Branch of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Washington, D.C.: Department of Interior, 1941); Raymond C. White, Luiseño Social Organization, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 48, no. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 91-194; Lowell John Bean and Florence C. Shipek, "Luiseño," 550-563, in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: California (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978). With the exception of the Cupeño and the Cahuilla, the Luiseño, Diegeño, and Juaneño are names given by the Spanish missionaries to the groups of Native American who inhabited the region near or came to live at a particular mission; the Luiseño at San Luis Rey, the Diegeño at San Diego, and the Juaneño at San Juan Capistrano. The name Cupeño is a Spanish derivation adopting the aboriginal word *kúpa-ngakitom*, meaning "kúpa-people", and appending Spanish -eño to mean a person who lives in or comes from *kúpa*. The origins of the word Cahuilla are uncertain, but may be from their own word *káwiya*, meaning "master, boss." Recent publications, including Lisbeth Haas' Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936

Uto-Aztekan language family.[19] Traditionally Luiseño territory, which includes the area of Pala, covered roughly 1,500 square miles of southern California. From approximately five miles north of Mission San Juan Capistrano it stretched south some five miles beyond the city of Oceanside. The territory extended eastward some forty miles, just beyond Lake Elsinor and the crest of Mount Palomar. Luiseño territory included most of the San Luis Rey and Santa Margarita Rivers' drainage. If traditional Juaneño territory is included as well, Luiseño culture extended from the ocean to the crest of the Sierra Santa Ana Mountains.[20] Their habitat covered ecological zones ranging from sandy beaches,

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(Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), have chosen to use the aboriginal place-names of both Luiseño (*Quechla*) Juaneño (*Acâgchemem*) territories as described by Pablo Tac in "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life by Pablo Tac, An Indian Neophyte (Rome, c.1835)," ed. and trans. By Minna and Gordon Hewes, Americas 9 (1952): 93. It is important to note that the Luiseño's first encounter with Europeans was likely shortly after the arrival of the Gaspar de Portolá expedition in 1769. The Cupeño, solely an interior-oriented group, did not have any direct contact with Europeans until the Fray Juan Mariner expedition in 1795.

[19]Heizer and Elsasser, The Natural World of the California Indians, 18-19; William F. Shipley, "Native Languages of California," Handbook of the North American Indians: California, 88-90. Shipley makes the further distinction that both Luiseño and Cupeño are members of the Cupan group of the larger Takic Family, and that "Luiseño" is a dialect of the larger Luiseño-Juaneño language.

[20]The Cupeño were solely an interior culture whose traditional territory abutted only the extreme southeastern portion of the Luiseño's. And like the Luiseño, though they also belong to the Cupan subgroup of the Takic family of Uto-Aztecan, the Cupeño were culturally and linguistically closer to the Cahuilla. Still, ecologically Cupeño territory was very similar to that of the interior Luiseño. Some of the more significant ethnogrphic works on the Cupeño include: Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, 689-708; Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, 183-273; Bean and Charles R. Smith, "Cupeño," Handbook of North American Indians, 588-591; Jane H. Hill and Rocinda Nolasquez, Mulu'wetam: The First People: Cupeño Oral History and Language, Including a Dictionary and Grammatical Sketch of Cupeño (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1973).

marshes, coastal chaparral, grassy valleys, and large oak groves, up to the pines and cedars atop Mount Palomar.[21]

Establishing the Luiseño's pre-contact population, as with any indigenous group, is a difficult and somewhat controversial task, though a number of estimates do exist.[22] Similar to native peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere, California Indians suffered severe population decline upon the arrival of Europeans. Arguably many coastally oriented groups, the Luiseño among them, experienced significant population decline before actually interacting with any Europeans. Despite these concerns it is generally believed that the precontact population throughout Luiseño territory ranged anywhere from 4,000 to 10,000 people.[23]

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[21]Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," Handbook of North American Indians: California, 550-551; White, Luiseño Social Organization, 117. In his study White points out that Kroeber (Handbbook of the Indians of California, 636-647) treats the Juaneño as an entirely separate group from the Luiseño, existing within their own distinct culture. Both White and Heizer, however, contend that precedents exist requiring the two groups to be treated as essentially the same culture. For this reason White has chosen to study the two as the same "tribe," focusing on what he believes is a shared culture, ethnologically, linguistically, and materially. For the sake of this study, with few exceptions, the two cultures will be treated as the same under Luiseño terminology.

[22]David, Henige, Numbers from Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). In his recent publication Henige criticizes the "Berkeley School" and its dean, Sherburne F. Cook, who among others is labeled a "High Counter," basing inflated precontact populations on doubtful sources.

[23]Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," 557, Cook, "Historical Demography," 91, Handbook of North American Indians: California; White, Luiseño Social Organization, 98, 104, 119; Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, 649,883. It is one of White's major contentions in his study that the pre-Spanish Indian population in southern California was in fact considerably larger than earlier estimates made first by C. Hart Merriam, "The Indian Population of California," American Anthropologist 7 (4): 594-606, and later Kroeber based upon inadequate mission statistics. White's estimate of some 10,000 Luiseño would give them one of California's largest pre-contact tribal populations. The Cupeño population is believed to have been considerably smaller, ranging between 500 and 700 persons (Bean and Smith, "Luiseño," 589).

Excluding coastal Luiseño settlement patterns, interior village groups were semi-sedentary and autonomous. Similar to Pala, warmer sheltered valleys and mountain coves with the best water sources generally determined ranchería locations.[24] Ownership and property among the Luiseño ranged from communal (village/ranchería) to individual. At the most general level all ranchería members collectively owned the whole area and all of its contents. Individually a person could own anything from a material object, such as a basket or throwing stick, to a dwelling space. But, because of the general sedentary nature of Luiseño rancherías, collective or group property rights carried an extremely high value. For this reason subsistence played a key role in determining a fairly intricate property ownership system, usufruct rights, and warfare.[25]

The Luiseño's primary food staple was the oak tree acorn, of which there were at least six different species in their territory supply. Some anthropologists estimate acorns constituted between 25 and 50 percent of the local indigenous diet. This large, reasonably dependable crop made a migratory existence both difficult and to some degree unnecessary. Like grain, acorns were harvested in the autumn season and stored in caches. For the purpose of consumption, caches needed to be close to water for leaching mashed acorns which carry a high acidic content.[26]

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[24]Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," 551. The Spanish word "ranchería" was used by the early missionaries to describe the native villages and has become the accepted term among various academic studies as well as contemporary Indian groups.

[25]White, Luiseño Social Organization, 120-134.

[26]Ibid., 115-16. When White conducted his fieldwork during the late 1950s, elderly Luiseño informants he interviewed insisted that the yield of a mature oak was prodigious, sometimes exceeding a ton of acorns. Still, some scholars have argued this estimation is too high. See, Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," 552; Bean and Harry Lawton, "Some Explanations for the Rise of Cultural Complexity in Native California with Comments on Proto-Agriculture and Agriculture," in Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn,

The presence of caches and the need for a suitable water source in a largely arid region both account for the sedentary nature of Luiseño's settlement patterns. For this reason harvesting rights, based upon clearly defined territories, were quickly established by respective rancherías to ensure a suitable annual crop. Similarly, other foods such as wild berries and grapes, roots, and cactus fruit were foraged within a designated area. Hunting grounds for game, which included rabbit, deer, valley quail, rodents, and small trout pools along the upper San Luis Rey River were also closely guarded. The more remote foods were gathered by hunting parties that also acted as a mobile guard for prized food-source territory.[27]

While it is reasonable to assume that inter-ranchería rivalries existed as a permanent state of affairs among the Luiseño, it is unlikely that warfare erupted without some cause deemed crucial by the rancherías. A major cause of war was most probably trespassing on claimed hunting and foraging grounds, and the unauthorized appropriation of food. Because of the precarious nature of acorn groves, susceptible to frosts, insects, and rodents, even the mildest of crop failures may have proved detrimental to a ranchería unless a neighboring group was willing to allow some foraging on their lands. If permission was not received, retribution in the form of war was likely. Under

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eds., Native California: A Theoretical Retrospective (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1976), 19-48; Shipek, "Kumeyaay Plant Husbandry: Fire, Water, and Erosion Management Systems," in Blackburn and Kat Anderson, eds., Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1993), 379-388. These articles provide compelling information on the nature of aboriginal subsistence in southern California prior to European contact. See also, Sparkman, The Culture of the Luiseño Indians, 193-194.

[27]White, Luiseño Social Organization, 120-21.

circumstances such as these, warfare for the Luiseño was often a product of environment and subsistence.[28]

Tools used by the Luiseño were primarily for food acquisition, storage, and preparation. The Luiseño traded for such items as steatite bowls from Santa Catalina Island for cooking and obsidian from either northern or eastern neighbors. As with other southern California Indians, particularly well-made basketry and later pottery ranked first in importance in industrial arts. The bow and arrow, sometimes tipped with sharpened obsidian, along with wooden throwing sticks, provided the primary means for killing game. Housing generally consisted of a conical framework of posts, rafters, and poles laid over with varying types of growth for thatching, and then thickly covered with soil. The Luiseño also used sweathouses, though primarily for practical purposes, rather than for ceremonial reasons.[29]

As a group culture the Luiseño employed a non-rigid gender-based division of labor. Women generally collected most of the plant resources, while men hunted and fished. This division ceased to exist, however, during the late autumn months when every village member would participate in the acorn harvest. Due to the sometimes

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[28]Ibid., 127.

[29]June Iovin, A Summary Description of Luiseño Material Culture, Annual Report Archaeological Survey, Department of Anthropology and Sociology (Los Angeles: University of California, 1963), 84-100; Constance Goddard DuBois, The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 8 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1908), 168, 185; Sparkman, The Culture of the Luiseño Indians, 205; Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," 552-53.

tenuous nature of their partial hunter-gatherer economy, children were expected to participate in food acquisition at an early age.[30]

Each Luiseño village, or ranchería, was a clan tribelet, specifically a group of people patrilineally related who owned an area in common and who were politically and economically independent from other groups. Some estimates have put the average ranchería size at 200 people. While the group's social structure remains somewhat obscure, it is likely that prior to the arrival of any European, Luiseño group organizations identified with strong kinship-lineage ties based on a village's tendency to practice endogamy.[31]

Luiseño marriages were arranged by both parental groups, with the bride's family generally expecting some form of gift. Initiation rights were carried out for pubescent-aged boys and girls. The ceremonies played important roles in establishing a person's position within the larger group, as well as establishing strong natural and spiritual world-views. In addition, mourning ceremonies and commemorative occasions for the dead carried particular importance within these world-views.[32]

For the village's young males the toloache, or *naktomush* (jimson weed) ceremony initiated boys to adult status. At the heart of the Luiseño *Chingishnish* religion, the two to three-day ceremony included drinking a mind-altering jimson weed substance which produced visions believed to identify one's course through life. Dancing and fasting

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[30]Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, 649-52; Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," 555.

[31]White, Luiseño Social Organization, 98, 117; Edward Winslow Gifford, "Miwok Lineages and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California," American Anthropologist 28 (n.s., 1928):393-97; Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," 555.

[32]Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, 675-77, 688; DuBois, Religion of the Luiseño, 77, 93.

coincided with the event. In some circumstances young males were also required to lie on an ant nest to demonstrate their courage.[33]

The *Wekenish*, or girls' ceremony required young females to first swallow balls of tobacco. Only those who did not vomit were deemed virtuous and expected to continue the ceremony. Several girls at one time were then placed in a pit previously lined with heated stones and covered with grass and sedge. There they would lie on their backs motionless for three days, receiving little food or drink, leaving the pit only so that the rocks could be reheated, while village members danced around them. At the end of the ceremony, a sand painting, also an important aspect concerning Luiseño religious beliefs, was made, its explanation combined with a sermon by the ceremonial chief on the subject of good conduct in life and its rewards.[34]

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[33]DuBois, Religion of the Luiseño, 75, 77-84; Kroeber, A Mission Record of the California Indians, 8, Handbook of the Indians of California, 556, 668-672; White, Luiseño Social Organization, 94-97, 135-37; Zephyrin Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1921), 25. According to the Luiseño, *Chingishnish* belief, with its ceremonies and rituals (most significant being toloache), came originally from the north (possibly of Gabrielino origins), and was brought from there to Santa Catalina and San Clemente Island. From these islands it was brought to San Juan Capistrano, then to San Luis Rey, and to Pala where it eventually worked its way up the San Luis Rey River Valley. Kroeber viewed the religion and its single deity as "distinctively Jehovah," while maintaining a wholly native flavor. He believes that Christianity may well have been the stimulus at the root of the religious movement, since its spread into Luiseño territory was in part during the mission period. White contends, however, that due to the wide variety of native symbols and their extreme reverence of sub-dieties (rattlesnakes, ravens, North Star), the foundations of any Christian religion are unlikely. See also, P.T. Hanna, ed., Chinigchinich, a revised and annotated version of Alfred Robinson's translation of Father Geronimo Boscana's historical account of the belief, usages, customs and extravagancies of the Indians of this mission of San Juan Capistrano called the Acagchemem tribe (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1933); John Peabody Harrington, A New Original Version of Boscana's Historical Account of the San Juan Capistrano Indians of Southern California. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 92, no. 4, 1-66 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1934).

[34]White, Luiseño Social Organization, 93-96; Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, 673-75.

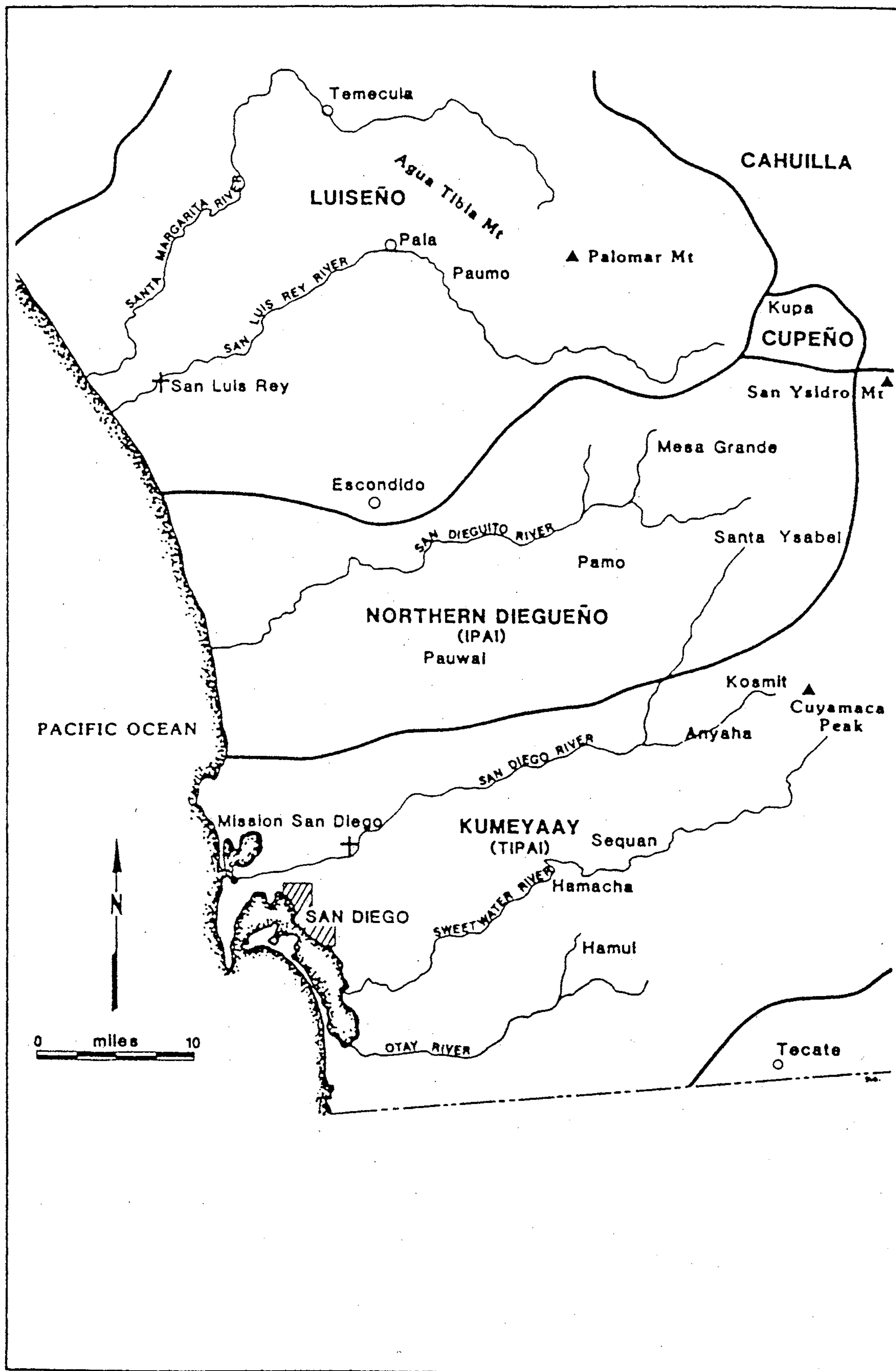

Figure 2. Aboriginal Territories in Southern California, ca. 1769. Source: Richard L. Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land: American Indians in San Diego, 1850-1880 (Newcastle, CA: Sierra Oaks Publishing Co., 1987), 12.

A single war chief who administered various aspects of daily life such as food gathering, hunting, and the maintenance of territorial boundaries dominated Luiseño government. An assistant war chief who carried out various ceremonial procedures followed him in rank. Both were hereditary positions passed down from father to son, or possibly a nephew. A ranchería council comprised tribal government's third tier. Made up of approximately ten village elders, the council collectively had the authority to remove an unsuitable war chief. The fourth tier was a secret war society that included all adults, both male and female, in the ranchería. Traditionally among the Luiseño, both men and women participated in battles, with women providing primarily logistical support. Also present within the governmental body was a sub-group of several religious chiefs and shaman-medicine men who were also members of the war council. The religious chief position was also hereditary. During war, religious chiefs were generally preoccupied with funerary ceremonies rather than hostilities.[35]

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[35]White, Luiseño Social Organization, 160-63; Sparkman, The Culture of the Luiseño Indians, 215. Sparkman contends in his study that it was the religious chief that actually wielded the greatest power in the rancheria's government

CHAPTER III

THE SPANISH AND MEXICAN ERAS

While the Native Americans who inhabited southern California may have seen or even come in contact with Europeans as early as 1542, with the arrival of the Cabrillo expedition to Santa Catalina Island and other nearby regions, significant physical contact did not occur until 1769 with the arrival of the Gaspar de Portolá and Fray Junipero Serra expedition.[36] It is not unreasonable to assume, however, that the Luiseño and other native groups experienced considerable depletion of numbers due to previously introduced European diseases.[37] Nevertheless, the Spaniards' arrival marked the clear beginning of systematic change and disruption of the Indians' social, economic, and cultural world.[38] After founding San Diego de Alcalá, Alta California's first mission in

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[36]David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 236-265.

[37]For a general overview, see Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972). For a more detailed discussion of the effects of Spanish missions on native peoples in California, see Sherburne F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 1-34. A particularly condemning study of California's missions can be found in, Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, eds., The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987).

[38]A more recent discussion environmental change in California is found in, William Preston, "Serpent in the Garden: Environmental Change in Colonial California, in Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, eds., Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998): 260-298.

1769, in 1776 Serra established Mission San Juan Capistrano, the first in northern Luiseño territory. In part, as a result of these other Spanish out-posts, precontact institutions among the native peoples in these territories were altered irrevocably.[39]

Although there was ample opportunity in the twenty-six years since the first *entrada*, the first known contact between native peoples and Spaniards in southern Luiseño territory, in what today is the San Luis Rey River Valley, was recorded by Fray Juan Mariner in 1795. Mariner, along with a small military expedition headed by Ensign Juan Pablo Grijalva, was assigned the task of finding a suitable site for a new mission between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano.[40] On August 17 the group left San Diego northward through the interior country. On their nine-day journey through the interior, Mariner recorded visiting numerous rancherías and their native inhabitants, among them Pala:

> In the afternoon before sunset we passed a ranchería which is called Palé [Pala]. It has a great deal of running water which can easily be taken out. It has also very much good soil. What I saw in company with Don Pablo [Grijalva] was enough for sowing sixty fanégas [bushels] of beans . . . there was very good land for sowing fifty fanégas of wheat and fifteen fanégas of corn, and that there was a level plot on which to place the mission.[41]

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[39]Hubert Howe Bancroft, The History of California, Vol. I, 1542-1800 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886); Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1543-1706 (New York: Charles Scripner's Sons, 1922), 1-101; Andrew F. Rolle, California: A History (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963), 1-82; Maynard H. Geiger, O.F.M., Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1969-1848: A Biographical Dictionary (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969), 51-55, 192-96, 239-45.

[40]Maynard Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848 (San Marino: The Huntington Library Press, 148. An additional account of this same expedition made by Grijalva can be found in Joseph J. Hill, The History of Warner's Ranch and Its Environs (Los Angeles: Privately Printed, 1927), 27-33.

The Mariner expedition visited numerous rancherías, perhaps as many as fourteen in Luiseño territory alone, eventually reaching the *Camino Reál* which would take them to Mission San Juan Capistrano.[42] Among the rancherías encountered before their stay at Pala, it appears the expedition visited what Grijalva called "Cupame" [Cupa] of the Cupeño Indians, located at the headwaters of the San Luis Rey River.[43]

Some twenty miles west, down the river valley from Pala, the Mariner expedition visited San Juan Capistrano el Viejo (the future site of Mission San Luis Rey), first encountered by Fray Juan Crespi when he accompanied the Portolá expedition in July 1769. The location, noted then by Crespi as "excellent for a mission," some twenty-five years later, seemed less suitable to Mariner:

> We surveyed the entire cañada and found deep springs or wells from which the water could not flow or easily be taken out. Timber is lacking, as also firewood and stone. The soil, too, is unsuitable because it contains too much sand. Only a few spots near the hills are good.[44]

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[41]Diary of Fray Juan Mariner, San Diego, August 26, 1795, Santa Barbara Mission Archives. Mariner states that over the course of the nine-day expedition the group passed forty rancherías.

[42]Hill, History of Warner's Ranch, 32; Zephyrin Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1921), 5-6. Engelhardt explains that in Hubert Howe Bancroft's, History of California, vol. I, 563, Grijalva's account included the names of rancherias not given by Mariner.

[43]Hill, History of Warner's Ranch, 32; Raymond C. White, Luiseño Social Organization, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 48, no. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 108-109.

[44]Juan Mariner Diary, 1795; Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 6-8, Missions and Missionaries of California (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1912), 28. Engelhardt notes that the Franciscans, before the actual founding of Mission San Luis Rey, called the location San Juan Capistrano *el Viejo* to distinguish it from the mission of the same name founded in 1776.

By the end of the nine-day journey, Mariner is clearly resolute regarding the location for the new mission:

> In my opinion and in the opinion of the others, the place nearest San Juan Capistrano el Viejo is the ranchería Palé, which has all the facilities and is in the center of said language as though in a round jar; . . . In the valley the Indians say that, if a mission were established, they would become Christians. They said the same with much pleasure in the ranchería of Pale.[45]

In a letter to Governor Diego Borica, Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, then president of the Alta California missions, based upon the information provided to him by Mariner, recommended that the site for a new mission between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano be at Pala. Over a year later, after having seen the area of Pala himself, Lasuén wrote to Governor Borica and changed his recommendation, believing that Pala was too far from the Camino Reál.[46]

Instead, Borica ordered a new expedition to the region, accompanied personally by Fray Lasuén. Setting out this time from San Juan Capistrano, Lasuén, after seeing much of the same territory as the previous expedition, agreed with Crespi's assessment made some twenty-five years earlier that the most suitable area for the new mission was indeed San Juan Capistrano el Viejo.[47]

After receiving Lasuén's report regarding the mission site, Governor Borica issued an order dated February 27, 1798, to the commandant of the San Diego presidio, Antonio Grájera, instructing him to assign a detail of soldiers to assist the Franciscans in establishing their new mission. Leaving the presidio on the morning of June 12, 1798, Grájera and his contingent arrived that same afternoon at Cañada San Juan Capistrano el

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[45]Mariner Diary, 1795.

[46]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 6.

Viejo. There, already at work, Grájera found Lasuén in addition to two other Franciscans, Fray Juan de Santiago of Mission San Juan Capistrano along with a number of the mission's neophytes, Fray Antonio Peyri who would head the newly established mission for nearly thirty years, and later Fray José Faura.[48] The following day, under the direction of Lasuén, mass was celebrated in honor of the mission's patron saint chosen by the Viceroy of New Spain, the Marqués de Branciforte, and fifty-four local Indians were baptized, thus officially establishing Mission San Luis Rey de Francia.[49]

Remaining at San Luis Rey, Frays Peyri, Faura, and the small contingent of soldiers from the San Diego presidio set out to erect the first mission structures. Within six months of San Luis Rey's founding, the two missionaries reported to Lasuén that their quarters along with those of the corporal of the guard and the soldiers had been constructed, and that the adobes needed for various other structures had been made. Further, the livestock inventory determined the mission already possessed 162 head of cattle, 600 sheep, 28 horses, and 10 pack mules.[50]

As with the other missions of Alta California, presumably, both Peyri and Faura followed the standard policy of bringing entire Indian rancherías or villages into the mission fold, theoretically for religious instruction, but more pragmatically, to help establish and sustain San Luis Rey's economic viability.[51] Similar to Mission San Diego

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[47]Ibid., 6-7.

[48]Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 82, 139, 193-195, 228; Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 8-11.

[49]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 8-9.

[50]Ibid., 14.

[51]For a general overview of Alta California's mission economy see, Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The

de Alcalá, however, general mission policy, it soon appeared, could not be followed at San Luis Rey either. Also like San Diego, because of the limited amount of arable land and the lack of sufficient water, the Franciscans soon realized that effective crop production could only be attained through other means. Instead the padres, Peyri specifically, brought groups of Indians from outlying rancherías, taught them the rudiments of Catholic rituals, baptized them, and then released them to return to their own villages. Later, presumably on their own visits to these more remote locals, the padres would teach the Indians the basic elements of European-style crops, agriculture, and animal husbandry, which the Indians could then take up on their own with nominal supervision.[52]

Based in part upon evidence provided by, Pablo Tac, a Luiseño Indian, who was born in 1822 at San Luis Rey, the mission was comprised of agricultural "districts" and "ranchos," the latter presumably utilized solely for sheep and cattle: "[T]he Fernandino Father made five big gardens, that is to say, three in the Mission itself, one in the district we call Pala, the fifth in another district whose name I do not now remember, all were very fruitful with what is sown."[53] Tac further notes the general geographical location of several districts and ranchos:

Impact of the Mission System on California Indians (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 11-29; Engelhardt, Missions and Missionaries, 258-265; Sherburne F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 35-51.

[52]Florence C. Shipek, Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 20; White, Luiseño Social Organization, 100; Pablo Tac, "Conversion of the San Luiseños of Alta California," in Gordon and Minna Hewes, eds., "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life Written By Pablo Tac, an Indian Neophyte (Rome, ca. 1835)," Americas 9 (1952): 98-100.

[53]Tac, "Conversion of the San Luiseños of Alta California," 98.

> Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia. To the east is the rancho San Marcos and the district called Pala and another Quechla was the first of the districts, this being the first place of the Fernandino Father, and the Mission itself. Around it are located the other districts and ranchos of the ranch. To the north is Temeco [Temecula], Usva, and a rancho.[54]

From Tac's account, which is corroborated by those of the various Franciscans who ministered to the Indian population during the mission's first two decades, we are keenly aware of several factors that made San Luis Rey and the vast territory it dominated distinct from the other missions of southern California. As mentioned previously, because of the nature of the mission lands and surrounding environs, San Luis Rey had to be supported by numerous satellite agricultural centers and ranchos. Further, from its founding until 1832 San Luis Rey was, in effect, controlled by the policies of a single priest, Fray Antonio Peyri who, moral judgements aside, was particularly adept at administering the mission, its sizeable land holdings, and the significant number of Indians who labored in its support.[55] Again, remaining true to form, it was this final ingredient, the large number of native peoples who fell within the reach of San Luis Rey's influence that played a role in the mission's uniqueness. Ultimately the Luiseño's population, settlement patterns, the rugged nature of the territory, and the manner in which San Luis Rey was established enabled the Indians to survive the initial onslaught of disease and the disruption of decades of cultural fragmentation.

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[54]Ibid., 99-100.

[55]Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 192-196; Robert L. Schuyler, "Indian-Euro-American Interaction: Archaeological Evidence from Non-Indian Sites," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: California, v. 8 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 72; Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 53.

Within that same six-month period, the missionaries reported, in addition to the first fifty-four Indians baptized at the mission-site's inaugural mass, Peyri and Faura christened another 210 Indians of varying ages, and also blessed thirty-four marriages. In all, it was reported that 214 Indians, 106 males and 108 females, had come to live within the immediate area of the mission.[56] These numbers are significant considering the fledgling mission was not yet even a year old. Moreover, despite the sharp reduction of the indigenous population, particularly during the mission's first decade, by 1821, the same year Mexico declared its independence from Spain, 2,631 Indians were living within the immediate area of the mission. This total does not include Indians living at or near the mission's satellite agricultural and ranching villages or those in contact but still living outside the mission's sphere of influence. These implied numbers are indicated largely by baptisms conducted during that same year, which totaled 3,890.[57]

The presence of these satellite agricultural villages and ranchos proved to be both a help and hindrance to the Franciscans. From an economic perspective, additional lands and neophytes could only increase crop production and the size of its herds. And for San Luis Rey this was certainly the case. From an administrative perspective, one that certainly included regular religious instruction, these satellite areas were not as easily controlled, allowing significant numbers of Indians to live culturally much as they had before the Spanish arrived in their lands. Visiting certain ranchos only once every eight days, and at some of the more remote ranchos only once a month if at all, the Franciscans could hardly have ensured the Indians' doctrinal behavior.[58]

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[56]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 14.

[57]Ibid., 220.

Clearly cultural continuity among the region's native population was a factor. Still, for groups living at ranchos and villages outside the immediate mission fold, Pala among them, the missions were disruptive to social order. Social disruption, however, was more likely the result of disease carried back unknowingly to these areas by Spaniards as well as escaped or visiting neophytes. Another cause for social disruption can also be attributed to the Indians themselves, some of whom deliberately visited the missions solely for the purpose of gaining knowledge of new and intriguing power forms introduced by Europeans. Deemed by the Indians as supernatural, these powers had only recently manifested themselves at San Luis Rey and other missions. Once witnessed or learned they were then brought back to the interior where they might be used for purposes of sorcery, which was often the cause of warfare among the Indians.[59]

Whatever may have drastically altered Indian culture or caused social disruption, there is little question that many Indians still readily participated in traditional customs and belief systems throughout the entire mission period. Several sources exist which lend considerable credence to this assertion, one Indian, provided by Pablo Tac, and others by the Franciscan missionaries, many of whom gave detailed descriptions of Indian customs and religious conventions.[60] Later descriptions included important information ranging

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[58]Julio César, "*Cosas de Indios de California*," 1878, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[59]White, Luiseño Social Organization, 98-100.

[60]Alfred L. Kroeber, A Mission Record of the California Indians, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 8, no. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1908). Kroeber's work is a translation from a manuscript at the Bancroft Library made from an original copy at the Santa Barbara Mission Archives. A similar translation is provided in Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 23-34.

from indigenous food processing techniques to astrological beliefs.[61] In 1811, at San Luis Rey, Peyri answered a list of questions regarding Indian customs and their condition under missionary influences sent to Alta California missionaries from New Spain's viceregal government. Among the customs Peyri discussed were the toloache or *mani* ceremony, as it was called by the Indians, the eagle-killing ceremony, and cremation of the dead which was followed by the ritual burning of the deceased's personal belongs.[62] At the end of his report Peyri readily admitted that he understood little of the Indians' traditional customs because of their reluctance to discuss them with any European:

> In short, in the matter of their superstitions regarding sickness, idolatry, and witchcraft, they are so rare (raros), full of deceit, and reserved, that although I have been among them since the foundation of this mission, that which I can most readily manifest regarding these matters, is my ignorance of them. They never confess more than what they cannot deny.[63]

Another important description is provided by Fray Gerónimo Boscana, who, like Peyri at San Luis Rey, mentions the eagle-killing ceremony among the Juaneño Indians at Mission San Juan Capistrano. More important than this early report of Indian customs is Boscana's account of the *Chinigchinich* cult at San Juan Capistrano. Written in the early 1820s, Boscana's description of the Indians' religion and customs provides concrete evidence of a thriving indigenous belief system arguably at the peak of Alta California's mission system. Further, having resided at San Luis Rey from 1811 to 1814, Boscana

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[61]*Preguntas y Respuestas*, December 12, 1814, San Luis Rey, Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

[62]Ibid., 7-9.

[63]Ibid., 10.

was likely to have recognized the similarities between the Luiseño and their Juaneño cousins.[64]

The neophyte Pablo Tac, although born eleven years after the Peyri report, was well aware of his people's traditional ways. Surprisingly, despite his intimacy with the mission and close supervision by the padres, Tac too was well acquainted with certain elements of his people's indigenous customs, and in his own discussion of Luiseño culture gave a fairly detailed account of what appears to be the toloache ceremony.[65]

The first mention of Pala by any missionary, save the 1795 Mariner account, is in Mission San Luis Rey's 1810 annual report where it is noted that a granary was built at the "Rancho de Pala."[66] Six years later asistencia San Antonio de Pala was officially founded which included the construction of a small chapel for religious services. In 1818, the chapel was lengthened and two more granaries were added.[67] Somewhat surprisingly, this expansion occurred at the very onset of the Mexican war for independence, when the viceroy of New Spain suspended the Franciscans' annual stipend and Alta California's governor unilaterally imposed taxes and requisitions on the

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[64]Gerónimo Boscana, Chinigchinich: A Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establishment of San Juan Capistrano, Alta California; Called the Acagchamem Nation. Translated by Alfred Robinson. In Alfred Robinson, Life in California (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846); Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 29-32. In reference to Chapter I, Kroeber (Handbook of the Indians of California) treats the Juaneño as distinct culture-group. In later works, most notably White's (Luiseño Social Organization), the Juaneño and Luiseño are treated as essentially the same culture, distinct only in their separate dialects. This contention is reasserted in Bean and Shipek, "Luiseño," in Heizer, Handbook of North American Indians: California, 550-563.

[65]Tac, "Conversion of the San Luiseños of Alta California," 102.

[66]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 20.

[67]Hill, The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs, 37-38.

missions.[68] Still, another account of Pala includes a favorable report from Fray Jayme Escudé, assigned to San Luis Rey in 1818, to Alta California Governor Pablo Vincente de Solá dated March 23, 1820, only eleven months before Mexico declared independence from Spain. In the report Escudé mentions a scarcity of water near the parent mission due to little rain, and the death of some cattle and many sheep as a result, this being particularly difficult as the mission population stood at 2,600 neophytes. The account goes on to state, however, that at San Antonio de Pala conditions were far better. In the past year over three-hundred adults had been baptized along with a significant number of children. And despite the loss of sheep at San Luis Rey, thus depleting the supply of wool for clothing, many more Indians might be taken in at the asistencia.[69]

Although political developments in Mexico greatly accelerated the process of mission decline throughout Alta California, San Luis Rey remained a thriving and prosperous outpost on the northern frontier, primarily due to its large Indian population. While other missions and their administrative districts, always at want for more Indian laborers, continued to see their labor pools dwindle, Peyri and his fellow padres witnessed a steady population growth among their mission's neophytes. Population decline at California's missions during the 1820s is attributable to several factors, most significant the continued appearance of both epidemic and non-epidemic diseases. Among the missions closest to the pueblo of Los Angeles, San Gabriel, San Fernando,

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[68]C. Alan Hutchinson, "The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians of Upper California, 1821-1835," Americas 21 (1965): 336.

[69]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 36.

and to a degree San Juan Capistrano, syphilis was the most egregious culprit.[70] Other reasons for the decline of these mission populations can also be ascribed to changes in the region's prevailing social structure. Due in part to the growth of the Los Angeles pueblo, surrounding ranchos, and the subsequent need for labor, both former mission Indians and gentiles—whom the Spanish called gente sin razón or people without reason—lived and labored alongside the Hispanic people of reason—the *gente de razón*.[71]

Among the increasing concerns civil authorities confronted was the rise of fugitivism among previously resettled Indians. Fugitivism was of course a factor for the missions from their first days in Alta California, little had it previously been directed toward active physical resistance or insurrection. By the decade 1820-1830, native peoples of interior valleys and mountain ranges, some of whose numbers surely included fugitive neophytes, had embraced a policy of physical resistance. Some of these fugitive neophytes were also responsible for introducing horses, weapons, and military tactics to the interior's unconverted groups.[72] Moreover, violent resistance by this time had become a more serious concern for authorities at the mission themselves. While not unknown to missionaries and civil authorities during the early years of Spanish colonization in California, by 1824 with the spectacular Chumash uprising at Missions Santa Ynez, La Purisma, and Santa Barbara, authorities were as cognizant as ever of the

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[70]George Harwood Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 33-34.

[71]David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 307.

[72]Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization, 30-33; Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in Heizer, Handbook of North American Indians: California, 104.

possibility for Indian revolt.[73] Further economic concerns, less dire perhaps than violent revolt, required that each mission rely solely upon its own resources, many participating in the hide and tallow trade, and some in illicit transactions as well.[74]

Unlike its viceregal predecessor, Mexico's revolutionary government attached far less significance to Indians' economic importance than it did their servile condition. Spurred by egalitarian and humanitarian beliefs of the early nineteenth century, the Mexican government initially sought to improve the lives of its Indian peoples throughout its territories. The government immediately granted citizenship and the rights that were attached to it, expecting that once Indians were released from the control of missionaries they might then become useful members of society. Bestowal of citizenship rights, it was believed, should also include the ownership of land.[75] With this in mind, the first Mexican governor of California, José María de Echeandía, issued a Proclamation of Emancipation on July 25, 1826, stating that some Indians within the military districts of San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Monterey, should be released from mission supervision.[76] Later, in 1828, these regulations were extended to include the district of San Francisco south of the bay.[77] Still, only those neophytes thought to be able to support

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[73]James A. Sandos, "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian White Relations in California, 1769-1848," in Ramón Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, eds., Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 203-210.

[74]Steven W. Hackel, "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California," in Gutiérrez and Orsi, Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush, 129.

[75]Hutchinson, "The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians of Upper California," 335, 340.

[76]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 36.

themselves were to be set free, this determination being left solely to the discretion of the missionaries.[78]

Despite the Mexican governments new proclamation, and surely to the pleasure of Peyri and the other padres, at San Luis Rey the mission *padróns*, or rolls, tell a different story. Anomalous to demographic economic trends at other missions during the same period, from 1820 to 1830 San Luis Rey's population, including its satellite villages and ranchos, never dipped below 2,603 neophytes in 1820. In 1823 the mission *padrón* gives both Pala and *De Cupa ó Del Valle*, the area encompassing the main Cupeño village adjacent to the hot springs as well as the area of San Jose del Valle, populations of 336 and 317 respectively. The following year the mission roll put neophyte numbers there at 364 and 316.[79] This is the first instance where any significant numbers of Indians from the two primary Cupeño villages, Cupa, later referred to by the Spanish as Agua Caliente, and Wilakalpal, are represented in the mission *padrón*. Some Cupeño did enter Mission San Diego shortly after the Mariner-Grijalva expedition in 1795, but it was only after 1821 that any sizable group was baptized at San Luis Rey, and the expansive valley where they lived used for the mission's large sheep herds.[80] In 1826, the same year as the governor's proclamation, the entire mission complex saw its population peak with a number of 2,869, this year giving Pala alone a population of five-hundred people.[81]

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[77]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 73.

[78]Hutchinson," The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians of Upper California,"

[79]*Padrón*, San Luis Rey, 1823, 1824, Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

[80]Florence C. Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 23-24.

Responding to a decree ordered by the territorial legislature regarding the extent of the mission property and land, in his report dated December 22, 1827, Peyri gave a detailed account of San Luis Rey and its holdings, including the current conditions at Pala:

> At a distance of seven leagues, toward the northeast, at the entry of the sierra madre, the Mission has San Antonio de Pala, with a church, dwellings, and granaries and with a few fields where wheat, corn, beans, garbanzos, and other leguminous plants grow. There [is] also a vineyard and an orchard of various fruits and of olives, for which there is sufficient irrigation, the water being from a stream [Pala Creek] which runs to the vicinity of the Mission.[82]

Seemingly aware of the changing political climate which he and the mission were now subject, Peyri further reported, "The Mission Indians at present own 22,610 head of cattle, 27,412 sheep, 1,120 goats, 280 pigs, 1,501 horses of all kinds, and 235 mules. All these animals are distributed over the ranchos, sites, and stations described."[83] Supporting Peyri's contention that Pala, along with its parent mission, experienced continued prosperity during this tenuous period is the account of the Luiseño Indian Julio César. A San Luis Rey neophyte born at the mission in 1824, some fifty years after his birth, César described the thriving asistencia: "Pala, which had a large orchard, the same

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[81]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 65, 220. On p. 65 Engelhardt provides the number for the mission population in his correction of American trapper James Ohio Pattie's estimate for the population of the entire mission complex.

[82]Ibid., 50-51 (translation from Santa Barbara Mission Archives).

[83]Ibid., 53 (translation from Santa Barbara Mission Archives). It is important to note that during last two decades of the Mission Era, San Luis Rey possessed the largest number of livestock of any mission in Alta California. In 1832, the last year of any known official count, the mission's collective herd stood at it highest level, 57,330, with 27,500 counted as cattle alone.

as [Rancho] Santa Margarita, besides a corner set off for planting beans and corn. In this rancho there was a large number of Indians, . . ."[84]

Despite the tremendous growth and prosperity at Mission San Luis Rey, it was not immune to the political upheavals witnessed by all of Alta California's missions. In fact, because of its size, wealth, and importance, it may have been the recipient of even greater scrutiny from Mexican civil authorities. During the first several years of the Mexican republic civil administration was virtually in name only, and the missions, especially those distant from ports of entry, experienced little interference from government authorities who were themselves in short supply. By 1824, however, pressure to change the missions' labor system was not their sole concern. That year Mexico's passage of the Colonization Act sought to stimulate immigration to their frontiers by increasing the availability of land.[85] Initially this prospect may not have seemed particularly threatening to some of the missionaries. Peyri's own liberal tendencies, or at least the appearance of them, were displayed in 1826 when he chose to take the required oath in support of the Mexican Constitution. Further, he adopted the phrase of the Mexico's republicans: "Dios y Libertad," God and Liberty! He even expressed enthusiasm for the national cause.[86] Still, despite this patriotic enthusiasm, Peyri shows the limits to his own liberal idealism in his 1827 report when he draws a clear distinction between mission lands and Indian property. It appears that while he may have been willing to hand over mission livestock to the Indians, Peyri does not seem, however, inclined to hand over mission lands.

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[84]César, "*Cosas de Indios de California*."

[85]Douglas Monroy, Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in the Frontier of California (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 122.

[86]Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 194-195.

The real assault on mission land began after the arrival of Governor Echeandía in 1825. By 1826 he and a group of influential Californios began pressuring the Mexican government to open mission land for settlement. Two years later, when news of the expulsion of Spaniards from Mexico reached Peyri, he demanded his passport, ironically, even though Governor Echeandía specifically asked Mexico City that Peyri be allowed to remain in California.[87] In January 1831, Echeanía published a secularization decree designed to make pueblos of the missions, give their surplus lands and livestock to Indian families, and leaving the padres to administer only the mission proper.[88] In the midst of this political turmoil, in 1832, three years after his initial request for his passport and thirty-four years after the mission's founding, Peyri along with two young Luiseños, Pablo Tac and Agapito Amamix, left San Luis Rey. Setting sail from San Diego on January 17, neither Peyri nor the two Indian boys returned to California.[89] Only one year before Peyri's departure, San Luis Rey recorded its largest population of neophytes ever, numbering 2,819. Though there are no records available beyond 1832, it is certain that San Luis Rey never again retained such high numbers of neophytes.[90] Although

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[87]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 75. Geiger (Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 195) claims the Spanish expulsion was announced in 1827.

[88]John W. Caughy and Norris Hundley, California: History of a Remarkable State, 4th edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1982), 73-74.

[89]Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 195. It is important to note here that Peyri eventually brought both Tac and Amamix to Rome for formal training for the priesthood. Amamix, in Rome, fell ill and died in 1837, while Tac lived another four years, eventually succumbing to probably smallpox in late 1841. A brief biography of Tac's remarkable life can be found in Gordon and Minna Hewes' introduction to "Conversion of the San Luiseños of Alta California."

[90]*Padrón*, San Luis Rey, 1831. The population count for 1832 stood at 2,788, only thirty-one short of the previous year's count, though surely the numbers dropped off precipitously each successive year.

Echeandía's 1831 decree had been annulled by his successor, Governor Manuel Victoria, the move toward secularization was hastened with an official decree in 1833 that did secularize missions in both Alta and Baja California. Secularization and disposal of mission lands and livestock was finally carried out by Governor José Figueroa. Hoping to emancipate California's natives gradually, Figueroa believed half the missions' lands and all the livestock should be distributed among the Indians, while the surplus lands should be sold for profit to benefit the Indians. Figueroa's altruism was never realized though, as his death in 1835 stopped short any genuine humanitarian efforts. Various administrators, some of whom had been political allies of Governor Echeandía, were appointed to carry out the division of mission lands and conveniently ignored earlier efforts to distribute property among the Indians, keeping much of it for themselves.[91]

As drastic a change as the new lives for both Tac and Amamix, so too were the changes for the Luiseño and other Indian groups throughout Alta California. While the majority still lived among their ancestral villages and rancherías, with the exception of their participation in European-style agriculture, most Luiseños, Cupeños, and Diegeños in San Diego County continued to live largely within their traditional cultural orientation. Arguably, by the close of the mission era, however, most native peoples in southern California, to varying degrees, would soon find themselves largely outside the realm of Spanish and later Mexican influences.

After secularization, Indians throughout southern California were confronted with a variety of choices regarding where they would live and work to sustain themselves. For many Indians the choice was either to stay in the former mission communities or to

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remove to the interior to live among groups who had only limited contact with Europeans during the mission era. The former scenario was, in many respects, the more difficult one. Although the Luiseño and the Cupeño lived in communal settings prior to European contact, like those at Pala still living in these same locations, none had lived in such large groups. Further, mission society altered traditional hierarchies within these groups, headmen no longer came from once important lineages, instead these new self-made, often opportunistic leaders established control not by consensus and kinship ties, but through personal followings and sometimes force.[92] Certainly, too, resentment among the Indians toward any semblance of the former mission structure was a factor. Pablo de la Portilla, stationed in San Diego and head of the garrison since 1831, was charged with secularizing Mission San Luis Rey from 1833 to 1835, in a letter to Governor Figueroa, dated December 20, 1834, he stated:

> I have sent various alcaldes to the sierra in order to see if, with sweetness and gentleness, we might succeed in having them return to their homes; but the result was the opposite of my desires. Nothing would suit them, nothing would change their ideas, neither the well-being which must result from their good behavior, nor the privations which they suffer in their wanderings. All with one voice would shout, "We are free! We do not want to obey! We do not want to work!"[93]

Although Portilla was able to persuade Indians at Pala, Cupa and Wilakalpal to plant and later sow some fifty *fanégas* (bushels) of winter wheat that same season, for many native

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[91]James R. Young, Dennis Moristo, and G. David Tenebaum, eds., An Inventory of the Mission Indian Records, American Indian Treaties Publications Series, no. 3 (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1976), 1.

[92]Tac, "Conversion of the San Luiseños of Alta California," 99; Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 25; Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 45.

[93]Quote from Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 96.

peoples the prospect of returning to missions lands was not a consideration.[94] Clearly unmoved by either word or deed, the mountains and interior valleys proved to be welcomed safe havens for the Indians. According to a former San Luis Rey neophyte, Julio César, who lived on the mission lands when they were administered by government appointed officials, their suspicions and fears were well founded:

> When I was a boy the treatment given to the Indians at the mission was not at all good. They did not pay us anything, but merely gave us our food and a breechcloth and blanket, the latter renewed every year, besides flogging for any fault, however slight. We were at the mercy of the administrator, who ordered us flogged whenever and however he took a notion. Pio Pico and those who followed him were despots, and in addition Señor Pico required us to carry our hats in our hands whenever we met him as long as we remained in sight.[95]

Other means for survival were available to Indians. For some, working as *vaqueros* on large ranchos was an alternative to remaining at the former missions. California's rancho system and the powerful rancheros who owned the former mission tracts came to dominate the region for the next decade and more. As the missions had once done, the ranchos provided a social, political, and economic community for many Indians who developed a sense of loyalty toward the paternalistic rancheros. But the rancho system, equally as oppressive as the missions, offered most Indians few opportunities to escape the same type of exploitation they had suffered in previous decades.

Native peoples did offer resistance to Mexican hegemony much as they did with the Spanish from the earliest days of the missions. Unlike the mission era, however, native defiance took shape in legal protest. Some former San Luis Rey Indian bands did

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[94]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 97.

in fact protest to the Mexican governor of California regarding the confiscation of Indian lands and the appropriation of their herds. As administrator of San Luis Rey, from 1834 to 1840, Pio Pico purchased Rancho Santa Margarita with cattle he had taken from the mission herd. Afterwards he laid claim to two more ranchos, San Mateo and Los Flores.[96] After Pico was replaced as the mission administrator in 1840, Indian alcaldes from Pala and Temecula warned Mexican officials their people were up in arms and would not allow his cattle onto their lands.[97]

During the early years of secularization thousands of mission Indians joined interior groups, wandered into Mexican pueblos and towns seeking work, and still others remained on former mission lands laboring among the ranchos. By the later years of secularization many of the rancheros pushed their cattle herds eastward into territory occupied by Indians traditionally unfriendly to Europeans. Though rancheros and Mexican officials alike feared these Indians and their numbers, many hoped to maintain their herds on these lands. As a result of this expansion hostilities between interior native groups and Californios increased throughout southern California.[98] For many of these Indians horse raiding and cattle theft became profitable and regular enterprises.

By the 1840s southern California's native peoples were again beginning to adjust to and accommodate new cultural, political, and economic realities. There is little doubt, based upon sources from Indians and Europeans alike, that native culture in and around the area of San Luis Rey, as late as the 1820s and 1830s, had not been severely altered.

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[95]César, *Cosas de Indios de California*.

[96]Ibid.; Antonio María Osio, The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California, trans., ed., and anntd., Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 333.

[97]Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 121.

Unlike other indigenous groups, the mostly Luiseño and Cupeño Indians did not suffer the same degree of acculturation that other groups may have experienced in different regions or at different missions. And despite the significant loss of human life, especially among the Luiseño, many Indians survived because of actual mission policies. Moreover, native peoples continued to live and work close to their traditional homes, and in some cases like Pala, Cupa, and Wilakalpal, never having left their ancestral lands, rather than completely altering their world-views, many simply incorporated elements from the dominant alien culture.

At the close of the Spanish-Mission Era, physical encroachment rather than forced cultural assimilation became a greater concern for the Indians. After the breakup of San Luis Rey many Indians, left to their own devises, chose to stay on the former mission lands, a few living among Indian pueblos hastily carved from these same mission properties. There they eked out an existence from the crops they learned to plant from the Franciscans. Fewer still received land grants and attempted to enter mainstream Mexican-Californio society as landowning citizens. Still others, discontent with the harsh lifestyle and the often brutal treatment suffered at the hands of Europeans, fled the coastal range to the interior mountains and valleys seeking refuge among groups hostile to whites, and in the process created new power structures and new kinship systems as well.

By the end of the Mexican Era most Indians at Pala and the neighboring rancherías, largely dispossessed of their land, waited for change and, perhaps, opportunity. The same kind of opportunity many had hoped for over a decade before with the secularization of the missions. The corrupt appropriation of their land by powerful Californio's, however, left many to essentially the same life of peonage they

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[98]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 40-43.

knew among the missions. Not unreasonably some Indians, especially the Luiseño and Cupeño, might view the arrival of newcomers as a novel opportunity.

CHAPTER IV

LATE CALIFORNIO AND EARLY ANGLO-AMERICAN ERA

Compared to Texas few foreigners settled along the Pacific Coast during the 1820s and early 1830s, in part due to the Mexican government's reluctance to approve land grants. By the mid-1830s, however, Anglo-Americans had become an influential economic presence throughout much of California, many satisfied in their role as merchants in the region's growing shipping trade with, primarily, the United States' Northeastern Seaboard. By the1840s, this time much like Texas, California's governors began to open tracts of public lands, much of it once mission property, to private development. With these grants the two governors hoped to attract more colonists to bolster the still isolated northern outpost, while also rewarding political supporters and repaying loans or gifts. During this last decade of Mexican-Californio political control over the region, about a third of the land that was given away went to Anglo-Americans.[99] As more Anglo-Americans began to control greater amounts of land throughout the southern California region, Indians experienced new relationships with their white neighbors. Although Anglo-Americans were, in fact, interested in broadening their economic base, Indians were not the sole recipients of their efforts. Having already experienced a significant depletion of their own land base during the Mexican Era,

[99]David J. Weber, The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 180-190.

Indians largely maintained a lifestyle established during this period throughout much of the early Anglo-American Era as well. If any tensions did occur between Indians and whites, it was often based upon racial and cultural concerns rather than simply on the displacement of Indians or the misappropriation of their lands. In fact, it was not until after the end of the American Civil War that southern California's Mission Indians witnessed any significant effects upon their own land tenure.

Excluding Indians, through natural increase and immigration California's population grew from 3,320 in 1821 to roughly 7,300 in 1845. Numbering just under 700, California's Anglo-American population would nearly double in 1846, the year war broke out between Mexico and the United States.[100] With much of the Anglo-American immigration focused in northern California, in the south, especially in the San Diego region, Indian relations remained the primary concern for many large landowners.[101] This concern would also remain through the Anglo-American period as many of these large landowners retained their sizable tracts. Unlike their predecessors, however, United States government officials, in theory, sought greater administrative control over the region's Indian groups. Different from Mexican officials who worried over Indian labor, American officials concerned themselves more with the issue of Indian land. Also a changing factor during the Anglo-American period was the growing number of white settlers and townspeople in communities like San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and Los Angeles. Unlike rancheros, the rank-and-file citizenry who populated these towns were almost exclusively newcomers to the region, and most were unfamiliar with the accepted standards of Indian-white relations. For these people, while the availability of land was

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[100]Ibid., 206.

always an issue, so too was the idea of law. For many Americans in this quasi-frontier region, semi-civilized Catholic Indians living in proximity to white communities according to their own laws was, at best, an uncomfortable thought. In theory similar to their Mexican predecessors, although different in application, by altering the Indians land base as well as their social, religious, and legal culture, many expected the Mission groups would quickly succumb to Anglo-American hegemony. Few believed despite a dwindling land base and the continued assault on their traditional ways, even those where they looked to accommodate white culture, many Indians continued to live their lives much as they had in previous generations, when the impact from previously dominant cultures was, arguably, less severe.

By the end of the Mexican Era traditional alliances among native groups gave way to new loyalties, many forged between rancheros and those Indians who inhabited their granted lands. One notable incident occurred in December of 1846, shortly after the Mexican-American War's bloodiest battle at San Pasqual, near San Diego, involving several bands of Luiseño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla Indians.[102] Eleven Californios who fought at the battle hid on the Pauma Rancho in the San Luis Rey River Valley just north of Pala, bringing with them cattle, sheep, and horses. Located on the rancho were two Luiseño villages, Pauma and Potrero. There a group of Luiseños, led by village captain Manuelito Cota and Pablo Apis, whose stepfather was the leader of the Luiseño from the

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[101]Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "Alta California's Trojan Horse: Foreign Immigration," in Ramón A. Guitiérrez and Richard J. Orsi, eds., Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 313-319.

[102]Lisbeth Haas, "War in California, 1846-1848," in Guitiérrez and Orsi, Contested Eden, 344-45. Here Haas provides a brief but informative essay on the Mexican-American War, from the Bear-Flag Rebellion through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. For a more thorough history of the Mexican-American War in California

Temecula village, captured the Californios. At that point the eleven Californios were forcefully removed, likely because of Cota's good relations with the Cupeños, to a location somewhere near Cupa, where they were killed. Shortly after hearing of the eleven men's abduction, a contingent of Cahuillas from a nearby village set out to aid the Californios but arrived too late. Also following the killings, Luiseños from Pauma confiscated several hundred head of cattle belonging to the eleven Californios and the owner of the rancho, while other Indians from Pala, Los Flores, and Temecula settled on some of the rancho's remaining tracts.[103]

Soon after news of the murders reached Los Angeles, José del Carmen Lugo, of Rancho San Bernardino, was ordered to capture or kill those Indians responsible. Near Aguanga, Lugo and fifteen Californios along with fifty Cahuillas led by Captain Juan Antonio, ambushed a large group of Luiseños and Cupeños on their way to Temecula. Poorly armed though not outnumbered, the Luiseño and Cupeño suffered heavy losses, with a total of thirty-eight killed. Among those who escaped, however, was Manuelito Cota.[104]

Although the Luiseño and Cupeño shared numerous cultural and linguistic attributes with the Cahuillas, they did not share a similar history with the Spanish and later the Californios. At this time the traditionally more isolated Mountain Cahuillas, of the three groups, were the least affected by mission and Mexican influences. Viewed by

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through statehood, see Neal Harlow, California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846-1850 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[103]Benjamin I. Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 4, 761-762, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; George Harwood Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 47-49.

rancheros as more formidable foes than either the Luiseños or the Cupeños, the Cahuillas were treated as allies by the Californios. When American forces under Kearny and Stockton arrived during this time the Cahuillas saw them as invaders while the Luiseño and Cupeño, many of whom had lost a great deal of land to the Californios, instead, saw the Americans as liberators.[105]

It is no surprise that the cause for animosities between Californios and the Luiseños and Cupeños was land, much of it traditionally held by the Indians. Although rancho grants were in fact made to a few Indians, and several pueblos were set aside for the Luiseño and Diegeños, including Pala, Los Flores, San Pasqual, and San Dieguito, by the late Mexican-Californio period, many of these Indians, their livestock already appropriated, were driven from their lands by harassment and legal maneuverings.[106] When the United States Army took administrative control over parts of California, they also took over the task of administering the sizeable "Mission Indian" population in the south. Six months after the incidents at Pauma and Aguanga, in August 1847, military officials appointed J. D. Hunter, a former captain in the Mormon Battalion, as Indian subagent for the lower district of Alta California. Assigned specifically to take charge of all Indians in and among the former lands of Mission San Luis Rey, Hunter set out to live

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[104]Ibid., 50; Horace Parker, The Temecula Massacre (Balboa Island, CA: Paisano Press, 1971), 6-8.

[105]William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1972), 149. Here Strong states that his Luiseño informants, though some seventy-five years had passed, "still state bitterly that the Cahuilla were treacherous to those who should have been their allies," after the massacre at Aguanga.

[106]Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 1, 126-127, part 4, 762; Florence C. Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 26-27.

among these people.[107] What he found were isolated Indian communities, many living on only a fraction of the land that was ancestrally theirs, and in many circumstances legally, theirs.[108] In a federal communiqué based on a report from Hunter, dated January 31, 1848, just two days before the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the communiqué further noted there were "[e]fforts to improve Indian conditions. Says that he [Hunter] has been raising a small crop of wheat in the mission farm at Pala, and has induced the Indians to do the same on their own."[109] Even with Hunter's good intentions, coupled with the lack of men and resources to administer the mission groups, American policy in the southern district only intensified the problems most Indians faced.[110] With the discovery of gold in California that year, of course, thousands of immigrants, Anglo-American, European, and Mexican, headed to California along the southern route. When they crossed the Colorado River, near its junction with the Gila, they moved across the desert to San José del Valle where they encountered Cupeño and Diegeño villages. Occasionally these Indian-white encounters ended in violence. Many whites, believing they had left the "Indian problem" behind them, yet continuing to encounter more hostile, if merely inhospitable, Indians on their journey west, resented any Indian and were inclined to seek revenge on the nearest one, often when they reached California. Some whites headed to the coast, down the San Luis Rey River Valley, passing Pala and other

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[107]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 67; Zephyrin Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1921), 144.

[108]For a recent discussion of this broader topic, see Susan Scafidi, "Native Americans and Civic Identity in Alta California," North Dakota Law Review, v. 75, no. 3 (1999): 423-448)

[109]J. D. Hunter, January 31, 1848, Los Angeles, Doc. 4078, Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

Indian villages, while others still proceeded north to Los Angeles and the gold fields still farther to the north.[111]

Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Alta California's Mexican citizens became citizens of the United States, in theory, with all the same rights afforded.[112] For many Californios, however, the Americanization of California brought with it devastating losses of land, property, and social status, resulting in many fleeing their former homes.[113] For California's Indians the losses suffered were far worse. With no guarantee of the same citizen rights afforded Mexicans and a population decline of 80 percent during the first decade of statehood, southern California Mission Indians found themselves again forced to society's lowest economic and political levels. This time, however, at the hands of a culture whose racial attitudes and biases rationalized and even condoned their cultural and physical eradication.[114]

In 1849 the United States Department of the Interior was created, and was given supervisory powers over Indian affairs previously held by the War Department.[115] That same year special agent William Carey Jones was sent to California to gather information

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[110]Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 29; Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 67.

[111]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 71; James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 128-29, 140-141.

[112]William Henry Ellison, "The Federal Indian Policy in California, 1846-1860 (Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1918), 16.

[113]Haas, Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 57.

[114]Rawls, Indians of California, 81-108; Ellison, "The Federal Indian Policy in California,"16-17.

[115]For a thorough discussion of federal Indian policy as it relates to California during this period see, Robert A. Trennert, Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian

regarding the land rights of Indians, Mexican settlers, and rancho grantees, under the laws of Spain and Mexico. Jones, in addition to acting as an agent for the United States government and with little consideration to any conflict of interest, also tried his luck as a private citizen and speculator of former mission lands, including the Indian pueblo at Pala. He later resold this and other claims for considerable profit. After conducting his own private business, Jones carried out the task required of him by the federal government, sending a report back to his superiors in Washington likely providing information that Congress used to establish legal procedures to validate private land claims in the newly acquired territory.[116]

After California officially became a state on September 9, 1850, military government immediately ceased, effectively taking administration of Indians throughout the state away from military subagents.[117] Mission Indians in San Diego County, including the Luiseños, Cupeños, Cahuillas, and Diegeños, although not recognized as citizens, were still classified as county residents by local assessors and consequently were required to pay county taxes. Continued land speculation and a growing influx of Americans throughout the state caused the displacement of even more Indians from their lands. Apparently in response to this, in 1850 the California Legislature passed the Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, which allowed unscrupulous local law

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Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-1851 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975).

[116]Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 29-30.

[117]James R. Young, Dennis Moristo, and G. David Tenebaum, eds., An Inventory of the Mission Indian Agency Records, American Indian Treaties Publications Series, no. 3 (American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1976), 2; Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission, 162.

enforcement officials to mark off boundaries according to the amount of land Indians "needed."[118]

In southern California discontent with Americans was, perhaps, at its worst. Further tax assessments, coupled with an alarming number of white immigrants passing through their country and treaties made only with Indian groups to the north, alienated San Diego County groups severely enough to spark a revolt. The Garra uprising represented the first aggressive act by Indians in southern California against Americans, save an earlier incident with Quechans along the Colorado River, who only several years earlier had been regarded as friends and liberators. From November to late January 1852, mostly Luiseño and Cupeño Indians under the leadership of the Cupeño chief or headman, Antonio Garra, waged an unsuccessful campaign to oust Anglo-Americans from their traditional lands.[119] The main incident was limited to the ranch of John J. Warner, a naturalized Mexican citizen, originally from Connecticut, who was himself under some scrutiny from American soldiers during the Mexican-American War.[120] The deaths of several Americans at the hands of Indians thought by many to be for the most part peaceful, if not acculturated Indians, was alarming. The uprising further convinced many Americans living in the region that Mexicans continued to incite Indians to maintain a hostile attitude toward U.S. citizens.[121] As unlikely as this might seem

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[118]Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 160.

[119]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 71-94. Here Phillips gives a full account of the uprising, from its various causes to the repercussions suffered by Indians as a consequence.

[120]Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 2, 399.

[121]Joseph J. Hill, The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs (Los Angeles: Privately Printed, 1927), 137, 201-203.

considering that many Luiseños and Cupeños allied themselves with the U.S. during the Mexican-American War, the Indians later confirmed American concerns.

By the end of December 1851, most of the uprising's principle Indian participants, with the exception of Antonio Garra, had either been killed during skirmishes or tried and sentenced. Garra's trial took place in January 1852, under the auspices of the federal army and state militia rather than by local civil authorities.[122] That same month, Oliver M. Wozencraft, one of three federal representatives sent to California to implement treaties with various Indian groups, made haste to San Diego County when made aware of recent events in the state's southern region.[123] There, on January fifth, he completed the Treaty of Temecula with the north county Luiseños, Cupeños, and Cahuillas, and on the seventh, the Treaty of San Ysabel with southern county Diegeños.[124] In addition to Wozencraft, John J. Warner and three other Americans were present as witnesses at the signing in Temecula. Representing the three Indian groups of northern San Diego County were twenty-eight "Chiefs, Captains, and Head Men," among them, Pablino of Pala and José Noca of Agua Caliente, also known as Cupa. Although a number of the Indians were literate in Spanish, some having even been educated at Mission San Luis Rey, all twenty-eight signed the treaty with only their mark, as none understood English.[125]

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[122]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 94.

[123]Robert F. Heizer, "Treaties," in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: California, v. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 702-704.

[124]Institute for the Development of Indian Law, A Chronological List of Treaties and Agreements Made by Indian Tribes with the United States (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1973) 54-58.

[125]Ibid., 54-56.

In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Luke Lea, Wozencraft later explained that, according to the Indians, the primary cause for the Garra uprising was the assessment of county taxes, which they viewed as entirely unjust. Further, the Indians complained that the United States had failed to recognize land rights guaranteed by General Kearny during the Mexican-American War. Lastly, in reference to the Americans' earlier concerns that Mexicans were inciting the Indians to rebel, the Indians stated that some of the local Californios had in fact spurred them to revolt, evidently convincing them their only other alternatives were either slavery or death.[126] Despite Wozencraft's efforts, however, after considerable protest to the U.S. Senate from local citizens and the California State Legislature, the federal government shelved the two treaties, while giving the Indians absolutely no indication that they had not been accepted.[127]

In spite of the United States Senate's inability to ratify the Treaties of Temecula, Santa Ysabel, and sixteen others throughout the state, over the next nearly fifteen years, most southern California interior villages, including Pala and Agua Caliente, and a few near the coast, continued to use their lands relatively undisturbed. While many Indians were dispossessed of their lands by whites, some chose to abandon traditional lands and move to the interior. This was the case with the Luiseños Indians living at Las Flores, who, in 1854, moved enmasse to Pala at the urging of Manuelito Cota.[128] With these few

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[126]U.S. Congress, Senate, Oliver M Wozencraft to Luke Lea, Middle District, California, February 18, 1852, Senate Executive Document 4, 33rd Congress, Special Session, 1852, 287-288.

[127]Richard L. Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land: American Indians in San Diego, 1850-1880 (Newcastle, CA: Sierra Oaks Publishing Company, 1987), 46-48.

[128]Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 1, 126-127.

exceptions, though, during this period, most Indians throughout North County remained in villages farming, maintaining some livestock, and participating in many of the same cultural practices their people had during previous colonial eras.[129] In many circumstances Indians, especially those from Pala, continued to hunt on lands up and down the San Luis Rey River Valley, sometime in areas owned by whites. Significantly, too, the Indians held fiestas at Mission San Luis Rey, often attended by local whites, where the old Spanish-Californio pastimes of bullfights and bear lassoing continued.[130] With this factor in mind, federal officials cautiously viewed the region's Indian population as manageable:

> [T]he San Luis Rey Indians . . . are Christians; raised to work; all cultivate more or less; all are good horsemen, and make good servants; very fond of liquor, easily managed when sober, but great fools when drinking. This year their crops have failed, owing to the want of water. There are some of them in a starving condition, and are obliged to steal to maintain themselves and their families.[131]

Cave J. Couts, Sr., owner of Rancho Guajome near Mission San Luis Rey, and the first federal Indian subagent of San Diego County, in a letter to California's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Henley, bluntly stated that while the Indians "infested" the county, the Luiseños were probably the most advanced group in the state. More importantly, though, Couts also noted that the Indians were the county's ranchos main

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[129]Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 32-33; Heizer, The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 Between the California Indians and the United States Government (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1972).

[130]Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 1, 251-252, part 2, 128.

[131]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1856 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), 243. Hereafter cited as ARCIA.

source for vaqueros.[132] Couts' mention of vaqueros was, of course, merely a portion of the tasks Indians performed on southern California's numerous rancheros. An indispensable component of the hide and tallow trade until its collapse in the 1860s, Mission Indians were equally vital to other aspects of the region's economy, acting also as shepherds and sheep-shearers, vineyard laborers, and household servants.[133]

Though a federal presence was maintained in southern California, Indian agents and military officers, often at odds with one another, were spread thin, concentrating much of their attention in northern California. Consequently efforts at administering Indians in San Diego County were often left to local subagents, like Couts and others, who were often prominent citizens or friends of the state's federal agent.[134] When subagents were unavailable, problems that might arise between Indians and whites or solely among the Indians themselves were left to the devises of local law enforcement officials. Further, Indians received conflicting information, often in the form of ultimatum from federal and local officials, one usually opposed to the other's policies.

One such incident occurred at Pala in 1858, though this time the dispute centered not on a land or labor dispute, but rather a conflict between indigenous belief systems and American law. On September nineteenth an affidavit was made before a judge in the town of San Diego stating that three Indians were about to be hanged at Pala for the crime of being *hichiceras*, or witches. The county sheriff, dispatched by the judge to halt

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[132]Ibid., 240.

[133]Robert Glass Cleland, The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880 (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1941)102-137; Terry G. Jordan, North American Cattle Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 241-266.

the execution and take the Indians into custody, arrived at Pala to find a large group of Indians awaiting the hanging. Surprisingly, the Indian subagent was aware of the situation and had previously agreed to abide by the Indian court's decision over which Cota presided.[135] Conspicuously absent among the Indians, however, was their headman Manuelito Cota, who, having received word that American authorities were on their way to Pala, fled. While evidently choosing to avoid a direct confrontation with the sheriff, Cota, through one of his captains, expressed his severe indignation at the interference of the American civil authorities, as the three accused were tried and found guilty by an Indian jury at Temecula. According to the sheriff the accused were a mother, son, and daughter all having been confined to the jail for several weeks, receiving little food or water during that time. It was also reported that the three had long been suspected of evildoings at Pala, and that Cota, having been ill a short time, believed himself bewitched and ordered them arrested.[136] Later Cota asked the Indian agent what good was the purpose of having specified Indian officials if their authority was to be undermined by local lawmen. Fearful of further erosion to his authority among the Luiseño people, Cota, to the dismay of the Indian subagent, resigned as headman.[137]

It appears that Cota's frustration was not unwarranted, particularly concerning the issue of witchcraft and retaliatory killings. Long a part of indigenous belief systems among virtually every group in southern California, fear of falling under the spell of a

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[134]Young, et. al., An Inventory of the Mission Indian Agency Records, 3; Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land, 50-56.

[135]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 148.

[136]Alexander S. Taylor, "The Indianology of California," California Farmer, Journal of Useful Sciences, February 15, 1861, 34, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

witch or shaman lasted well into the twentieth century. Further, if a family member died as a result of believed witchcraft or ineffective shamanry, it was not uncommon for family members to kill the accused.[138] It appears that the Indians' acceptance of trial by jury and hangings were merely contemporary manifestations of an age-old custom. Why Cota did not understand the white authorities' intervention in this incident is supported, in part, by Judge Benjamin Hayes who served as an unofficial Indian subagent just prior to the appointment of Cave J. Couts. Hayes noted that on a visit to Pala shortly before the Garra uprising, a white storekeeper in the area had told him an Indian, who allegedly confessed to killing seven others by his own spell, was hanged by the order of the village captain.[139] If true, as Hayes believed it was, the execution occurred without any intervention from American authorities. And while it was several years before the incident with Cota, with the verbal support of the federal Indian agent, it appears reasonable that the Luiseño headman expected no trouble from local law enforcement officials.

Unlike civil authorities from San Diego, some members of the town's citizenry were in total agreement with the Indian subagent regarding Cota's conduct as leader of the Luiseños:

> Manuelito, the chief, is an Indian of superior mind, and for personal appearance, manners and education, will rank with many of the *gente razon* in the State. He has always been friendly to the whites, and has rendered the authorities material service. He has the Indians comprising the San

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[137]Phillips, Chiefs and Challengers, 149.

[138]Philip Stedman Sparkman, The Culture of the Luiseño Indians, University of California Publications is American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 8, no. 4 (Berkeley: University Press, 1908), 215-218. This author can further attest that today at Pala many tribal members believe strongly in the notion of "witching" or curses.

[139]Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 2, 384.

> Luis tribe completely under his control, and is feared and respected by the neighboring tribes. His word has always been law with them, and he has administered justice, according to his own notions, without any interference from civil authorities, until now; and we understand that he feels much aggrieved, considering that his power is gone, and his reign at an end, and has expressed his determination to abdicate.[140]

By the close of the 1850s, in his annual report, the commissioner of Indian affairs conceded that the administration of Indians in California during the previous decade was ill conceived and at times even embarrassing. He noted that still, neither the U.S. government nor state and local officials, had established any real efforts to secure certain rights for Indian peoples.[141] Partially in response to the commissioner's concern, in June 1860, a congressional act was passed authorizing the reorganization of Indian affairs in California allowing the Secretary of the Interior to divide the state into two districts, northern and southern. Once a new superintending agent for the southern district was named, it was his responsibility to appoint one supervisor for each reservation at an annual salary of $1,800. It was the reservation supervisor's job primarily to instruct the Indians in agriculture and animal husbandry.[142] Yet, despite the supervisors' presence on the numerous reservations throughout San Diego and San Bernardino Counties, the superintending agent maintained his office in San Francisco, making frequent visits to the state's southerly reaches virtually impossible. This fact was readily admitted by the southern district agent, who in a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, could only

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[140]Taylor, "Indianology of California," February 15, 1861, 34. This excerpt was taken from a news editorial printed in the San Diego Herald in 1858 shortly after these events.

[141]ARCIA, 1859, 6.

[142]Ibid., 1860, 20, 231.

base his determinations of Indian conditions presumably on reports from reservation supervisors, local law enforcement officials, or mere speculation:

> As yet it has not been in my power to visit the entire district entrusted to my charge. The Indians residing in the vicinity of San Bernardino, San Diego, and along the seashore of the more southern portion of Los Angeles County, I am happy to say are reported as being peaceably inclined and contented.[143]

Also hindering administrative efforts in California was the outbreak of the American Civil War, which turned government priorities toward issues more pressing than Mission Indians. Still, the lack of federal funds did concern some officials who worried some Indians might be induced, as others had been before them, to rebel against the government in its preoccupied state.[144]

For Indians and whites alike it was regional rather than national concerns that proved to be far more compelling. During the early 1860s California suffered through a series of infectious and environmental episodes that wreaked havoc on humans, livestock, and agriculture. Beginning in 1861-1862, heavy rains brought severe flooding throughout much of the state, and in San Diego County destroyed countless vineyards, timber stands, and homes. Cattle drowned by rising streams and rivers numbered some 200,000 head throughout the state. The flood of 1861-1862 was then followed by two years of unparalleled drought. Stock prices, already affected by flood the previous year, plummeted even further as the drought continued. Worse still was the smallpox epidemic that ravaged much of southern California during the same period. Cave J. Couts, in a letter to Abel Stearns of Los Angeles, noted that the remoteness of his Rancho Guajome,

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[143]Ibid., 1861, 144.

[144]Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land, 56.

some five miles inland from the coast, kept the disease at relative bay.[145] Judge Benjamin Hayes loosely corroborated Couts contention, stating that the smallpox epidemic "has been overstated."[146] He further noted that the outbreak was worse at San Juan Capistrano, then considered part of southern Los Angeles County, than anywhere else. There 141 victims fell to the disease, 130 of them being Indians. Hayes stated that in San Diego County smallpox attacked only eight persons, all whites, at Rancho Monserrate on the San Luis Rey River Valley, some thirteen miles east of Couts' Rancho Guajome. Among the Indian villages and rancherías of the region the disease reached Temecula, with only two or three cases, but not Pala. This Hayes attributed to Manuelito Cota's enforcement of a quarantine that he recommended along with some vaccinations.[147]

The superintending agent for California's southern district seemed entirely unaware of conditions in the region, make no mention of the same severe climatic and health issues noted by local citizens. He instead implied that in San Diego County the primary concern remained Indian-white relations over land:

> Nearly all of these Indians are by nature agriculturalists, and it would require but little aid and instruction from the government to render them contented and peaceful tillers of the soil, and I desire to call your special attention to the paramount necessity of providing some isolated and advantageously situated locality as an Indian reservation for this beneficial object. The two races, whites and Indians, cannot live harmoniously together, and the only salvation for the latter is complete separation from the former.[148]

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[145]Cleland, The Cattle on a Thousand Hills, 130-133.

[146]Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 3, 752.

[147]Ibid.

[148]ARCIA, 1862, 326.

The agent was correct, but only to the extent that the Indians were in fact agriculturalists. Although conflicts between Indians and white over land did on occasion occur, and while the Indians did experience some land loss, for the most part records indicate that Indians continued to support themselves through patterns that developed during the Spanish and Mexican Eras.[149] In addition, they certainly supplemented these sources of livelihood with fishing and hunting, sheep shearing, orchard and vineyard work, and various other types of labor on local ranchos. Moreover, during this same period, Indians received little or no aid from local, state, or federal sources.[150] Federal agents, focusing their attention solely on episodes of racial conflict, either real or perceived, generally lent to an atmosphere where these concerns were overstated. This, coupled with the great distance between the southern district's headquarters located in San Francisco, and the numerous Indian groups, some of whom lived only miles from the Mexican border, made inaccurate statements commonplace. In fact, if problems with Indians did arise in the district, they often concerned groups along the Colorado River and not those in San Diego County.[151]

By the close of the American Civil War, southern California's Mission Indians had, once again, settled into sustainable, if uneasy living patterns. Much as they had done after the secularization of the missions, Indians adapted to a changing set of circumstances, requiring them to alter certain aspects of their own culture. Still, many elements remained unchanged, most importantly with regard to their village dwellings. At places like Pala, Temecula, and Agua Caliente, drastic changes to the Indians' social

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[149]Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 32-33. Shipeks sources include the Federal Census of Agriculture and San Diego County Court and Tax Records.

[150]Ibid.

structure did not occur. Arguably the transition from the Mexican period to the Anglo-American period was easier than previous transitional periods as economic trends did not change significantly until the mid-1860s. Importantly, this change was more the result of natural phenomena than human intervention, at times disturbing little the Indians' livelihood.

When conflict between Indians and whites did occur, it often focused on cultural differences rather than illegal land appropriation. Moreover, Indian agents, headquartered some 500 miles to the north in San Francisco, did not always receive accurate information from local officials, forcing them to rely heavily on rumor and innuendo sometimes provided by local whites seeking to acquire Indian lands.

With an end to the nation's internal conflict to the east, federal officials began to focus more on issues related to California's Indians. By 1865, many of southern California's Indians would again witness various kinds of social change, although this time these changes would be far greater than those experienced during the first fifteen years of Anglo-American hegemony. Witnessing an even greater influx of whites into the region than in previous decades, pueblos, villages, rancherías, and the few land grants held by Indians, would come under a determined assault from land hungry settlers. Shortly their ability to sustain themselves on their ancestral lands through customary means, all the while practicing their traditional culture, would be severely jeopardized as sequestration on federally sponsored reservation became the primary tool for Indian control.

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[151] ARCIA , 1863, 100-101.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST RESERVATION PERIOD

The end of the American Civil War did not bring the kind of prosperity to California many anticipated it would. For both Indian and white Americans the ensuing decade would test the economic resourcefulness of both groups. Yet in southern California the Mission Indians were forced to demonstrate a different kind of acumen. Arguably, during the first decade of California's statehood, many Mission Indian groups experienced little change to their traditional orientation. Though there were clearly exceptions, many fled the coastal region during the Mexican Era and lived among the interior's isolated mountains and valleys largely undisturbed by whites. There the Indians practiced agriculture, raised small herds and flocks, and established strong social and economic ties with the region's still influential rancheros. Groups also continued to negotiate among themselves many of the traditional social and cultural concerns that might arise during every day life. This was often done with little or no resistance from federal officials, some of whom may have viewed the Indians' traditions as a pragmatic means for maintaining peace, if not the status quo. By the beginning of the 1860s, the American Civil War, fought mostly in the nation's eastern half, kept federal officials largely preoccupied, thus allowing the previous decade's course to continue relatively undisturbed. After the war's end, however, the United States government was able to focus more attention on California's "Indian problem" as it did throughout much of the

American West. Moreover, an increasing influx of white settlers into southern California placed additional strains on Indian-white relations, as traditional relationships fostered by economic necessity gave way to strongly held beliefs that the two groups could not live together. Despite these conditions Mission Indians did resist these and other attempts to change their collective land base and traditional ways.

Drought conditions throughout the state continued through 1865, decimating the once dominant cattle industry that employed so many of the region's Mission Indians. In response to this, as well as poor agricultural conditions, Special Agent John Q. A. Stanley, of the newly created Mission Indian Agency, requested that the government provide seed and tools to assist the Indians in their planting.[152] In April 1865, while distributing the seed and implements to the Indians, Stanley visited a number of Luiseño villages including Pala, where he found the Indians there less concerned with agricultural production than with recent events surrounding federally influenced tribal politics.[153] Unbeknown to him many Luiseños were disgruntled over Special Agent William E. Lovett's removal of their "Chief," Francisco of Temecula, and the reappointment of Manuelito Cota as headman for all the Luiseños. To address this and other issues, Stanley called for a general meeting at Temecula of all the Indian leaders throughout San Diego County.[154] It appears, however, that Stanley was more interested in gaining an accurate count of the Indians and their livestock, orchard trees and vineyards when they

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[152]Charles Francis Seymour, "Relations Between the United States and Mission Indians of Southern California" (Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1906), 61.

[153]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indians Affairs for the Year 1965 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 121-122. Hereafter cited as ARCIA.

[154]Richard L. Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land: American Indians in San Diego, 1850-1880 (Newcastle, CA: Sierra Oaks Publishing Company, 1987), 57.

met at Temecula than he was in discussing tribal politics. He reported that at Pala there were 73 men, 89 women and children, 56 cattle, 57 horses, 70 sheep, and 56 fruit trees. At the Cupeño village of Agua Caliente, there were 73 men, 75 women and children, 70 peach trees, 2,240 grapevines, 25 horses, and 42 cattle. And at San Luis Rey there were 75 men, women, and children, along with 62 head of cattle and 45 sheep. In all, some 1,200 Luiseños and Cupeños, in addition to two hundred Cahuillas and Diegeños, representing a total of seventeen rancherías, convened at Temecula.[155]

Agent Stanley reported that "each tribe or family was allowed to come forward at the meeting and state their complaints and grievances . . . mostly of petty character, [but] some more serious."[156] Strangely, while he notes no specific complaints from Pala, we know from later reports that the Indians there remained focused on Cota's reappointment as headman.[157] This, of course, was not the first time the he had stepped down from the position only later to be reappointed by federal officials, presumably when it suited both parties. Remembering that Cota resigned as headman in 1858 after the "witching" incident at Pala, he was again reappointed several years later. His second resignation was again the result of his authority with the Luiseños being undermined by the Indian agent. This incident, according to the subsequent agent, occurred when Cota, a strictly temperate Indian, sought the agent's help in imposing these same standards among those tribesmen who regularly imbibed. When the agent refused to sanction some of his decisions regarding the consumption of alcohol, he resigned.[158] Stanley, as mentioned

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[155]ARCIA, 1865, 124.

[156]Ibid., 122.

[157]Ibid., 122, 1866, 102.

before, remained less concerned with the Indians' intra-tribal politics than with their population, land base, number of livestock, and potential agricultural output, implying that, perhaps, the federal government was preparing to implement a new land policy among the Mission Indians.

Congress, under the auspices of Indian Superintendent Edward Fitzgerald Beale, in 1853 and 1855, authorized the establishment of a military reservation system in California. No reserved tracts of land, however, were established south of the Tejon Pass.[159] After nearly two decades of ineffective federal administration and recognized neglect, in 1865 it became the job of agent Stanley to make recommendations for the formulation of a more effective policy for handling southern California's Indians. Before the gathering at Temecula, Stanley rode alone on horseback from there to Pala where he visited Cota. After meeting with the new Luiseño headman at his home, he recommended that Cota be given a small salary for his duties. More important than the visit with Cota, however, was Stanley's cursory assessment of Pala: "The mission lands at Pala being public lands, and not on a public road, would be a very desirable location for a reservation for the San Luis Indians, so that when any of the small rancherías are abandoned they would have a home to go to."[160] The following year he made a formal

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[158]Ibid., 1865, 126-127.

[159]Robert F. Heizer, "Treaties," in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: California, v. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 704.

[160]ARCIA, 1865, 127; Zephyrin Engelhardt, San Luis Rey Mission (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1921), 239-239; Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1884), v. I, 381-92. This same year the United States Land Commission and the United States courts declared the prior sale of Mission lands in California illegal. Subsequently, all lands Spanish law regarded as church property, including those at San Luis Rey, were restored to the Catholic Church. It is not clear, however, whether Pala or any of the smaller *asistencias* were included in the

recommendation to his superior to make a reservation from these lands adjoining *asistencia* San Antonio de Pala and the Pala village.[161] California Indian Superintendent Billington C. Whiting, also a proponent of the proposed reservation system, agreed with Stanley's recommendations for making Pala its first reservation, but suggested that a portion of the San Pasqual Valley, some twenty-five miles south of Pala, be included in the new reservation site as well.[162] Whiting then sent both recommendations to the Indian Office in Washington and requested instructions for the future survey of the two proposed Mission Indian reservations.[163] He was to find out rather quickly, however, that after years of nominal federal activity in this part of California, change would not come solely at the behest of a superintendent and his field agent. In a letter to N.G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Whiting bluntly reminded his superior about the tracts and conveyed his concerns over the repercussions following the government's inaction:

> The Indians have owned that land for thirty-four years and have occupied it for more than half a century . . . In my special report of December 6, 1867, I suggested the propriety of having San Pasqual Valley and Pala set apart as a reservation for the Mission Indians, and in my letter to you, dated the fifteenth day of July last, I asked for instructions in reference to a survey, and as yet have received none . . . meanwhile, whites continue intruding on Indian lands.[164]

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commission's decision. It is certain, though, at various times after the initial allotments of Luiseño lands at the old Pala reservation in the late 1800s, the mission was "owned" by several whites.

[161]ARCIA, 1867, 113.

[162]ARCIA, 1868, 128.

[163]Ibid.

[164]Ibid.

Although Whiting's concerns were valid, most of the lands he speaks of under encroachment by whites were not the primary village areas Indians inhabited in and around Pala. Remembering that the Mission Agency encompassed a vast area including all of San Diego and San Bernardino Counties, many of the Indians Whiting spoke of lived in closer proximity to white communities or towns such as San Juan Capistrano and San Diego. Because of Pala's remoteness, and the fact that much of the land surrounding it was owned by only a few whites, many of whom had lived among the Indians for decades, the Indians were allowed to live largely without any outside influences from whites. Further, because of its smaller village population, numbering only 162 people in 1865, when compared to other Indian communities, like Temecula, with a population of 388, Pala's residents simply required fewer acres of land to sustain themselves through agricultural means.[165]

Concerns among San Diego County's white citizenry, however, were not focused solely on land issues. Instead, as was the case in previous years, local whites seemed more worried about relations among the Indians themselves, and not their dealings with ranchers or nearby white communities. According to a report published in the San Diego Star newspaper, a trial was held for a Diegeño from the village of San Pasqual accused of murdering a Luiseño man during a drunken brawl at Pala. Hearing that an all Luiseño jury had rendered a guilty verdict against their kinsman and sentenced him to death, a group of fifty Diegeños from San Pasqual headed to Pala where they demanded he be given up to them. After waiting three very tense days, the Luiseños offered up the culprit

[165]Ibid., 1865, 124.

to the Diegeño band who then brought him back to their village. The report further noted that what became of the man after his release was unknown.[166]

While the incident seemed to end peacefully, several important factors, some more familiar than others, revealed themselves. Like most native groups throughout North America, southern California Indians were categorized by whites simply as a single cultural entity, called "Mission Indians."[167] This, of course, belied the fact that there were as many as seven or more distinct culture groups indigenous to the region under the authority of the Mission Agency.[168] Traditionally, great enmity existed between many Luiseños and Diegeños bands, some of which, in spite of this fact, federal authorities hoped to eventually place on the same reservation. More apparent to whites, however, was the fact that "[t]he Indians judges were proceeding very discreetly and deliberately with the case," and that it was not known "whether the civil authorities have intervened."[169] Indian leaders were keenly aware that their own affairs remained under a great deal of scrutiny from local officials. And like the earlier incident with law enforcement officials that precipitated Manuelito Cota's resignation as headman, the Luiseños attempt to carry out the trial both quickly and quietly strongly implies the

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[166]Benjamin I. Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 3, 680, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. This information comes from a reprinted newspaper article found in the Hayes document.

[167]Edward E. Hill, ed., The Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880: Historical Sketches (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, 1974), 19-21, 23-24, 27.

[168]Florence C. Shipek, "History of Southern California Mission Indians," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: California, v. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 610-613; Alfred L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, Bulletin 78, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), 620-803. Using Kroeber for a very loose categorization, over a dozen groups could be placed under the umbrella "Mission Indian" culture.

continued resentment of white interference in their internal, and in this case even their external tribal affairs. Despite Indian efforts to maintain some semblance of authority that, unlike other aspects, was not subject to white intervention, as indicated in the same news editorial, public opinion among whites was not interested in the Indians' legal autonomy:

> A proper sub-agent should be appointed for them, to manage their affairs and protect them, or, the military commander should take them in charge. To us it seems very unsafe to leave this question of life and death in the hands of these untutored Indians. They should be brought more completely under the control of civil authorities.[170]

Important, too, was the newspaper's unhappiness with the federal government and its clear disapproval of the current Special Indian Agent, John Stanley. Surely to the dissatisfaction of many, Stanley actively sought the government's protection of Indian lands and at times their culture, if not their right to distribute justice among themselves according to their own laws and traditions.

In 1869, General John B.B. McIntosh replaced Billington Whiting as California's Indian Superintendent. In the summer of that same year McIntosh took his first official visit to southern California specifically to investigate that location of the reservations proposed by his predecessor and agent Stanley. Arriving first in Los Angeles on June 9, he then headed south to Temecula and Mission Indian country. Once at Temecula McIntosh immediately sent a runner for Manuelito Cota who lived near Pala. Cota arrived at Temecula later that afternoon and the two men discussed the current situation surrounding the various proposed reservation sites. McIntosh told his superiors that Cota expressed a general willingness among the Luiseños to move to a reservation where they

[169] Hayes, "Emigrant Notes," part 3, 680.

might continue their agricultural pursuits, but cautioned him that many of the Indians would prefer not to move from their present locations.[171]

The following morning McIntosh went by horseback to the Pala Valley in order to inspect the area firsthand. Noting that he "looked over the valley of Pal[a] very critically," McIntosh concluded that it was ill suited for a reservation. Specifically, he mentioned that while there was some good land for cultivation on the south side of the San Luis Rey River, totaling approximately eight-hundred to one-thousand acres, the bulk of the land was too rocky and gravelly for agriculture. Strangely, though, he counted only fifty Indians living at Pala, which stood in sharp contrast to the 162 people counted by agent Stanley just four years earlier. Perhaps McIntosh recognized, as later Indian agents would, that Pala could not sustain the number of Indians government agents in Washington expected it to. Remembering, too, even at the peak of its prosperity in the 1820s and early 1830s, Pala's neophyte population probably never exceeded 350 Indians. Moreover, during the mission period the *asistencia's* agricultural output was enhanced not only by a Franciscan designed irrigation system, long out of use by the time of McIntosh's visit, but assisted by neighboring mission ranchos as well.[172] Nevertheless, he speculated that with southern California's Mission Indian population standing at roughly 2,200 people, the area of Pala could not keep even half this number.[173]

After spending the evening at Pala, McIntosh proceeded to the San Pasqual Valley and the Diegeño ranchería. Making an assessment as he had at Pala, he

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[170]Ibid.

[171]ARCIA, 1869, 199.

[172]George Wharton James, Picturesque Pala: The Story of the Mission Chapel of San Antonio de Padua (Pasadena: The Radiant Life Press, 1916), 55-56.

determined that San Pasqual, with its abundance of water from the San Bernardino River, rich soil, and ample amounts of clay to make adobe houses, was better suited than Pala for a reservation. Although he deemed the San Pasqual tract large enough to accommodate only 1,500 Indians, with the government purchase of an additional twelve or thirteen thousand adjacent acres known as the "Hidden Ranch," this would make the reservation sufficiently large enough to maintain the entire Mission Indian population. General McIntosh's enthusiasm was tempered, though, by his understanding that San Pasqual was on public lands and warned Washington to secure title as soon as possible for much of the area was already being settled by whites.[174]

Based upon McIntosh's recommendation, and later surveys conducted by Special Agent Lieutenant Augustus P. Greene, who replaced Agent Stanley in late 1869, it appeared that government agencies were finally willing to act on the issue. On January 24, 1870, Joseph S. Wilson, Commissioner of the General Land Office, informed the Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Cox, that the lands for proposed Pala and San Pasqual Valley reservations could be set aside. It was earlier determined if the Hidden Ranch tract could not be obtained, government officials were to then go ahead and acquire the portion of the Pala Valley Superintendent McIntosh advised against.[175] After receiving the required land information from Commissioner Wilson, Secretary Cox recommended to President Ulysses S. Grant that the government set aside the Pala and San Pasqual

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[173]Ibid., 199-200.

[174]Ibid., 200.

[175]James R. Young, Dennis Moristo, and G. David Tenebaum, An Inventory of the Mission Indian Agency Records, American Indian Treaties Publications Series, no. 3 (American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1976), 4-5.

Valleys for Mission Indians. With that recommendation, on January 31, 1870, Grant issued an executive order creating the Pala and San Pasqual Valley Indian reservation.[176]

The Pala reserve encompassed nearly 46,000 acres roughly situated between Palomar Mountain on the east, Pala Mountain on the south, and Rice Canyon on the west, and the present day San Diego-Riverside County line on the north.[177] Not everyone, however, was pleased with the establishment of the combined reservation. Three months after the new agency office was moved to San Pasqual, agent Greene reported that settlers in San Diego county had employed an attorney to have Grant's executive order set aside, and that they had gathered much sympathy and support from many of the county's citizens. And to make matters more difficult, San Diego's newspapers commenced with a barrage of incendiary editorials drumming up further support against the reservation.[178]

Greene believed that several parties were responsible for giving the Indians false information concerning their eventual move to the two reserves. Indians, he reported, "had been told they were to be made slaves by the Government; smallpox was to be introduced in the clothing sent them; [and] their cattle were to be taken from them."[179] Greene lamented to his superiors, "to such an extent had they been tampered with, that they positively refused to locate on the lands set apart and secured for their especial use

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[176]Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 819.

[177]Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land, 65. According to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, 1870), the Pala Reserve officially embraced township 9 south, range 1 and 2 west, of the San Bernardino Base Meridian.

[178]ARCIA, 1870, 92.

[179]Ibid.

and benefit."[180] Among those feeding misinformation to the Indians he believed were settlers either already squatting on reservation lands or those in the vicinity, white men living with Indian women, persons employing Indians at little or no wages, and opportunistic lawyers and politicians.[181]

Still, not all whites in San Diego County opposed the collective reservation. As had been the case before, many of the county's large ranch owners supported the Indians right to claim their own lands. And according to Greene, some had advised the Indians to move onto the government lands.[182] Unlike the increasing number of homesteaders staking claims, both legal and illegal, throughout the county, most ranch owners still depended heavily on the Indians as ranch hands and laborers. Equally important as the actual wages Indians earned was the continuation of a relationship that had, by this period, come to represent a traditional element of Mission Indian culture. For some rancheros, keeping Indians on as vaqueros, ranch hands, and in some cases house servants, sometimes meant employing Indian family members for a second, and in some cases, a third generation. In another report, Special Agent for the Mission Indian Agency, Reverend John G. Ames mentioned this very circumstance:

> The sentiments entertained by very many white men in Southern California toward the Indians are well illustrated in the conclusion to which the proprietor of a ranch near Temecula came in presenting the subject to me from his stand-point. It is well to mention that a family of Indians has occupied one corner of his ranch "from time immemorial." His wise and humane conclusion was that the owner of large ranches should not drive "their Indians"

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[180]Ibid.

[181]Ibid.

[182]Ibid.

> away, but should keep them to work for them, and set apart certain portions of the ranch for them.[183]

By noting their occupancy of his land and referring to them as "their Indians," it is clear some ranchers possessed not only a sense of time, but of tradition, if not sentiment, as well. Arguably, Indians too harbored these same feelings, not just to the land, but also toward the ranchers. Unfortunately, for both the Indians and ranchers time and tradition were, in this circumstance, irreconcilable as more settlers poured into the region.

Through most of 1870 federal officials worked to ready the reserves for the Indians' arrival. At Pala the Indian agent determined the current Luiseño population to be approximately 150 people, most of whom, when in residence, lived in brush houses on just under a quarter section of land in the village proper. In the entire Pala Valley there were forty whites still residing on the reserve lands. Agent Greene warned that apparently none of them were making any preparations to move as ordered by California's superintendent of Indian affairs. Still, compared to the San Pasqual reserve, where as many as 117 whites lived, he was guardedly less concerned with the Luiseño's situation noting, "[e]xperience shows that the two races cannot live together or in close proximity and prosper, and the Indian invariably gets the worst of it . . . At Pala, which is comparatively isolated, they hold their own and are doing well, . . ."[184] In its annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, the Board of Indian Commissioners optimistically stated that white settlers living at both Pala and San Pasqual might easily be bought out of

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[183]Ibid., 1873, 31-32.

[184]Ibid., 1870, 93. In the 1871 Annual Report the agent Greene makes essentially the same statement: "[T]he Mission Indians . . . are doing well, which may be attributed . . . more particularly to the fact that Pala is quite isolated form the routes traveled by whites" (342).

the few improvements to the land settlers made as the county had experienced drought the previous two years.[185]

Due to mounting pressure from virtually all parties affected by the collective reservation, including Indians, homesteaders, local politicians, and the San Diego press, on February 13, 1871, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ely S. Parker, recommended to the Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, that the orders for the two reserves at Pala and San Pasqual be revoked. Four days later, on February 17, hardly a year since his earlier executive order, based upon a concurring recommendation from Secretary Delano, President Grant issued another executive order, this time restoring both the Pala and San Pasqual Valley Indian reserve lands to public domain.[186] The Indians at Pala and the rest of San Diego and San Bernardino Counties would see no further attempts to establish a permanent land base for them for another four years.

More problematic for federal officials was the internal strife among the Luiseño precipitated by the whole reservation ordeal. Shortly after the proposal to move various Indian groups to either San Pasqual or Pala, two factions developed among the Luiseño, one amenable to the move and another opposed to it. Agent Greene reported that the 150 Indians living at Pala were reasonably fit and preparing for spring planting. His concern focused on headman Manuelito Cota, leader of the group that favored removal to a reservation, and Oligario Calac, the acknowledged leader of the Luiseño group opposed to any kind of Indian reserve. Cota, it appeared, had been threatened by members of the rival faction and complained that "he was a virtual prisoner in Pala," and wanted the government to "take decisive measures toward placing Pala reservation in working

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[185]Ibid., 1871, 154. This information is an excerpt from the Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners printed in the ARCIA.

order." Cota further alleged that a number of Luiseño from neighboring rancherías desired to move to Pala but did not because they feared Oligario Calac's band. This contention may have been in reference to Pauma, just north of Pala, where the Indians, if compelled to leave their homes preferred to go to Pala, but according to Greene were neutral in their preference between Cota and Calac.[187]

A protracted struggle between Manuelito Cota and Oligario Calac took place over the leadership of the Luiseño Indians. With many influential whites and the newspapers behind Cota, and what appeared to be the majority of Luiseño behind Calac, the conflict pitted "reservationists" against "anti-reservationists," and put federal officials and much of the county's citizenry on edge for over two years.[188] In light of recent events in other parts of California, most significantly the Ghost Dance's arrival in the state's Central Valley and northern border with Oregon, whites in more remote regions of southern California had good reason to view any tensions with Indians as problematic.[189] Nevertheless, remarkably similar to earlier circumstances, the federal government was unable to realize any structured policy to provide a permanent land base for the Indians, this fact even stated by its own agents:

> [T]he Government [has] never recognized the possessory rights of the Indians, and that is the consequence they have

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[186]Kappler, Law and Treaties, 819-820.

[187]ARCIA, 1871, 342-343.

[188]For a more detailed discussion of these events see, Carrico, Strangers in a Stolen Land, 69-72, and "Report of Special Agent John G. Ames in Regard to the Conditions of the Mission Indians of California, with Recommendations," in ARCIA, 1873, 29-41.

[189]For a full treatment of both these occurrences see, Cora A. DuBois, The 1870 Ghost Dance, University of California Anthropological Records, v. 3, no. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), 1-151, and Richard Dillon, The Burnt-Out Fires: California's Modoc Indian War (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

> been, and are still, obliged to abandon lands which they have held in immemorial possession, and to remove from places to which they are specially attached, as the home and burial-ground of their ancestors, and this without any provision made for them elsewhere.[190]

Agent Ames feared the Indians, if placed under further pressure from white settlers' blatant malfeasance and subsequent federal inaction, might lose an already deeply fatigued traditional social structure. To this point he stated:

> They maintain their tribal relationship and self-government only in modified form . . . Tribal bonds are becoming gradually weaker, and at no distant day it is probable they may be readily persuaded to dissolve this relationship altogether. It would not, in my view, be wise to attempt this dissolution at present.[191]

In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian affairs, Mission Indian Special Agent D.A. Dryden wrote of holding conferences with Indian captains from Pala and other rancherías throughout the county. While he agreed it was essential that the government set aside lands for them, he concluded the government should approach the establishment of reservations for the Mission Indians in a different manner:

> [T]he chief difficulty in the way of a general reservation is that the Indians themselves are universally opposed to such a disposition. I could get but one expression from them on this point – most decided opposition. They are made up of remnants of different tribes, speaking different languages, and do not want to live together. They are very strong in their claim and attachment to their homes. They could be put on a reservation only by choice.[192]

Similar to Dryden, Agent Ames, two years earlier, demonstrated some minor ethnographic and linguistic skills in his own report: "The Indians of San Pasqual and

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[190]ARCIA, 1873, 29-30; Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 36.

[191]Ibid., 36.

Santa Ysabel belong to the Diege[ño] tribe, . . . while those of Agua Caliente are Coahuila [Cahuilla] Indians . . . The two tribes speak different dialects; . . .[193] Ames, though incorrect on several points, correctly made the distinction that the Indians from Santa Ysabel were Diegeños and not Cupeños. Further, while he incorrectly identified the Indians of Agua Caliente as Cahuillas and not Cupeños, the two groups did speak closely related, yet distinct, dialects. In fact, it was not until some fifty years later that anthropologists definitively established that the Cupeño language was more closely related to Cahuilla than Luiseño.[194] Unusual, too, was Ames' favorable description of a Luiseño dance he attended:

> Returning to Rincon, I had the good fortune to witness in the evening one of the traditional dances in which the Indians take so much delight. It was conducted in an orderly manner, nor was it carried to excess, and could hardly be regarded by any as other than a safe and commendable amusement for them.[195]

Additional recommendations made by Agent Charles A. Wetmore, the commissioner of Indian affairs, the American Missionary Association, and many others, urging congress to act on behalf of the Mission Indians, finally had an impact.[196] On December 27, 1875, President Grant again issued an executive order, this time creating nine Mission Indian reservations throughout San Diego. Two reservations, Pala and

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[192]Ibid., 1875, 223-224.

[193]Ibid., 1873, 32.

[194]Ibid. See also, Alfred L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 689-708.

[195]Ibid.

[196]Ibid., 1875, 3-12.

Potrero, were placed near one another in the San Luis Rey River Valley, while two more, Agua Caliente and Santa Ysabel, were located at the river's headwaters in San José del Valle. Also included in the executive order were two smaller San Luis Rey River Valley villages at Rincon and La Jolla.[197] Remembering the incident between the Luiseño and San Pasqual Diegeño at Pala a decade earlier, government officials, perhaps influenced by Dryden's report, began recognizing the cultural distinctions and animosities that existed among these groups, and for this reason chose to maintain them, many on their ancestral lands, separate from one another. While "Mission Indian" may have been a term suitable for administrative purposes in Washington, in Indian country what whites viewed as subtle or vague cultural variations, the Indians often saw as glaring contradictions to traditional social and cultural mores.

Just one year later, in May 1877, newly elected President Rutherford B. Hayes issued his own executive order reducing the Pala reservation and several others in size. Between 1878 and 1883 Presidents Hayes and James A. Garfield issued several more executive orders either adding to or reducing the size of additional Indian reservations in San Diego and San Bernardino Counties, including the Luiseño village at Rincon and Cupeño lands at Agua Caliente.[198] At Pala, the May 1877 executive order reduced the Pala Reservation to 240 acres, followed by another signed by Garfield in 1882 reducing

[197]Kappler, Laws and Treaties, v. I, 820-821.

[198]Ibid., 822; Seymour, "Relations Between the United States and Mission Indians of Southern California," 90-104. Here Seymour provides a detailed discussion of the various laws, executive orders, treaties, and acreage, as they affected each reservation among the Mission Indians.

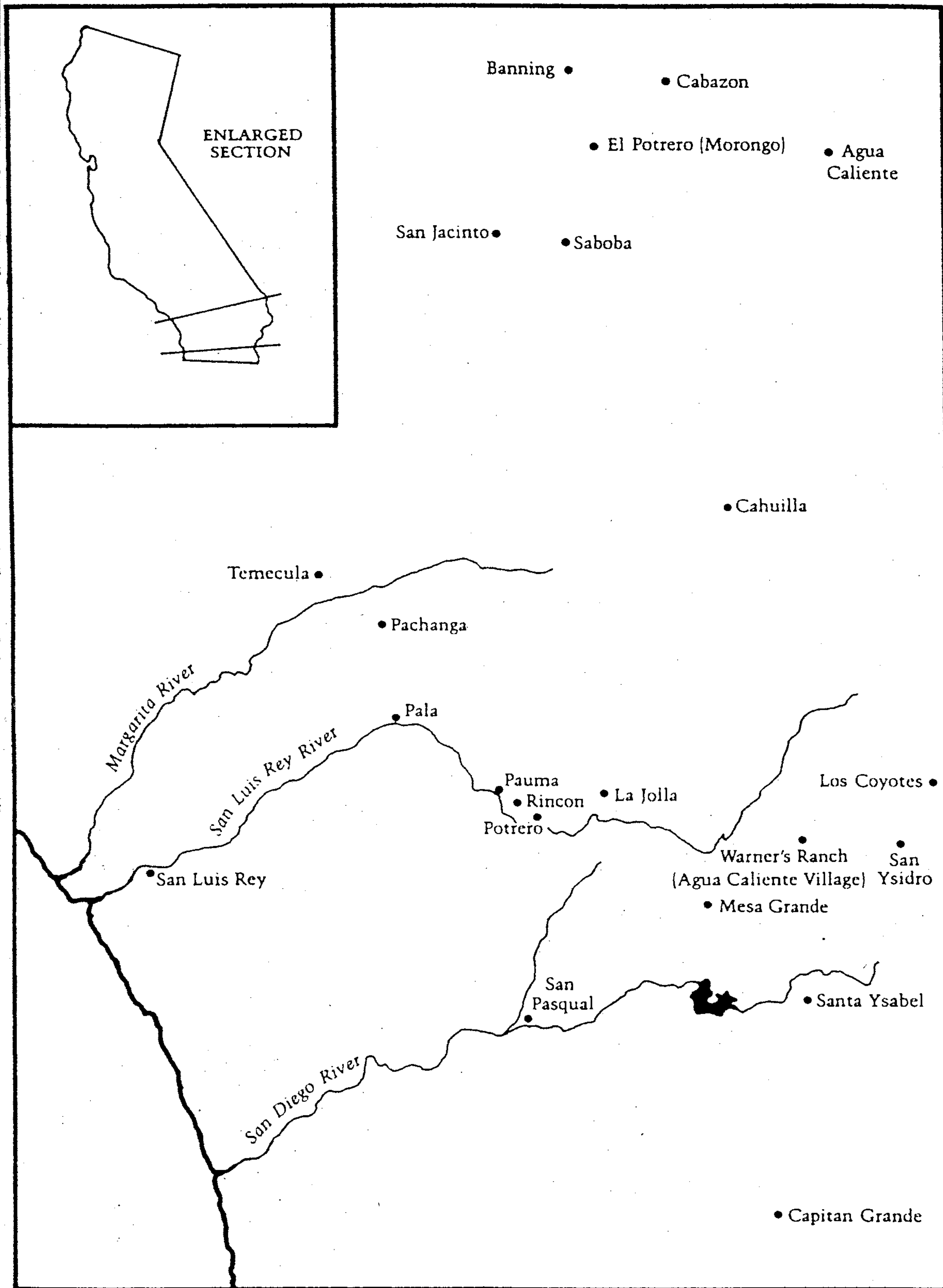

Figure 3. Southern California Mission Indian Villages, 1880s. Source: Valerie Sherer Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), xi.

the reservation even further to a mere 160 acres.[199] With fifty-two Luiseño living at Pala, 160 acres of land, the same amount given to individual settlers throughout southern California and much of the West according to the Homestead Act of 1862, could hardly be considered sufficient to support them.[200] In his 1881 report to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Mission Indian Agent Samual S. Lawson stated that many Indians were "forced to abandon their little reservations for want of affording them support," some finding more productive agricultural areas on unsurveyed government land.[201] He suggested the government set aside the lands these Indians occupied for their purposes. Reminded by his superiors that, "it is not the policy of the government to create small and isolated reservations," Lawson was told to encourage the Indians to take up land under the Indian Homestead Act.[202] He quickly informed Washington, however, that "while these people have adopted civilized habits in a great measure, they are not yet willing, in individual cases, to sever their tribal relations and assume the role of citizenship."[203]

Unconvinced it was receiving all the necessary information to administer adequately the Mission Indians, the federal government appointed Helen Hunt Jackson of Colorado Springs, Colorado, and Abbott Kinney of Los Angeles, California, to visit the

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[199]Seymour, "Relations Between the United States and Mission Indians of Southern California," 67, 95.

[200]For a brief discussion of the Homestead Act see, Richard White, It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 143-150.

[201]ARCIA, 1881, 13-14.

[202]Ibid. The Indian Homestead Act of 1875 extended the benefits of the 1862 Homestead Act to Indians who, in turn, were required to forfeit their tribal affiliation, and subsequently receive lands that would be inalienable for five year.

[203]Ibid., 13.

various bands and assess primarily their social and economic conditions.[204] From March to May of 1882, Jackson and Kinney visited eighteen Indian villages and rancherías throughout San Diego and San Bernardino Counties. Traveling often on horseback to remote sections of these two counties, the two agents or designated representative met with countless Indians regarding a myriad of different topics including their land base, treatment by government agents, interaction with white settlers, and subsistence patterns.[205]

Jackson and Kinney's collaborative effort produced the "Report on the Condition of the Mission Indians of California," officially filed on July 13, 1883, and contained legal briefs, letters, affidavits, and eleven detailed recommendations for the improvement of conditions among the various bands.[206] The recommendations that most directly affected Pala included: an immediate survey of existing reservations, the removal of white settlers living on reservations, and a patenting of all reservations to tribes now living on them, with the United States government to hold the patents in trust for twenty-five years and the inclusion of a provision for allotments in severalty of those lands whenever it was deemed advisable.[207] The last of these three recommendations proved to

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[204]Ibid., 1883, XLV.

[205]For an excellent account of the Jackson-Kinney journey among the Mission Indians of southern California and a discussion of their final report to the federal government see, Valerie Sherer Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 38-75.

[206]For an edited version of this report see, Robert F. Heizer, ed., Federal Concern about Conditions of California Indians, 1853-1913: Eight Documents (Socorro, NM: Ballena Press, 1979), 75-93; Reports of the Committees of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session of the Forty-Eighth Congress and Special Session, March, 1885, 120-196.

[207]ARCIA, 1883, XLV-XLVI.

have the greatest impact on Pala, carrying with it implications, particularly those surrounding water, that would affect the Indians living there for another hundred years.

From the Jackson-Kinney report a bill was drafted and submitted by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price to the Secretary Of the Interior Henry Teller. A day later it was sent to President Chester A. Arthur who in turn submitted it to Congress on January 14, 1884. The bill passed the Senate the following July, but failed to pass the House. That fall a Senate subcommittee visited southern California and the Mission Indians, reporting their sad state just as Jackson and Kinney had done. With the recommended trust period lengthened to thirty years, the bill was resubmitted on December 21, 1885, by President Grover S. Cleveland. This time the bill failed to pass either house. Although Helen Hunt Jackson died four months before the bill's submission by President Cleveland, the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), the Indian Rights Association (IRA), and other influential reformers worked to see the bill pushed through Congress. Determinedly presented by the Indian Office annually, on January 12 1891, the "Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians in the State of California," finally passed both houses.[208]

For reformers and government officials alike, the most significant aspect of the bill related to the long-term impact on the Mission Indians, was the appointment of a federal commission authorized to select reservations for each band or village.[209] Upon their selection, each reservation would be patented by the federal government and placed

[208]Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy, 75-76; Kappler, Laws and Treaties, v. I, 383-385.

[209]For a thorough discussion of the political, social, intellectual, and economic forces behind federal Indian policy during the allotment period see, Frederick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

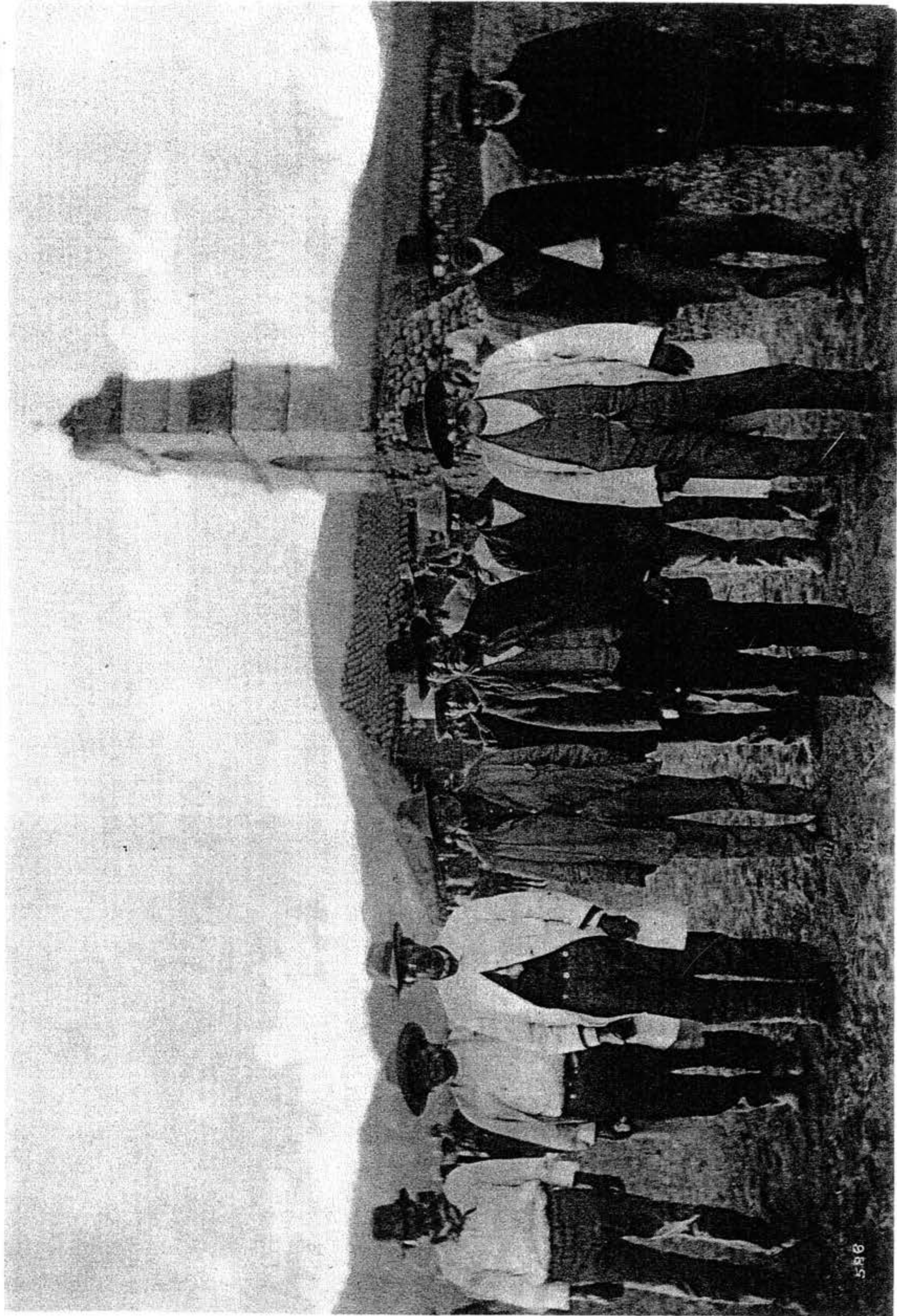

Figure 4. Captain Pedro Pablo and his headmen from Pauma at Pala for a tribal meeting, ca. 1885. Photograph possible by C.C. Pierce. Courtesy Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles, CA.

in trust for a period of twenty-five years. Further, Indians residing on a reservation deemed "advanced in civilization" could receive individual allotments from tribal lands, in the amount of no fewer than 160 acres for grazing to heads of family, and to single persons no fewer than 80 acres.[210]

The commission, popularly known as the Smiley Commission, was composed of Albert K. Smiley, member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, founder of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians and businessman from Redlands, California; Judge Joseph B. Morse of Lapeer, Michigan; and Professor C. C. Painter of Washington, D.C. All three were active reformers and members of the nationally oriented IRA based in Philadelphia. Arguably all three men made a determined effort to reserve Indian lands and protect individual rights within these reservations.[211] Whether the three men were equally successful in obtaining and preserving Indian water rights essential for the reservations' agricultural practices, is left to debate. While Indian reformers and government officials focused most of their attention on future concerns surrounding Indian lands, most failed to recognize with the relief bill's passage in 1891, land issues ceased to be the most significant problem for the Mission Indians. Although there were glaring exceptions, when compared to their overall population, few Mission bands witnessed the type of illegal land appropriation they had experienced in previous years. Instead, what many Indians witnessed, particularly those groups living in the San Luis Rey River Valley, was the misappropriation of their water rights. Consequently Indians faced the enormous task of supporting themselves agriculturally with little or no water. Despite these hindrances, however, Indian resistance to federal policies continued.

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[210]Kappler, Laws and Treaties, v. I, sections 2-4, 383-384.

Allotments, forced removals, and other assimilationist policies, particularly the constant pressure to alter or relinquish their cultural practices, in many instances, only strengthened the Indians' resolve to maintain a semblance of their traditional lives and communities.

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[211] Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 39.

CHAPTER VI

OLD PALA AND THE CUPEÑO REMOVAL

The 1891 Act for the Relief of Mission Indians was heralded by Indian advocates and government bureaucrats as the best means for protecting the Indians of southern California. As the Smiley Commission carried out the act's procedures, many believed they could secure not only better lands for the Indians, but also better lives as well. And, at first this seemed to be the case. Although previously decreased land bases precluded their continued participation in herd ranching, Mission Indians experienced a resurgence in agricultural activities. Cereal crops and fruit orchards were not only the Indians main source of subsistence goods, but of cash as well. Some groups regularly harvested sufficient amounts to feed themselves and sell the surplus at local markets. In addition, Indians continued to form a major portion of the region's labor pool for local ranching, including cattle, fruit, and sheep shearing, road building, and semiskilled and unskilled labor.[212]

Although it appeared the relief act would lead the Indians to new prosperity as they traveled the road to civilization, ironically, the same act allowed the federal government, and through it private citizens and corporations, even greater prerogatives on Indian land. Specifically, section eight of the relief act gave federal officials

[212]Florence C. Shipek, "History of Southern California Mission Indians," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: California, v. 8 (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 611.

unprecedented discretion concerning the development and use of water either on or near Indian lands:

> [T]he Secretary of the Interior authorizes any citizen of the United States, firm, or corporation to construct a flume, ditch, canal, pipe, or other appliances for the conveyance of water over, across, of through such reservation for agricultural, manufacturing, or other purposes, upon condition that the Indians owning or occupying such reservation or reservations shall at all times during such ownership or occupation, be supplied with sufficient quantity of water for irrigating and domestic purposes.[213]

Wasting little time in an effort to capitalize on these new government concessions to private enterprise, the San Luis Rey Water Company, a partnership based in Illinois, shortly after the relief act's passage distributed a company prospectus to potential purchasers of their water throughout the San Luis Rey River Valley. Touting the 150,000 miner's inches of water it "obtained by appropriation and purchase," the company proposed storing this annual sum in a series of reservoirs where it could be held for irrigation.[214] Among the company's many inducements, they promised to provide "farmers and all persons desiring water [an] unlimited and practically inexhaustible supply . . . derived from a water shed two hundred and ten miles of which is above the diverting dam at Warner's [Ranch]."[215] The prospectus further explained:

> The water company [has] secured the co-operation of gentlemen of wealth, energy and ability to carry forward unto a grand completion the most important enterprise ever

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[213]Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, v. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 385.

[214]San Luis Rey Water Company: Prospectus, 1891, 1-2, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. A "miner's inch" of water equals 1/50th of a cubic foot of water per second, or 2,260 cubic feet, or 12,926 gallons, exactly 12,926.304 gallons, in twenty-four hours (from the Partridge Papers, Box 336, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

[215]Ibid., 2.

> presented to the residents of San Diego County. It now remains for the landowners in the territory that lies below the water company's future system of conduits to come forward and co-operate with the company in pushing this great work. The aid asked for, while of mutual benefit, is of far greater advantage to the landowner. It increases many fold the value and producing power of the land, paving the sure road to wealth.[216]

Either collectively as a tribe or individually as allottees, Indians living below this future conduit system stood little chance of retaining water rights when faced with this type of determined development.[217] In some instances Indians might expect some kind of monetary compensation for rights-of-way through reservation lands, as was the case with the Diegeño band at El Capitan Grande south of Pala. The Indians there were offered $1,400 by the Cuyamaca Flume Company for a right-of-way through the reservation. The money was given to a county official who was to hold the money until Congress ratified the agreement. The company constructed a flume through the reservation even though Congress never did ratify the agreement. The county official, however, kept the money investing it in a light rail line from Colton to San Bernardino. The rail line proved unprofitable, and consequently the payment was lost and the Capitan Grande band never

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[216]Ibid., 3.

[217]This statement is particularly relevant considering these and other cases involving Indian water rights occurred during the pre-Winters Doctrine period, ending in 1908 (see Francis Paul Prucha, ed., Documents of United States Indian Policy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 319-320). Other publications regarding this topic include: Norris Hundley, Jr., "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Indian Water Rights: Confusion Elevated to Principle," Western Historical Quarterly 9 (October 1978): 455-482, The Great Thirst: California and Water, 1770s-1990s (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 248-253, 316-319; Donald Pisani, "Irrigation Water Rights, and the Betrayal of Indian Allotments," Environmental Historian 10, no. 3 (1986): 157-176, "Enterprise and Equity: A Critique of Western Water Law in the Nineteenth Century," Western Historical Quarterly (January 1987): 15-37, To Reclaim a Divided West (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992).

receivied the money.[218] This incident, of course, occurred after the Relief Act was passed in 1891. Several years earlier Consolidated Mission-Tule Agent Joseph W. Preston informed his superiors a water company based in San Diego and made up of "the best businessmen, and most respectable, prominent, and responsible in the city," was building a flume at the cost of $500,000 directly through the Capitan Grande Reservation. The San Diego River ran some thirteen miles through the reservation and the company sought to tap the resource "without making any definite arrangements with the Government."[219] Moreover, the flume was diverting water above the Indians' settlement, depriving them of their only source of water for irrigation and domestic purposes. Though the agent briefly halted the project, allowing for the company's attorneys to establish a quick "remedy" for the illegality, presumably protecting the Indians' rights, the water project was duly sanctioned by the Interior Department. Pleased with his role in securing the Indians their water, Preston naively asserted:

> The arrangement gives the Indians a great advantage in the use of the water, as it provides that the company shall furnish to them for all purposes and in perpetuity an ample supply of water at any and all times when needed, and stipulates for a forfeiture in the event of a failure to comply. Concluding on this, let it suffice to say that this arrangement secures the Indians a much better and more desirable means of water supply, and at the same time furnishes to the city of San Diego a much-needed volume of drinking water, pure and fresh, from the mountains.[220]

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[218]Philip Stedman Sparkman Papers, 1896-1907, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[219]Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1888 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), 13-14. Hereafter cited as ARCIA.

[220]Ibid., 14.

Alternatives for maintaining the Indians' water rights other than half-hearted or unenforced legal efforts, was simply to purchase claims that accompanied any lands the government might procure. The Smiley Commission was empowered to purchase land occupied by Indians in cases where non-Indians had legal claim to land, but most grant owners or settlers asked grossly inflated prices for the lands and any improvements.[221] In light of this, the commission was certain Congress would not pay for any lands they sought to buy for the Indians. In fact, the only lands the commission bought during the first few years of activity in southern California were those occupied by Indians on the Pauma Rancho, only five miles north of Pala. There the government agreed to purchase three tracts from the Archbishop of the Los Angeles Archdiocese. The largest tract contained 250 acres with the right to thirty miner's inches of water from the Pauma Creek, a tributary of the San Luis Rey River.[222] During this same period the federal government brokered a one-sided agreement between the La Jolla Reservation, also up river from Pala, and the Escondido Mutual Water Company, allowing the latter to divert "surplus" water from the San Luis Rey River.[223] Clearly, "sufficient quantity of water" and "mutual benefit" were phrases whose interpretations were left solely to government and private industry and did not include the Indians. By the end of the decade, though, government concerns over water were not voiced solely for Indians, one agent stating, "[o]ver all this arid region there now exists a period of drought. For three successive

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[221]Kappler, Laws and Treaties, v. I, 440.

[222]Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 43.

[223]Ibid., 34-41, 46-49.

years both whites and Indians have been compelled to endure this water famine."[224] These concerns were echoed in the Board of Indian Commissioners annual report: "the present year is most discouraging to farmers . . . We are experiencing a severe drought in southern California; crops are almost a failure; natural feed is scarce; [and] hay is high."[225] Still, despite this climatically imposed solidarity between Indians and whites, at least according to government officials, they remained particularly concerned over the condition of the Indians warning, "[t]his deplorable and distressing state of affairs falls doubly hard upon the poor Indian, for he can not raise his own subsistence, . . . [o]n many of the reservations the land is worthless, [and] others are poorly watered."[226] To this last point the Board of Indian Commissioners agreed stating, "[the Mission] agency embraces many small reservations scattered over southern California. Peculiar climatic conditions exist here, 'Water is King,' and with out irrigation agriculture is almost a failure."[227] What whites did not share with Indians due to these severe climatic conditions was a disruption of their social structure. With nearly 4,000 Mission Indians living on thirty-one reservations, or designated villages and rancherías, most, according to the government agent, lived meager lives. Malnutrition as a result of recent crop failures, a measles epidemic among the children, and tuberculosis or consumption, as it was often called then, all played a role in the agency's unusually high mortality rate. Further,

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[224]ARCIA, 1899, 171.

[225]U.S. Department of the Interior, Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1898 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), 13-14. Hereafter cited as BIC.

[226]ARCIA, 1899, 171-172.

[227]BIC, 1899, 47-48.

because so many families were destitute due to crop failures, many children were forced to leave school and work for wages along with their parents on local ranches.[228]

As problematic as water rights and insufficient irrigation were, they remained at this time an implied fate. Greater concerns over Indian access to water would not come to rise for another fifteen years. More immediate a concern for the Indians was the allotment of tribal lands held in severalty. Passed four years prior to the relief act, the Dawes Act was the federal government's attempt to end the Indians' tribal system by giving severalty, or communal lands to individual Indians.[229] In 1887, the year the Dawes Act was passed, Agent John S. Ward of the Mission Indian Agency, then located in Colton, stated that allotments would be ill-advised for the Indians of southern California because, of the nearly 200,000 acres they inhabited, barely 500 acres was suitable for agricultural purposes. Still, allotments were made a major component of the relief act, and would have a serious impact on Mission Indian groups throughout southern California.[230] And despite Agent Ward's earlier recommendation, the federal government chose to carry out this policy with little regard to irrigation concerns. Even more glaring was the fact that allotment of 160 acres of land to heads of households and eighty acres to single adults could be met at few reservations in the Mission Indian agency. With seemingly little regard to logic, the distribution of lands among several groups resulted in individual parcels too small even for mere subsistence farming.[231]

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[228]ARCIA, 1899, 171-175.

[229]Prucha, Documents of United States Indian Policy, 171-174.

[230]Kappler, Laws and Treaties, v. I, sections 4 and 5, 384.

[231]Imre Sutton, "Private Property in Land Among Reservation Indians in Southern California," Association of Pacific Coast Geographers Yearbook, XXIX (1967): 69-89; James R. Young, Dennis Moristo, G. David Tenebaum, eds., An Inventory of the Mission

In 1892 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed Miss Kate Foote as allotting agent for the Mission Indian Agency, who, along with John F. Carrere, prepared to visit the various reservations throughout the agency, Pala among them.[232] In his August report to the commissioner, Francisco Estudillo of the Mission and Tule River Consolidated Agency commented on Pala's allotment process:

> This reservation I find contains only 160 acres of land, 54 acres of which are worthless. Thirteen allotments have been made by Mr. Carrere, the allotting agent, which have proved satisfactory in every sense. There is much of this land suited to fruit-culture, which should be encouraged. There being a shortage of land on this reservation for allotment to the number of population, the allotting agent has allotted to those residing thereon such lands as they have farmed and cared for, the remaining Indians who have not been provided for under this allotment will be or have been provided for by allotment on the Potrero [La Jolla] and Rincon reservations.[233]

Agent Estudillo's report on Pala appeared to be contradictory on several points. First, the amount of acreage for the number of Indians at Pala, at this time fifty-three, barely met the minimum number of acres allotted, totaling thirteen, to single adults under the terms of the 1891 Relief Act.[234] Moreover, if Estudillo's contention that fifty-four of the 160 acres were in fact "worthless" was true, then the allotment standards could not be met at all. Beyond these contradictions, it appeared the Smiley Commission had no intention of recommending the government acquire additional lands at Pala for those Indians who received no allotments. This is evidenced by Albert Smiley himself who, in the spring of

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Indian Agency Records, American Indian Treaties Publications Series, no. 3 (American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1976), 11.

[232]BIC, 1893, 93.

[233]ARCIA, 1893, 126.

[234]Ibid., 130; Kappler, Laws and Treaties, v. I, sec. 4, 384.

1894, noted that he "visited the Pala Reservation, containing a very small body of land which has recently been patented in severalty. The Indians of this reservation were offered lands at other places by the Indian Commissioner, but declined to remove from their old homes containing the graves of their ancestors."[235]

Though the federal government seemed determined to allot as many Mission Indian reservations as possible, by 1894 only five had been allotted. While agents reported that the Indians were "satisfied," it was an inaccurate description of their mood toward allotments, particularly among the Luiseño, as four of these five allotted reservations – Pala, Rincon, Potrero [La Jolla], and Pechanga, were theirs. Arguably the Indians understood little the terms of allotment or the intentions of the federal government which may have exploited the trust established by earlier representatives, most notably Helen Hunt Jackson, to facilitate its goals. "[H]eralded by a letter from the 'Queen,' as Mrs. Jackson was named by the Indians," recounted Philip C. Garrett, a government representative on the Committee on Legal Assistance to the Mission Indians in 1891, "we were warmly greeted by a considerable company gathered at Pala from scattered homes among the hills from a range of many miles."[236] There remains little question, however, that the overwhelming majority of Indians did not want their reservations allotted. By 1896, only one other reservation, Capitan Grande, had been allotted, with Agent Estudillo lamenting that, "the Santa Ysabel and Mesa Grande Indians have refused to allow Special Agent Patton to allot their land. However, upon my assuring them of the benefits to arise from allotment, the progressive Indians agreed to

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[235]BIC, 1894, 16.

[236]BIC, 1891, 113-114.

have their lands allotted. I feel that the difficulty is overcome."[237] Estudillo was mistaken, however, as problems persisted at Mesa Grande, about which he warned, "I have used my best efforts to cause the Indians to have their lands allotted, but to no effect. There is an element of rebellion here that is somewhat discouraging."[238]

Agent Estudillo and even local authorities had good reason to be concerned about the Indians' resistance to government policies. The threat of Indian violence, believed by the region's white citizens to have long since passed, was again a reality. In August 1894, Mary J. Platt, teacher at the Pechanga reservation's day school, was murdered and the schoolhouse burned to the ground. Particularly worrisome for the agent and local civil authorities was the alleged involvement of Pechanga's captain, Mateo Pa, and several other Indian men. All were arrested and tried for murder, though later acquitted when a single tribal member admitted to the crime.[239]

While agents certainly regarded these incidents as serious, they were generally portrayed as localized events solely among the Mission Indians. Traditionally, if there was any consideration of Mission Indian identifying, be it political, social, or cultural, with Indians outside their own agency, government officials usually looked to groups in the Colorado River region. During this same period, however, a far more peculiar situation occurred with implications that went well beyond the boundaries of the Mission Indian Agency.

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[237]ARCIA, 1896, 133.

[238]Ibid., 1897, 127.

[239]Ibid., 1895, 131, 1896, 127, 1897, 129.

The Ghost Dance religious movement of the early 1890s was seen by most whites as strictly a Plains Indian phenomenon. Yet, despite the movement's birth among the Paiutes of western Nevada and its first inroads to California twenty years prior, some in 1890 may have believed, as in 1870, the "Messiah craze" would go no farther south than Tejon Indian Reservation on the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley.[240] Events proved otherwise, however, as reported by Mission-Tule Indian Agent Horatio N. Rust, who, in 1891, reported his concerns to his superiors regarding the Ghost Dance and its influence on the Potrero [La Jolla] band who were, like their neighbors to the south at Pala, Luiseño Indians. He stated that the "Messiah craze" had reached the area and that a number of the Indians were being unduly influenced by the preachings of certain medicine men. Evidently even more Indians were persuaded when rumors began to spread that the Colorado River would "fill up the Salton Sea," eventually overtaking all the land, destroying white people in the process.[241] When the waters receded the empty lands would be left to the Indians. Rust stated that these stories "so frightened many good faithful Indians, that they fled to the mountains in wild haste, but a few days of fasting reassured them and they returned disappointed."[242]

In a similar account, printed in an April 1892 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle, John Hamilton Gilmour reported from Palm Springs that some Cahuilla Indians in the area were predicting the end of the world. The printed story quoted several

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[240]See, L.G. Moses, The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 52-96; Cora A. DuBois, The 1870 Ghost Dance, University of California Anthropological Records, v. 3, no. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), 1-151.

[241]ARCIA, 1891, 223.

[242]Ibid.

Indian sources, making good use of their broken English that most readers likely expected, with one stating:

> [S]ure as you are born world come to an end; God tell me so, and if you no believe, you go to seashore [Salton]; there you see sea, and sea rise one inch every day. Pretty soon sea will be as high as mountain, and then it will come all over here, and you will all die.[243]

Unlike Agent Rust, the reporter could afford to amuse his readers, merely dismissing the Indians as superstitious primitives:

> Undoubtedly the minds of the Cahuillas have been much exercised during the past year. The mysterious Salton [S]ea frightened hundreds almost into catalepsy, and should any untoward atmospherical disturbance take place, or an eclipse obscure the sun or moon, or an earthquake rattle a few stones down the mountain sides, a commotion such as we can hardly realize will assuredly happen.[244]

When compared to other Indian groups in the American West, the occurrence of the 1890 Ghost Dance among southern California groups is somewhat anomalous. In his seminal work on the Ghost Dance, James Mooney notes that according to Paiutes he interviewed, "several small Shoshonean bands," closely related to them, frequently visited their Pyramid Lake Reservation to participate in "the dance," and believed "[t]hey undoubtedly had their own dances at home also."[245] When looking at all of southern California, it is not surprising that the Messiah movement reached Mission Indian groups, even those in mountainous areas on the west side of the coastal range like Potrero, for several reasons. The first is due primarily to geographic location. Traditionally most

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[243]Robert F. Heizer, ed., Some Last Century Accounts of the Indians of Southern California (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1976), 6.

[244]Ibid., 7.

Mission groups, particularly the desert Cahuilla, traded extensively with both Colorado River and Great Basin cultures, the latter of which Mooney speaks. And even through periods of European and American dominance, these groups continued to share economic and cultural attributes.[246] Secondly, although many Mission groups were for generations already reconciled to sequestration on mission lands, pueblos, rancherías, and finally reservations, like the Plains Indians, they were for the first time experiencing the pressure of allotment and other shifting conditions, which only aggravated their relationships with government agents.[247] This is especially true for reservations in San Diego County, especially Pala, which remained largely isolated from the intrusions of white society for a longer period.[248] In his further discussion of the Ghost Dance in southern California Mooney himself states:

> Although the agent mentions specifically only the Indians of Potrero [La Jolla], there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the other Mission rancherías in the vicinity were also affected, and we are thus enabled to fix the boundary of the messiah excitement in the direction of the Pacific [O]cean.[249]

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[245]James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 48.

[246]James T. Davis, Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California, University of California Archaeological Survey Report, no. 54 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 1-46; Philip Drucker, Culture Element Distributions: V, Southern California, Anthropological Record, v. 1, no. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 1-43. This fact takes on even greater significance when considering virtually every native group surrounding the Mission Indian cultures did not participate in the Ghost Dance, this according to Mooney (48-49).

[247]Robert H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 180-181; Paul H. Carlson, The Plains Indians (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 179-180.

[248]Frank J. Polley, "Life Today in the Pala Mission," Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, v. 3, no. 1 (1893): 41-46.

More compelling, perhaps, than its actual occurrence among Mission groups, is the manner in which the 1890 Ghost Dance manifested itself among these Indians. According to Mooney, for every group who participated in the Ghost Dance doctrine there was a single underlying principle—the time would come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, would reunite on a regenerated earth, living as they had before the arrival of whites, free of disease, death, and misery.[250] Significantly, though, he qualifies this main principle, stating:

> On this foundation each tribe has built a structure from its own mythology, and each apostle ans believer has filled in details according to his own mental capacity or ideas of happiness . . . The differences of interpretation are precisely such as we find in Christianity, with its hundreds of sects and innumerable shades of individual opinion.[251]

Mooney determined the "essential features" of the Ghost dance were in essence the same among the Paiutes and the southern Shoshonis as they were with the Plains tribes. He makes no such claim, however, with the Luiseño at the Potrero Reservation. In this case neither the Indian agent nor Mooney, who used the agent's report in his own description, make any mention of "Ghost dance" or "dancing" among the Indians.[252] What appears to be the most likely explanation is the Luiseño employing the same "Ghost Dance doctrine" Mooney described earlier, and building a structure from their own mythology. In the case of the Luiseño, Cahuilla, and other Mission Indian groups, a component of

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[249]Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 48.

[250]Ibid., 19.

[251]Ibid.

[252]Ibid.; ARCIA, 1891, 223. The news report from the San Francisco Chronicle makes no such claim either.

this mythology includes the rising waters of the Salton Sea.[253] Although the Cahuilla "Witch Doctor's Foreboding," as the San Francisco Chronicle's headline stated, inaccurately prophesized the rising of the inland sea in 1892, ironically this very phenomenon occurred some thirteen years later. In 1905 the Colorado River breached the primary silt intake canal, and with an opening a half mile wide, its entire flow washed across the Imperial Valley and settled in its old resting place, the Salton Sea.[254] Whether resistance or revitalization, Ghost Dance or "Messiah craze," the presence of this phenomenon among Mission Indians demonstrates they, like Plains peoples, faced a barrage of assimilationist policies, allotments arguably being the worst, engineered by both the government and citizens groups. For the Luiseño at Pala and their Cupeño neighbors at Warner's Hot Springs the beginning of the new century would bring even greater hardships as property disputes and private interests continued to dictate how the Indians' would lead their lives.

In April of 1880, onetime California Governor John G. Downey acquired 26,688 acres in San Diego County's San José del Valle, commonly referred to as Warner's

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[253]William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 26, no. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929), 37. Strong explains that among the desert Cahuilla "legends involve the flooding of the entire Cahuilla basin, a flood which the Indians declare long ago drove their ancestors [westward in Mountain and Pass Cahuilla and Luiseño territories] up into the mountains, from which environment they returned several generations ago, following the water as it subsided" (37).

[254]Philip L. Fradkin, A River No More: The Colorado River and the West (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 270; Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, 37. In his footnotes Strong also mentions the Colorado River breach in 1905, including earlier floods stating, "on the authority of old settlers . . . water from the Colorado [R]iver reached the Salton [S]ea , causing local floods in the years 1840, 1842, 1852, 1859, 1862, and 1967." He contends that, "[i]t is more probable however that the Indian legends apply to the gradual disappearance of the

Ranch, named after the original land grant's owner, John J. Warner.[255] Within the ranch's boundaries lived several Cupeño villages, including the main one at Agua Caliente or Cupa, Mataguay, Puerta de la Cruz, and San José, totaling 205 people.[256] Also subject to removal were an additional seventy-nine people from two Diegeño villages at San Felipe and Puerta Chiquita, both on a tract owned by Governor Gage adjacent to Warner's.[257] In 1881 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs first reported that Downey sought to remove all Indians from his ranch. At the time the government appeared to recognize the Indians' rights to the land, initially expecting to have to fight Downey's expected legal maneuvers.[258] Over the course of the next ten years both the government and private citizens groups worked on the Indians' behalf in an attempt to secure them rights to at least some of their ancestral lands.[259] In 1892, however, the fight for these Indian lands took on a tone far more serious than the first decade's. On August 22 of that same year J. Harvey Downey, nephew of John G. Downey and administrator of

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forerunner of the Salton [S]ea, i.e., [the] Blake [S]ea, a brackish lake that previously filled most of the Cahuilla basin."

[255]Partridge Papers, Box 336; ARCIA, 1902, 119; Joseph J. Hill, The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs (Los Angeles: Privately Printed, 1927), 143-154. This is arguably one of the most contested issues among southern California Indian anthropologists and historians. While it is absolutely certain the valley's main Cupeño village was Agua Caliente (Cupa), and the largest Diegeño village was at San Felipe, though they were subject to removal in a different case, the remaining villages, at least those named, lie within areas of disputed cultural boundaries. See Alfred L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 78 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 689-723. See also, Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 44-45.

[256]Partridge Papers, Box 336.

[257]ARCIA, 1901, 197; Partridge Papers, Box 336.

[258]ARCIA, 1881, 13.

the deceased former governor's estate, filed two suits, Harvey v. Allejandro Barker et. al., and Harvey v. Jesus Quevas et. al., at the San Diego County Superior Court. Basing the estate's claim to these ranch lands on a patent issued to previous owners by the federal government, Harvey and the other members of the Downey estate sought to have "the Indians occupying various portions of the tract of land known as Warner's Ranch" removed from their ancestral villages.[260] After a protracted legal struggle, on December 29, 1896, the superior court judge presiding over the case ruled against the Indians. Three days after the decision, the judge resigned his seat and became counsel for the Downey estate.[261] An appeal was immediately made to the State Supreme Court on behalf of the Indians living on Warner's Ranch, but a backlog of cases prevented it from being heard in any timely manner. The following year, with no decision expected in the foreseeable future, even government officials became anxious, Mission Indian Agent Francisco Estudillo commenting, "[t]he suit between the supposed grant owners and the Indians is still pending. I see no reason for this delay; just why it is not brought to a close seems queer."[262] Two years later, on August 21, 1899, Agent Estudillo's replacement, Lucius A. Wright voiced not only his concerns over the case, but also for the Indians' wellbeing:

> The Indians of Agua Caliente (Warner Ranch) are very apprehensive of the final outcome of their case with the Downey estate, or Warner Ranch people. This matter should have the best legal talent and ability, as well as

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[259]Ibid., 1883, XLVI, 1884, XXXVII, 1888, 14-15, 1890, 19; Kappler, Laws and Treaties, v. 1, 383-385; Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy, 75.

[260]ARCIA, 1901, 196.

[261]Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy, 151.

[262]ARCIA, 1897, 127.

prompt and very active attention, or the case is lost to the Indians.[263]

Only two months after Wright's remarks, the State Supreme Court rendered its decision against the Cupeño and the other Indian bands at Warner's Ranch. An appeal was subsequently made to the United States Supreme Court by the U.S. attorney general, again on the Indians' behalf, and again, on May 13, 1901, a decision was handed down against them. And now that it was affirmed the Indians no longer possessed any legal rights to remain there, they faced certain removal from Warner's Ranch.[264]

Faced with the imminent removal of the Cupeño and Diegeño bands from Warner Ranch, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that the government appoint an agent to select a tract of land suitable for the Indians' removal. Many prominent whites throughout California were appalled by the Supreme Court's decision regarding the Indians at Warner's Ranch and sought a means to assist the Indians. Los Angelino Charles Fletcher Lummis, among many things, a contemporary of Theodore Roosevelt at Harvard and publisher of Out West magazine, who played a most active role in Warner's Ranch case and eventual removal, in July 1901, created the Sequoya League. With such notable members as Phoebe Hearst, Stanford University President David Starr Jordan, C. Hart Merriam, and George Bird Grinnell, Similar to the IRA, the League looked to champion the causes of Indian peoples, only differently, throughout the American Southwest.[265] In response to appeals

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[263]ARCIA, 1899, 174.

[264]Ibid., 1901, 196; Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy, 151.

from groups like the Sequoya League and the IRA, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) appointed James McLaughlin as the government inspector charged with finding a suitable location for the soon to be evicted Indians. McLaughlin inspected a total of twelve tracts throughout Riverside and San Diego Counties, including 30,000 acres of Warner's Ranch that did not include the Hot Springs. He recommended the government purchase the Monserrate Ranch, a 2,300-acre tract, near Mission San Luis Rey for $70,000.

More important to the Cupeños and Diegeños than McLaughlin's recommendation, however, was the Interior Department's decision to appoint an advisory commission that would make its own recommendation for a tract of land for the Warner's Ranch Indians.[266] Appointed on May 27, 1902, the commission was composed of Russell C. Allen of San Diego, Charles L. Partridge of Redlands, and its chair, Charles F. Lummis. Accompanying the commission were several administrative members including Mr. R. Egan, a director of the California Southern Railway, civil engineer, and expert on land and water appraisements; William Collier, special attorney for the Mission Indians, Miss Mary Haskins, the stenographer, and Lummis' young daughter, Turbesie. Equally important, without consulting BIA or the local Indian agent, the commission added as delegates two Cupeño Indians from Warner's Ranch, Salvador Nolasquez and Ambrosio, whose presence Lummis and the others believed "will have no inconsiderable effect as touching the contentment of the Indians in the removal."[267]

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[265]William T. Hagan, Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indian (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 77; Hill, The History or Warner's Ranch and Its Environs, 158-159.

[266]ARCIA, 1902, 118-120.

[267]Partridge Papers, Box 336; ARCIA, 1902, 120.

The Indians' participation in the selection process proved to be a particularly important point with the commission who reported meeting with Indian councils, as a group, on four different occasions, and an additional seven meetings with Lummis.[268] The Warner's Ranch Indian Commission actively sought the Indians' opinion regarding their removal, making a point of submitting them to the BIA. At the very first meeting, held on March 17, 1902, the Cupeño were represented by two captains, Cecilio Blacktooth, of Agua Caliente and Marcelino Quassis, the commission by Lummis. When formally asked where the Indians would like to go if their lands at Warner's could not be secured, Blacktooth replied:

> We thank you for coming here to talk to us in a way we can understand. It is the first time anyone has done so. You ask us to think what place we like next best to this place where we always live. You see the graveyard over there? There are our fathers and our grandfathers. You see that Eagle-Nest Mountain and that Rabbit-Hole Mountain? When God made them he gave us this place. We have always been here. We do not care for any other place . . . If Harvey Downey say he own this place that is wrong . . . These hot springs always Indian . . .We do not want to buy any other place, we will go into the mountains like quail and die there. Let the government be glad and proud. It can kill us. We do not fight. We do what it says.[269]

Speaking to the commission in English, Blacktooth's monologue was defiant, yet resigned. Resolute in his belief that the Indians rightfully owned the lands they inhabited, he seems to have understood, however, they would eventually be compelled to leave their ancestral homes. While we can only assume Blacktooth's simile with the quail was in reference to his people's fate, it was very clear, however, that he held the government responsible for what was happening to the Cupeño.

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[268]Ibid.

A similar meeting was held with Honorato Chapula, captain of the San Felipe Diegeño, who claimed to have heard nothing of his people's impending eviction from their village. Like Blacktooth, Chapula was equally adamant that he and his people should remain on their traditional lands stating, "We were born here and have been here ever since ancient times. We are natives here and do not want any other land . . . God made this country and he made us here—we don't come from any other place."[270] It appears, though, Chapula may in fact have understood his people were at risk of being removed from their homes. Yet, despite sharing this same plight with the Cupeño, after Lummis informed him the government sought to secure a large tract elsewhere for all the Indians to live on, he replied, "We are not friends with the Agua Caliente Indians—they are another nation and speak a different language!"[271]

Lummis and the other commission members remained sympathetic to the Indians' concern and outrage over the prospect of being removed from their homes, humbly recommending in their own report that the Indians' "irrevocable choice of their old homes should outweigh the choice of other and wiser people."[272] In spite of this recommendation the commission carried on with the task of finding suitable lands for the Indians. On June 2, 1902 the Warner's Ranch Indian Commission, outfitted with the necessary equipment for their task ahead, including horses, wagons, cameras, measuring instruments, six gallons of red wine, a gallon of whisky, and twenty-four cigars, set out from the town of Riverside for the mountains and valleys of southern Riverside and northern San Diego Counties. Over the next six weeks the commission traveled over 500

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[269]Ibid.

[270]Ibid., Box 335, Folder 1.

[271]Ibid.

miles by wagon, besides several hundred by train, inspecting a total of twenty-six properties, equaling approximately 110,000 acres of land. The commission's most important criterion was locating a tract with water sources suitable enough to keep the Indians in their agricultural ways. Under the supervision of Mr. Egan, forty-two separate engineering measurements of flowing water, in addition to dozens of land surveys, were carried out.

The commission rated the various properties on a four-hundred point scale with nineteen categories, ranging from "available gravity water" (100 points), to "variety of crops" (25 pts.), and "safety from aggression" (15 pts.). Of the three tracts the commission most seriously considered, Pala, Monserrate Ranch, and Rancho Guajome, Pala received the highest point total, with the three criteria mentioned above all receiving high ratings, with both "water" and "variety of crops" receiving full points. The "safety from aggression" category also received a high point total, getting thirteen out of fifteen points. More interesting than the actual score, however, was the commission's explanation of this category noting, "safety from aggression refers to such locations as are likeliest to guard the Indians from the familiar California phenomenon of 'walking fences'—which walk forward upon Indian lands—and other frictions incident to stronger next-neighbors."[273] This last category, although clearly concerned with maintaining the integrity of the Indians' proposed land base, as it was earlier indicated by government agents, indirectly implied that Pala remained an isolated Indian community. This fact

[272]Ibid., Box 336.

[273]Ibid.

was also intimated by Constance Goddard DuBois, who a year earlier, headed a private investigation of Mission Indian condition in southern California funded by the IRA.[274] Interesting, too, the commission also rated Pala on its availability of "native wild foods" and "basket materials," though this is not entirely surprising considering Lummis' zeal for maintaining the Indians' "traditional ways" and his enthusiasm for Indian basketry.[275]

In its final report to the federal government the commission strongly recommended the purchase of a 3,353 acre tract in the Pala Valley owned by Frank Salmons, owner of a small store in the Pala village, and his wife, Ora M. Salmons, teacher at the Rincon Indian school. The Department of the Interior approved the tract and subsequently appropriated $46,280 for the purchase on January 22, 1903. The Salmons also deeded the three-quarters of an acre that comprised Mission San Antonio de Pala's primary compound to the diocese of San Diego. Further, the Secretary of the Interior ordered an additional 8,000 acres adjacent to the newly formed reservation be withdrawn from settlement.[276] Still, in a final attempt to remain on their ancestral lands, Cupeño representatives Ambrosio Ortega, Salvador Nolasquez, and Vincente Cibimoat sent a memorandum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones, requesting that their people not be removed.[277] One of the Hot Spring's oldest Indians, a Cupeño woman

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[274]Ibid., Box 335, Folder 4; Constance Goddard DuBois, The Condition of the Mission Indians of Southern California (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1901). The Warner's Ranch Commission gained this information from a copy of DuBois' publication.

[275]Hagan, Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indian, 128; Marvin Cohodas, Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 192-196, 203-206.

[276]ARCIA, 1903, 75-76.

named "Bearfoot," steadfastly refused to be removed, telling officials bad memories of Pala would drive her to the mountains. Another woman, Ysabel, who shared the same experience as Bearfoot stated:

> It is the memory of that [place] which drove Bearfoot into the chaparral . . . what we suffered there, how many years ago I cannot say, fifty, sixty, maybe more . . . See these scars! We had to keep fresh our memories of Pala Mission. Does the white man think it strange that we do not want to come? [We] and others, when young girls, had been held prisoners at Pala. Keeping with the commission's recommendation to purchase the Pala tract, the federal government declined their last plea to remain at the Hot Springs.[278]

Despite their pleas and testimonies, the government abided by the commission's recommendation and declined the Indians' last request to remain at their homes.

Based upon the commission's recommendation, however, federal officials had every reason to believe that Pala was actually better suited for the Indians than their ancestral lands, as the preliminary report read, "the Pala properties are superior in every detail to be considered . . . [p]articularly in the matter of water supply which is, of course, the very first thing considered in any agricultural proposition in California." In respect to this, the report listed eight streams or ditches on the Pala tract, three of which provided over 100 miner's inches of water. The highest measurement belonged to the San Luis Rey River which, according to the commission's data, provided over 142 miner's inches. [279] Still, other aspects of the Pala village and the surrounding valley influenced the commission, specifically noting that the Indians from Warner's brought their grain to

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[277]Charles F. Lummis, Charles L. Partridge, and Russell C. Allen, Final Report of the Warner's Ranch Indian Advisory Commission (Los Angeles: Privately Printed, 1902), 216-217.

[278]Partridge Papers, Box 335, Folder 2.

Pala's gristmill. Importantly, virtually all the Mission groups, including both the Cupeños and Luiseños, traveled widely throughout Riverside and San Diego Counties, visiting various reservations and villages, including Pala, during fiestas and religious feasts.[280] The commission seemed especially interested in the economic prospects of bee-keeping and olive orchards. Evidently a number of Luiseños currently living at Pala had already turned their attentions to bee-keeping, specifically pointing to the fact that San Diego County, in one year, had shipped 900 tons of honey for profit. Noting olives as an important food-staple in the Indians' diet, the commission reported at Pala there were some twenty-five acres of olive trees, "enough to supply all the Indians proposed to be put there with all they can eat, and with a handsome margin for market."[281] It was also reported that the demand for labor in the valley was high, some Luiseño men being employed at the nearby lithia mine, while others could earn wages from one dollar to a dollar-fifty a day at local fruit and cattle ranches.[282] The commission also pointed out that the purchase of the Pala tract would enable a single government farmer to work there as well as nearby reservations at Pauma, Potrero [La Jolla], and Rincon.[283]

The commission also felt it important to mention that the Cupeño of Warner's Ranch and the Luiseño remaining at Old Pala remained members of the same Catholic

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[279]Ibid., Box 336.

[280]Ibid, Box 335, Folder 1; C. Hart Merriam, "The Luiseños: Observations on Mission Indians," in Department of Anthropology, eds., Studies of California Indians (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 91. The editor specifies these notes werer taken from Merriam's California Journal, v. II, dated September 24, 1901.

[281]Ibid., Box 336, C-B.

[282]Ibid., Box 335, Folder 1.

[283]Ibid., Box 336, C-B.

diocese, and while the *asistencia* had never been abandoned, it was in a state of disrepair. This fact may certainly have been motivation for Lummis in choosing Pala for the reservations site. Lummis had made several visits to Pala during the previous year as part of a Landmark's Club project to restore the old mission. As the club's chairman, he had solicited the support of several influential Californians in restoring Pala and other Franciscan missions throughout the state. Among those who contributed financial support was Phoebe Apperson Hearst, who, on two separate occasions, gave the Landmark's Club $500 and $200 to help rebuild Pala's chapel.[284]

On Tuesday morning, May 16, 1903, nearly a year since the Warner's Ranch Commission set out on their journey to locate lands for the Indians, a different journey was about to begin. Under the supervision of Indian Inspector James E. Jenkins and several armed county law enforcement officials, the Cupeños loaded up their personal belongings on buckboard wagons provided by the government, the rest they carried on their backs, and prepared for the two-day trek from San José del Valle to the Pala Valley. Some of the Indians, however, remained defiant and refused to go to Pala. A few of the elderly, as they had previously vowed, fled into the hills, while dozens of others fled eastward over the hills seeking refuge among some of the Pass and Desert Cahuilla bands at Los Coyotes, Morongo and Torres-Martinez. Later, many Diegeños from San Felipe and Puerta Chiquita would also choose not to go to Pala, instead finding homes among other Diegeño groups at Santa Ysabel and Mesa Grande.[285] The caravan of people and wagons left Warner's, and owing largely to the Indians' accompanying livestock, made

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[284]Phoebe Apperson Hearst Papers-Correspondents, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[285]Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 44-45.

their noon stop only six miles from the Hot Springs at Oak Grove. That night the caravan camped at Aguanga Valley, where Jenkins secured 450 pounds of beef rations for the Indians and the teamsters. The following day the group made their final noon stop at Dripping Springs, ten miles from Temecula, while later that evening they camped on the Pauba Rancho. Early the next morning the caravan made its way down the Old Temecula, arriving at Pala some three hours later. Taking the opportunity to view the San Luis Rey River, Jenkins took the men down to the riverbed whereupon the Indians agreed the water at Pala was "bueno." Their first evening at Pala, the Indians agreed to camp along the riverbed near the mission.[286] Over the course of the next several weeks some 215 Cupeños and Diegeños were removed to Pala, joining the forty-three Luiseños already living there on the thirteen allotments made nearly a decade before.

It is unlikely the relief the federal government promised the Mission Indians during the last decade of the nineteenth century met their expectations. For the few Luiseños and their families who remained at Pala, this period represented, arguably, the most drastic alteration to their lives they had experienced since the end of the Mission Era. Still living within their traditional communities, their land bases dwindled to only a meager portion of what it once was. Still, government attempts to allot their lands did lead many Indians to resist, some violently, while others may have hoped that all whites would simply vanish. For those who did receive allotments, little more could be expected

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[286]Partridge Papers, Box 335, Folder 2; ARCIA, 1903, 75-76. Other brief accounts of events surrounding the removal from Pala include: Hill, A History of Warner's Ranch and Its Environs, 155-165; Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy, 140-157; Hagan, Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indian, 120-129. For a good contemporary account of events leading up to and through the removal, see Charles F. Lummis, "The Exiles of Cupa," Out West, v. 16, no. 5 (May 1902): 465-479, and Lewis D. Frank, "Warner's Ranch Indians and Why They Were Moved to Pala," Overland Monthly, v. 42, no. 2 (August 1903): 171-173.

from these lands beyond mere subsistence. Moreover, as San Diego County's northern region experienced more development, the Indians saw the availability of water, already a scarce resource, decrease even further. Certainly for the Cupeños and Diegeños at Warner's Ranch, what few expectations they may have had of the federal government were lost along with their ancestral homes. Relief for these Indians meant only eviction, and for some, even being forced to live among traditional enemies.

Faced with the task of establishing new homes, new lifeways, and in many respects, a new culture, the Indians from Warner's Ranch would never again face eviction from their traditional lands. For the Luiseños already living at Pala, encroachment by white settlers was no longer a threat. The reservation, promised to the Luiseños by federal officials as early as 1852, was finally sanctioned by all levels of government. Still, the reservation was by no means a completely safe haven. Difficulties did in fact arise, some were more familiar than others.

CHAPTER VII

THE PALA INDIAN AGENCY

While water might ensure their physical survival, equally as important was their cultural survival. As in previous eras, church and government continued their attempts to alter the Indians' traditional practices and customs, though the former's influence would be greatly reduced. During the first half of the twentieth century the federal government applied new policies to assimilate Mission Indians. Moreover, as Pala was the site of the newly created Indian Training School and Agency, its Indian residents, for the first time, had a government agent living within their midst, consequently placing the community's activities under a degree of scrutiny not previously experienced. In some respects, though, the presence of an agency office actually facilitated a better understanding of their culture. Increasingly, Pala became an essential stopover for a small but prolific group of ethnographers, most from the Anthropology Department at the University of California, who worked closely with the region's Indian population.[287]

Allotments of tribally held lands did occur through the 1920s, as did the continued attempts by government agents to guide the Indians toward more "civilized" ways. Indian education, arguably, had the greatest impact on Mission Indian society during this

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[287]Timothy H.H. Thoresen, "Paying the Piper and Calling the Tune: The Beginnings of Academic Anthropology in California," Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, v. XI, no. 3 (July 1975): 257-275; Regna Diebold Darnell, "The Development of American Anthropology, 1879-1920: From the Bureau of American Ethnology to Franz Boas" (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1969), 299-317.

era. Most Indian children received their education at government funded tribal schools, others were sent away to boarding schools, some as far as the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, and still others as close as the Sherman Institute in nearby Riverside. Clearly, though, it was time, not distance, that determined the extent of each child's indoctrination to white society.

Upon their arrival at Pala, the Cupeños and Diegeños from Warner's Ranch were given Army issue canvas tents as temporary housing until new structures could be built. Government officials, however, eschewed the logical alternative of building new homes for the Indians from either rough-cut lumber or adobe bricks. As their homes at the Hot Springs were such, the Indians most certainly would have preferred the latter. Instead agents chose to accept the well-intentioned but logistically foolish offer from eastern reform groups to have fifty portable homes sent to Pala by rail from New York. After six months of living along the riverbank in tents, the first shipment of thirty houses was received. This number being inadequate to house all the Indians, however, government agents again placed another order for twenty more houses, which arrived at Pala in the same manner as before. And while the new agent, Charles E. Shell, stated the Indians were comfortably situated in their new homes, he admitted, "[t]here was some grumbling about the size of these buildings and their airiness."[288]

Though the grumblings about their homes continued for several more years, one significant problem regarding the portable houses' placement was averted, and in many respects created a living environment by which the reservation is still defined today.

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[288] Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1904. Indian Affairs, Part I, Report of the Commissioner (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 165. Hereafter cited as ARCIA. Valerie Sherer Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 155-156.

Before their homes even arrived on the reservation, the Indians informed Agent Shell that Inspector James Jenkins agreed to place the houses in village form. The Cupeño had particularly strong feelings regarding this matter as they had lived in a village setting at the Hot Springs for generations. Although Agent Shell admitted not doing what Jenkins had agreed to would create tremendous dissatisfaction among the Indians, he recommended against a permanent village because it would interfere with the reservation's eventual allotment. To this point, in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Shell obstinately stated, "[o]f course the Indians will refuse to accept the houses unless placed in village form. But it is time they were taught that the Government has some voice in the affairs of the reservation."[289] Evidently he had forgotten that just one month before the Indians were evicted from their homes at the government's behest. Nevertheless, the BIA did not consider Shell's recommendation and allowed the homes to be placed in village form. Because the forty or more Luiseños already living at Pala had surveyed and confirmed allotments, allotting agents chose to distribute lands among the newly arrived Indians in a different fashion. A centralized village was planned, and the new occupants received both a town plot and farm plots of irrigable and "dry grain land."[290] Pala was then, and remains, the only Mission Indian reservation planned around a central village with a center street and cross streets surrounded by its farm and grazing

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[289]Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Letters Sent to the Indian Office, 1903-1908, Box 443. Hereafter cited as RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency.

[290]Pala Indian School, Annual Report, 1910, Superintendents' Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports from the Field Jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1907-1938, Roll 99, Microcopy 1011, Target 2. Hereafter cited as Pala Indian School, Annual Report.

land.[291] In actuality, the village pattern enabled the government to complete a water system giving each home its own standpipe for domestic purposes, thus furnishing the trappings of "civilization" they so vehemently wanted the Indians to embrace. In fact, so quickly had flower and vegetable gardens been planted, with many homes surrounded by thriving saplings, even Agent Shell, initially so adamantly opposed to the idea, conceded that the village had taken on a "metropolitan air."[292]

In addition to the village, other structures were quickly built on site, including the agent's office and cottage, a day school, teacher's cottage, and a jail. With respect to the day school, Agent Shell suggested, as the "Pala Indian Training School" at the present time existed in name only, it should remain that way. He reminded the Indian Office that there were several Indian boarding schools in the region, the largest being the Sherman Institute in Riverside, only some forty-five miles from Pala. Shell believed any student who could not be accommodated by the day school, could easily be taken in at one of the boarding schools.[293]

Shell also reported to the Indian Office that, while the dry year led to a partial failure of the hay crop, Pala expected to harvest about a hundred tons of alfalfa and barley. More important than the animal feed, he went on, was the abundant crop of vegetables and grain the Indians harvested that year as well. Shell cautioned that without adequate irrigation from both older and newly constructed ditches, future harvests would surely suffer. To this point he noted that that the agency's superintendent of irrigation,

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[291]ARCIA, 1904, 166; Florence C. Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 54.

[292]ARCIA, 1904, 166.

George Butler, was unable to complete the new ditch on the south side of the San Luis Rey River in time to be of any service that year.[294] Apparently this problem began the previous year, when Agent Lucius A. Wright mentioned that while the "south side" ditch was authorized for construction, Butler complained the Indians showed "a disinclination to perform the requisite labor."[295] What Wright failed to mention, however, was that the Indians refused to work on the irrigation ditch when he reduced the daily flour ration for the reservation's unmarried males. In a show of solidarity the married Indians joined the single men in striking, devoting themselves to horseracing until Agent Wright relented.[296] It was further noted by Agent Shell that other work stoppages were due to the Indians' refusal to accept their allotments because the land had not been cleared, as had been stipulated in their agreement with the government when they were removed.[297] For this and other circumstances Shell seemed willing to hold the government accountable concluding that, "[the Indians] may be equipped for the work that they can and will do if given the necessary tools to do it with."[298]

Over the next several years, Agent Shell's reports dealt primarily with the status of Pala's irrigation capabilities and agricultural production. While he made mention of

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[293]Ibid. In addition to the Sherman Institute, there was a government school in Perris, and two Catholic boarding schools, St. Boniface in Banning, and St. Anthony's in San Diego.

[294]Ibid.

[295]Ibid., 1903, 76.

[296]Partridge Papers, Box 335, Folder 2, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[297]ARCIA, 1904, 166; Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, v. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 750-751.

[298]Ibid., 166.

other situations on the reservation, most usually concerned liquor and the Indians' "moral state."[299] Problems on the reservation such as these were often attributed to the Indians' fiestas, which Shell complained were "demoralizing to the Indians . . . [w]here wine and brandy are always plentiful, and fighting and rioting often concluded the exercises."[300] His own moral judgements aside, Shell's description of these events, particularly those surrounding drinking, was in fact quite accurate. The Indians generally held their fiestas along the riverbed where drinking and fighting, when the two did occur, could be kept away from the village and young children.[301] Despite his worries, however, Agent Shell was able to conclude, only three years after the removal, that he was "[a]ll in all, . . . pleased with the progress made during the past years."[302]

Shell's overall satisfaction with conditions at Pala were echoed by C. E. Kelsey, Special Agent for California Indians. After visiting the reservation in March 1906, he reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that, "[t]he new reservation on Pala is undoubtedly the best in Southern California."[303] Kelsey did voice some concerns over the Indians' portable houses, however, as many of them were poorly constructed and under constant assault from the elements. Of greater worry and, perhaps, some interest to

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[299]Ibid., 1904, 167.

[300]Ibid.

[301]Bernice Panchetti, Pala Band member, interview with the author, 27 March 2000, Pala, CA; Mrs. James Banks, Pala Band member, interview with the author, 20 March 2001, Pala, CA; Dennis Paul Magee, Cupeño Tapes, no. 84, Cupa Cultural Center, Pala, CA (Hereafte cited as Cupeño Tapes). Mrs. Banks is, at ninety-four years of age, the oldest person living on the Pala Reservation today. Mrs. Panchetti is one of the reservation's oldest residents at eighty-seven years of age.

[302]Ibid., 1904, 167, 1905, 103, 189-190, 1906, 86, 204-205.

him was the predicament regarding the Diegeño Indians who were removed from the Warner's Ranch area along with the Cupeños. Somewhat reminiscent of the San Felipe captain's statement to the Warner's Ranch Commission prior to the removal, Kelsey pointed to a significant error committed by the government when the Indians were brought to Pala:

> The Indians of Agua Caliente Village speak a dialect of the Shoshonean stock. The little village at San Felipe, also evicted at the same time and moved to Pala, are of Yuman stock. Not a single word is alike in the two languages. Between these two diverse races of Indians there are generations of warfare and hatred, and though there has been no open war between them for a long time, a great deal of animosity still survives.[304]

Possibly aided by two of the University of California's recent publications on California Indian cultures, Kelsey was correct in his statement of the Indians' stock, and the fact that the Cupeño and Diegeño, while living in relative proximity to one another in San José del Valle for generations, were traditional enemies.[305] Noting that more than half the Diegeño Indians who were removed to Pala had already left the village for reservations inhabited by their own people, Kelsey, displaying an unusual degree of insight concluded:

> The Government seems to learn very slowly that Indians are not all alike, and that different stock or races of Indians ordinarily cannot be put together. We may consider their ideas or antipathies childish, yet, if we wish to be

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[303]C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906 (Carlisle, PA: Indian School Print, 1906), 26.

[304]Ibid., 29.

[305]Alfred L. Kroeber, The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, and Types of Indian Culture in California, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 2, nos. 2 and 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1904), 29-80, 81-103.

> successful in dealing with them we must necessarily take some account of the human characteristics of the Indian.[306]

The following year, newly appointed Pala School Superintendent Duncan D. McArthur, reported that upon arriving at his new post he "found the agency and schools well organized and progressive, and specifically noted that the Cupeños from Warner's Ranch "had become reconciled to their new place of residence."[307] Working as wage earners in mines and on local ranches, while others planted and raised livestock, the Cupeños easily adjusted to the traditional roles Indians held around Pala and the neighboring Pauma Valley. Like his predecessor, Agent Shell, McArthur was also worried about the Indians' "fiestas." These fiestas were held on either religious feast days or cultural gatherings. The two most important religious events at Pala were Corpus Christi, held annually during the first week in June, and the Feast of Saint Anthony or San Antonio, namesake of the mission, on June 13. Because the two feast days were so close to one another, they were usually celebrated during the same weeklong event. Ceremonial gatherings or "Indian dances," as the agents often referred to them, were held in August, usually at several different reservations. Lasting anywhere from four to six days, groups of sometimes a thousand Indians would gather at Pala, often from as far away as the Morongo, Cabezon, and Torres-Martinez Reservations.[308] With such large numbers as these the resident agent clearly had reason for concern. In his 1908 report, though, Agent McArthur happily notified his superiors in Washington that, "the agency police force were present to suppress any tendency to a disturbance of the peace, or the

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[306]Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians, 29.

[307]ARCIA, 1908, 15.

introduction of intoxicating liquors, and these gala days passed off without any seriously unfortunate occurrence."[309]

At the next year's fiesta, the Indian school's new Superintendent, Phillip T. Lonergan, worried less about the consumption of alcohol than he did the Indians' singing certain ceremonial, or "enemy songs." Originally sung by one clan against another, the songs were meant to ridicule and cast aspersions or spells. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the clan system among Mission Indian groups had broken down considerably, resulting in most Indians identifying more readily with a tribe rather than a clan.[310] According to Lonergan, some of the Indians had made a phonograph record of enemy songs, taking it to each reservation as they traveled to various fiestas during the month of August. When the records arrived at Pala he confiscated them and requested that the Indians cease singing anymore songs noting that, "the songs are sung in the Indians language, . . . but they are so vulgar and indecent . . . I hesitate to put them in print."[311] Unhappy with his decision, McArthur reported that the Indians "complain[ed] that the other Indians continued to sing about them and that they should be able to retaliate," reminding him that, "the Soboba Indians do not approve of the practice but when they hold their fiesta the Cahuilla go there and sing [enemy songs] about Pala

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[308]Matthew Calac, Pala Band member, interview with the author, 28 March 2000, Escondido, CA; Magee, Cupeño Tapes, no. 84; RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Letters to the Commissioner, 1908-1909, Box 375.

[309]ARCIA, 1908, 15.

[310]William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 26, no. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929), 80, 254, 306. According to Strong, among the Cupeños, these songs were sung on various occasions, but particularly at name-giving ceremonies.

and other Indians."[312] It appears from these circumstances that the government's attempts to assimilate the Indians had a greater impact than expected, only not in areas they hoped to change. Using the most advanced technology of the day, in an era when they were still considered barely civilized, Mission Indians were able to hear and sing their traditional songs through entirely nontraditional means.

Although there was a consensus among government officials believing that fiestas were the root cause of the reservations' "immorality," one agent did recognize their significance stating, "[t]he Indians have numerous fiestas and enjoy them. They seem, indeed, to be a part of their very existence, and it would be an heroic task and require considerable force to prevent them."[313] Agent Shell, in another report, conceded that while there was still too much gambling, and that police were required to attend every fiesta, he could, ultimately, complain little about them noting, "[f]iestas held this year have been remarkably orderly; in fact, much more so than similar gatherings among the whites."[314] Here Shell implies that it was not the fiestas themselves that troubled agents', instead, it was the moral implications surrounding the Indians' practice of traditional customs that most worried government officials.

Along similar lines, agents saw the enforcement of certain social standards as a significant challenge. Applying these standards among the various Mission groups was, however, no simple task as Indians continued to participate in many of their traditional practices that ran counter to white society's mores. Often agents believed their only

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[311]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Letters to the Commissioner, 1908-1909, Box 375.

[312]Ibid.

[313]ARCIA, 1903, 148.

recourse was to enforce moral and ethical standards through legal means. One of the primary complaints agents had was over the Indians' marriages. Agent Lucius Wright, in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, believed that, "[p]roper attention is not paid to the marriage relation."[315] Pala Agency Superintendent Walter Runke spoke to this very point in his departmental report:

> As near as I can learn there was not a great deal of difference in the old tribal custom as distinguished at the present time by these [Indians]. I am told by the older members of the tribe that there was very little ceremony and often no ceremony at all upon the occasion of marriage.[316]

Suggesting a hypothetical case to the Indian elders, Agent Runke asked what would happen if a husband or wife, married by the Catholic Church, were to abandon the marriage. He said the Indians' opinion was unanimous in a case of this kind, their stating that, "the one who had gone away and severed his or her connection would have lost wholly any previous rights."[317] Perhaps applying this situation to current legal conditions on the reservation, Runke noted that with early allotments made among the Luiseños at "Old Pala," Indian and tribal customs governed divorce.[318] Here Runke's statement implies that enforcing "legal" marriages among the Indians, that is, matrimonial unions according to white standards, in the case of divorce, would make establishing title to allotments far easier. In this particular situation it appears that the Indians' moral habits

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[314]Ibid., 1905, 190.

[315]Ibid., 147.

[316]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Letters sent to the Indian Office, 1908-1914, Box 376.

[317]Ibid.

[318]Ibid.

were in fact just as much of a legal concern among government agents as they were social.

Interestingly, Runke's hypothetical scenario involving the Catholic Church, under different circumstances, later became an issue with Protestant missionaries working among the Indians on the Pala Reservation. Since the implementation of the Grant Administration's "Quaker peace policy" through the late 1870s, mostly Episcopalian Protestant missionaries worked among California's numerous Indian groups.[319] While the peace policy lost government support, and although an overwhelming number of southern California Mission Indians were Roman Catholic, a few Protestant missionaries remained in San Diego County. Responding to a letter from the BIA regarding a "dispute which has arisen regarding the rights of Protestants to conduct services on the reservation," Agent Lonergan explained to his superiors that the Protestant minister, likely Reverend Woosley, a Mennonite, had worked at Pala for six year and " has not one convert during that time, indicat[ing] that his work is perfectly useless."[320] Further, Lonergan maintained the minister was invited by the agency teacher, Mrs. Ora Salmons, not the Indians, and that the minister was deliberately deceiving the Indians by using the words "priest" and "misa (mass)."[321] It is reasonable to assume that some Protestant ministers blamed the government agent and, indirectly, Catholics for their own lack of converts. It appears the Indian Office in Washington was more sympathetic to the

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[319]Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: California, v. 8 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 113-115.

[320]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Letters to the Commissioner, 1908-1909, Box 375; ARCIA, 1906, 204.

[321]Ibid.

Protestant minister's alleged complaints. Lonergan's replacement, Frank Mead, arriving at Pala in 1910, was greeted with a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding compulsory church attendance by the Pala Indian School's Catholic students, stating:

> [I]f the service referred to [by the minister] is sectarian, or is in conflict with the regulations for religious worship and instruction in Indian Government schools it should be discontinued. In view of this order you are hereby directed to no longer make this requirement from any of the pupils in your school.[322]

The letter indicates that, despite the report by Agent Lonergan and others that virtually all the Indians at Pala and the rest of San Diego County were Roman Catholic, some biases against the Catholic Church, dating back to the "Quaker peace policy," remained within government agencies.[323]

Still, the Catholic priests ministering to Pala and the other North County reservations felt secure in the Indians' traditional identification with their church, and, unlike the Protestants, saw no need to proselytize among the Mission groups. At Pala where there was not always a resident priest, the Indians only had to answer to the government agent when they practiced their traditional ceremonies and customs. Many Indians believed that the priests were generally satisfied with their devoutness, caring more that Indian children were brought to Mission San Luis Rey to be baptized. Indians also believed some priests may have been inclined not to dissuade the Indians from

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[322]Ibid., Correspondence, Box 349, File no. 183.

[323]ARCIA, 1906, 204

performing their traditional ceremonies because of the tithe given to the church at the end of every fiesta from the sale of goods.[324]

By the end of the first decade at Pala after the removal, resident agents appeared less concerned with Indian fiestas, viewing them in a more favorable light. In a 1914 letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding fiestas, Pala Agency Superintendent Thomas F. McCormick stated his belief that they properly facilitated family reunions and social gatherings. He also emphasized the increasingly nontraditional flavor the fiestas had taken on, noting that, "[t]he evenings were spent in dancing—the young people dancing the modern steps and the old people their Indian dance . . . the women wearing ordinary dress and the men work cloths."[325] In fact, several years earlier, the agency's special allotting agent wholeheartedly endorsed Pala's fiestas:

> [T]hese people as you know always, if possible, maintain a place for fiestas . . . Such times, when they receive visits from the people of neighboring tribes, are occasions of great pleasure and enjoyment to them, and it seems to me excellent to encourage them to continue these fiestas.[326]

Perhaps finally viewing fiestas as a deeply ingrained element of the Indians' culture, government agents shifted their emphasis from the outright stoppage of any fiestas to more focused attempts at curtailing any unlawful practices such as gambling, this effort not being restricted solely toward the Indians. In a letter from the Indian Office to Pala Superintendent Thomas F. McCormick, Washington informed the

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[324]Panchetti interview, 27 March 2000.

[325]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintndency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 356, File no. 1005.

[326]Ibid., Letters sent to the Indian Office, 1908-1914, Box 375.

superintendent of rumors alleging gambling had taken place at the Pala Reservation's August fiesta. In his responding letter, McCormick stated that there had been no gambling at the fiesta, though one game had been started by a white man, but was shut down immediately. He further explained that the only game played at the fiesta was the Indian hand-game, "*peon*," which he mistakenly characterized as not being a gambling game. Interesting, too, was McCormick's assertion that the fiesta was held on deeded land belonging to the mission and was not sanctioned as a Pala Reservation event, lending further credence to the Indians' belief that the priests there willingly accommodated fiestas for the tithe.[327] In other circumstances the agent, aware that there was little chance to stop any gambling, argued that Indians playing *peon* at fiestas, in lieu of gambling, should be awarded a prize not to exceed five dollars.[328]

There were instances, however, when the government, in its attempts to further their assimilation, actually encouraged Indians to participate in certain aspects of their traditional culture. Partially in response to the late Victorian Era's adoption of the Arts and Crafts movement and with it the consumption of curios and other "primitive arts," California's Indians, particularly Native women, were encouraged to participate in the basket trade.[329] Many noted Indian advocates, including Charles Fletcher Lummis, George Wharton James, and Phoebe Hearst, either actively sought baskets for their own

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[327]Ibid., Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 358. The Indian hand-game, peon, is indeed a game of chance, one that often includes the betting of money. Traditionally played by only men, two teams of four face each other, hiding colored sticks which they hold behind a blanket, with each team expected to guess which opposing player is holding the most sticks. Today both men and women frequently play the game at cultural gatherings and specific peon tournaments.

[328]Ibid., Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 353, File no. 41.

collections, or encouraged the Indians to produce them, not solely as a means for sustaining Indian culture, but also as a way to earn money.[330] Others, especially Grace Nicholson of Pasadena, California, made their living from the California Indian Basket trade, while simultaneously helping Indians attain greater agency through economic independence.[331]

Ethnographers from the University of California had collected baskets and other cultural items in and around the area of Pala since the early 1900s. In 1904 Phillip Stedman Sparkman, a resident of Valley Center near the Rincon Reservation and amateur ethnographer, collected several baskets from Pala for the University of California's fledgling anthropology museum through Alfred Kroeber.[332] Four years later, T. T. Waterman, one of Kroeber's earliest doctoral students, was sent by his mentor on an extended collection trip to San Diego and Riverside Counties in search of, among other items, baskets for the university's museum. Over the course of three months Waterman visited, in addition to several other reservations and rancherías, a Cupeño village near Warner's Hot Springs, the small Luiseño ranchería at Mission San Luis Rey, and Pala.[333] Grace Nicholson also collected baskets for Kroeber, often shipping items she acquired in

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[329]Marvin Cohodas, Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 1-35.

[330]George Wharton James, Indian Basketry (New York: Henry Malkan, 1909).

[331]Cohodas, Basket Weavers for the Curio Trade, 170-254.

[332]Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology Archives, Accession Files, no. 124, University of California, Berkeley. Hereafter cited as Hearst Museum Archives.

[333]Ibid., nos. 340, 346.

San Diego to the university's museum from her "Arts and Crafts Sales Room" in Pasadena.[334]

Similar to Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893, organizers of San Francisco's 1915 Panama Exhibition sought ethnographic items representative of Indian groups across the United States, including Pala.[335] In a letter responding to the Commissioner of Indians Affairs' request for Indian-made items from Pala, Superintendent McCormick informed the Commissioner that in addition to baskets, women at Pala did impressive lace-work. Initiated by the Sybil Carter Indian Lace Association of New York City around the turn of the century to help promote the era's Victorian influenced domestic industries among Indian women, Pala's lace making school was the largest of its kind in California. In his letter to the Indian Office McCormick further noted that, "the lace school at Pala is now turning out some excellent specimens of workmanship."[336] Despite his ardor for Pala's lace making, he appeared even more enthusiastic about the reservation's basketry stating that, "[the] Indian women are excellent basket makers . . . Their products show skill, art, and fine workmanship . . . if it is necessary to buy baskets from the Indians they can be obtained for from $5 to $25 according to size and workmanship."[337] It was not surprising, though, that McCormick was aware of basket prices as he often acted as pitchman for Pala's basket makers. In an earlier letter to the Indian Office regarding lace making he appeared convinced that it was

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[334]Ibid., no. 256

[335]L.G. Moses, The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 110.

[336]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 358, File no. 1029.

neither practical nor profitable, specifically noting that, "[i]t is impossible for the Indians to market the lace in any store, and it is my opinion that it would be far better for them to spend their time in making baskets which are ready sale, than to extend the lace making industry among them."[338] Ironically, though, despite McCormick's extensive knowledge of the basket industry and its makers at Pala, the government chose to include only a lace display from the reservation for the Panama Exhibition.[339] Interestingly, though, many of Pala's finest basket makers were also lace makers and took equal pride in both skills. Further, McCormick, while probably correct that there was not as substantial a market for lace work, did not recognize that many Indian women often made lace for family members, particularly for communion-age children, and for the resident priest's and altar boy's vestments.[340]

Basketry and other items of material culture were not the sole reasons for visits from ethnographers. As one of San Diego County's oldest Indian communities with a sizeable and culturally mixed population, and as the agency headquarters, Pala was often the destination for such noted anthropologists as Edward W. Gifford, Paul Louis Faye, John Peaody Harrington, and William Duncan Strong. All of these men, at various times, visited Pala conducting extensive fieldwork over the course of nearly two decades.[341]

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[337]Ibid.

[338]Ibid., Box 355, File no. 58.

[339]Ibid., Box 358, File no. 1029.

[340]Naydene Nelson, Pala Band member, interview with the author, 30 March 2000, Pala Reservation. Mrs. Nelson's grandmother, Salvadora Valenzuela, was a renowned basket and lace maker originally from Warner's Hot Springs. See, Christopher L. Moser, Native American Basketry of Southern California (Riverside, CA: Riverside Museum Press, 1993).

Like so many of the "Boasian" influenced anthropologists of this period, these "salvage ethnographers" used Pala's enormous resource of elders, some of whom were a hundred years old, in an attempt to reconstruct the Indians' past culture.[342]

The Department of Anthropology at the University of California, in a determined and systematic effort, churned out dozens of ethnological studies on the state's numerous and linguistically varied culture groups, culminating in the Handbook of the Indians of California. Though the authorship was attributed to the department's most renowned anthropologist, Alfred Kroeber, most of the original research used in compiling the voluminous study was not his own, but rather collected by colleagues and graduate students.[343] In 1919, as the university's associate curator of the anthropology museum, Edward W. Gifford informed Pala's superintendent, Paul T. Hoffman, of the project:

> The University of California has had in hand an ethnological survey of the state of California for the past twenty years. The group of people over whom you have jurisdiction . . . whom by the way we designate as Cupeño . . . is of particular interest, and the University is desirous of pursuing the work which was begun with them in the early

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[341]See, Edward W. Gifford, Clans and Moieties of Southern California, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 14, no. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), 155-219; John P. Harrington, Cupeño Ethnographic and Linguistic Fieldnotes, Manuscript in National Anthropological Archives (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1925-1928); Paul Louis Faye, "Christmas Fiesta of the Cupeño," American Anthropologist, v, 30, no. 4 (1928): 651-658; Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, 1-358.

[342]Records of Baptisms and Marriages, Burials and Confirmations of Pala Mission Beginning in 1910 to August 1938 (Prefaced by those from 1904), Book I, Mission San Antonio de Pala. For various discussions behind "salvage ethnography" see, Darnell, "The Development of American Anthropology, 1879-1920," 265-449; Moses, The Indian Man, 222-235; Curtis M. Hinsely, Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 265-285.

[343]Darnell, "The Development of American Anthropology, 1879-1920," 299-317.

> part of 1917 . . . We propose to investigate . . . a complete survey of their social and political organization.[344]

In addition to informing the superintendent about the survey, Gifford inquired if there were any cottages on the reservation available for him and his wife to stay during their visit over the Christmas break. After Hoffman replied it was doubtful he could find a cottage for him and his wife, Gifford again wrote, this time seeking only room and board for himself. This latter request Hoffman was able to accommodate as Salvadora Valenzuela, a Cupeño originally from Warner's Ranch, owned the reservation's only two bedroom house, built by her son-in-law who learned carpentry at the Sherman Institute, and was in the habit of renting the extra room to travelers. Mrs. Valenzuela, at various times, boarded not only Gifford, but also Harrington, Strong, and Faye, these three also using her and her mother, Manuela Cibimoat, as key informants for their ethnological studies.[345]

The basket making industry and ethnographic fieldwork conducted throughout much of southern California represented a strange dichotomy at Pala and other reservations. While agents worried of a fading basket industry, noting that, "the younger people don't take it up," and as ethnographers walked the reservations' dusty roads searching for the past before "the gradual change of these Indian communities" was complete, simultaneously many hoped Indian children would leave the "old ways" of their parents and grandparents behind by taking up the same education and industries

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[344]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 360.

[345]Naydene Nelson, interview with the author, 26 June 1997. Naydene Nelson is the granddaughter of Salvadora Valenzuela and still owns the home built y her uncle for her grandmother. In her possession, too, is a guest book signed by all four anthropologists.

pursued by young whites.[346] Although most of Pala's younger children were educated at the reservation's school, many of the high school-aged children were sent off to government boarding schools.

Initially the work of Catholic missionaries at boarding schools in San Diego City and Banning, southern California's first government run Indian boarding school was established in Perris, eventually moving to Riverside in the early 1900s where it became the Sherman Institute.[347] By 1907 Sherman was the second largest government boarding school in the West with a student population of 500, second only to the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona. Many of Pala's children, after spending only three months on the reservation after the removal from Warner's Ranch, were shipped off to Sherman due to Indian agents' concern that the children should not live in government issued tents during the school year.[348] By 1916, Sherman's enrollment had grown to over 700 students, becoming the model Indian school in the western states, this noted by Board of Indian Commissioners member, Edward E. Ayer who on a visit there stated:

> In coming north to Riverside, I made quite an extended visit to the Sherman Institute . . . It was a great surprise to me to see seven or eight hundred Indians, taken from all parts of the western country,

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[346]RG 75, Records of he Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, Box 357, File no. 1018; Faye, "Christmas Fiestas of the Cupeño," 657.

[347]See, Nancy Scoones Miller, "The Blessings of Bureaucracy: Indian Education in San Diego County, 1848-1947" (Master's th., San Diego State University, 1992).

[348]Leroy Miranda, Jr., Pala Band member and Director of the Cupa Cultural Center, interview with the author, 29 March 2000. Mr. Miranda's great-grandmother, Roscinda Nolasques, seven years old when she and her family were removed to Pala, was one of these children mentioned.

> so splendidly taken care of, taught and drilled as they are at this school.[349]

Not every student attended Sherman, however, as some were sent back east to attend either the Haskell Indian School in Lawrence, Kansas, or the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania.[350] For the most part, though, children who did leave Pala for boarding school usually attended Sherman, a practice that was endorsed by the Indian agent for several reasons:

> The general tendency of the Indians in this part is to send their children to Sherman Institute, which is very much closer [to] home than any of the other non-reservation schools, and while I do not wish to favor any school I believe this tendency should be encouraged because of the fact that it keeps children near home (they can be at home in summers) and also keeps them in the climate to which they are accustomed.[351]

Superintendent Mead was correct in stating that when children did leave the reservation for school, their parents were in favor of their attending Sherman because of its close proximity, but only when compelled to go. A later superintendent admitted in a letter to the Indian Office that, "[d]ay schools are preferred by the parents and many of them are very loathe to send their children to boarding school."[352] Often, though, when children were sent away, it was due to destitution at home or the local schools' refusal to educate Indian children.[353] Further, the superintendent failed to mention that returning home for

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[349]Department of the Interior, Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 22.

[350]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Letters Sent to the Indian Office, 1908-1914, Box 375.

[351]Ibid., Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 349, File no. 187.

[352]Ibid., Box 359.

vacations was not always an option for Indians at boarding schools. Some children who attended either Haskell or Carlisle did not even return home for Christmas, while older girls often went to work as domestics for families in government sponsored "outing" programs over the summers.[354] For many of the children who left Pala for government run boarding schools the experience was difficult. Some Indians believed their teachers and house parents were not necessarily mean-spirited, but perhaps uncaring. Others, who were among the earliest to leave Pala for Sherman, refused to allow their children to be sent to the Indian boarding school.[355] After 1920 fewer children were sent off to Sherman as more Indian students finally began to be educated at local day schools, but only after a generation of Indians lost touch with much of their culture and traditional ways.[356]

By the end of World War I, life at Pala for many of the Indians had fallen into an uneasy routine. Always ill at ease with their "Indian ways," federal agents continued to direct much of how Pala's residents led their lives. Conversely, many Indians, still weary of a government they held responsible for their eviction from Warner's Ranch, fought to preserve elements of their traditional culture. Though displaced from their traditional homes, the Indians kept their close-knit village upon their arrival at Pala. Still, their celebratory cultural gatherings and fiestas were put under even greater scrutiny by government agents who, for the first time, lived in the same community as the Indians.

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[353]Ibid., Box 358, File no. 1026, Box 359.

[354]Josephine Jackson, Cupeño Tapes, no. 30; RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 349, File no. 221. Mrs. Jackson was educated at St. Boniface School, Sherman Institute, and Haskell Indian Academy.

[355]Naydene Nelson interview, 30 March 2000; Josephine Jackson, Cupeño Tapes, no. 30.

In previous decades Indians had left their villages and rancherías for weeks at a time, visiting other groups throughout San Diego and Riverside Counties. Though compelled to change these traditions, Indians continued to hold fiestas and in some circumstances may have persuaded government agents and clergy of their significance.

Long a part of California's Native culture, basket making continued to be an important cultural element representative of life at Pala. With greater public and museum interest, and some government support, the art of basketry also became a means for Indian women to establish themselves as earners for their families. During this same period academic interests in California's Indian groups also grew, drawing a number of noted academics to Mission Indian Territory. As one of the region's oldest Indian communities with a large reservation population, Pala was an important destination for many of these ethnographers hoping to detail what they believed were dying cultures.

Arguably, of the generations removed to Pala from Warner's Ranch in 1903, it was children and not adults that were required to adapt to the most difficult circumstances. Brought to a new reservation that, in the government's view, could not accommodate them, many children at Pala were sent off to government run boarding schools where many would lose touch with their families and culture.

In the years leading up to the Great Depression and World War II life for Pala's Indian residents was strikingly similar to previous decades. Although fewer children were sent away to school, enabling the younger generation to again become an integral part of the community, little else changed in their daily lives. What changed most, perhaps, were the communities that surrounded them. An increasing white population spurred by the region's growing agriculture economy proved to be a double-edged sword

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[356]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box

for the people of Pala and the rest of the Indians in the San Luis Rey River Valley. Although opportunities for employment at any of the numerous fruit ranches throughout the valley often gave Indians a much needed infusion of cash, the same ranches were indirectly responsible for the further diversion of already scarce amounts of water on area reservations. Ultimately it was this lack of water at Pala that defined much of how the people there lived for the next three generations.

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CHAPTER VIII

PALA AND THE MISSION INDIAN AGNECY

Like the Luiseño to the San Luis Rey River, the Cupeños were themselves culturally bound to abundant waters at Warner's Hot Springs. In part due to this, they quickly adopted a similar identification with the San Luis Rey, enabling both groups to forge a new understanding of the river, creating many traditions and a collective culture that remain at Pala today. And also like the Luiseños, the Cupeños took up the task of planting and harvesting crops, much as they had done at Warner's for generations. Even on the newly expanded reservation, though, and despite the Warner's Ranch Commission's belief that it was and would remain abundant, water was the most significant concern for the Indians' economic and cultural survival at Pala.

Over the last decade at Old Pala there had not been enough water for the Luiseños' agricultural needs, and after the Cupeños removal to the valley from their ancestral homes at the Hot Springs, it became an even scarcer resource. While some government-initiated work was implemented to accommodate this greater need for water, irrigation remained inadequate. This was particularly true for acreage north of the San Luis Rey which was generally too high to be irrigated directly from the river. The only adequate method for proper irrigation was a flume system, which was never constructed. In addition, alternating crop production and intermittent drought years continued to make

agricultural life tenuous for most people living on the reservation.[357] In a 1908 letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Pala's Superintendent, Philip T. Lonergan, reported that a total of fifty Indians were farming their individual allotments. Collectively the reservation had a total of 352 acres under cultivation, though just over half was under irrigation, the rest was dry farmed. He further noted that the two largest crops were 100 acres of corn and 150 acres of barley for animal feed.[358] Two year later, despite government claims just four years earlier that irrigation was entirely adequate at Pala, the Indian Irrigation Service, part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, assumed control of irrigation on southern California reservations with the hope of initiating more efficient water distribution.[359]

During that same year's annual report, the new Superintendent for the Pala Indian School and Agency, Frank Mead, noted that while agriculture continued to be the chief industry among the Indians, there were only 300 acres of irrigable land. Although this was a significant increase from the 190 acres reported just two years earlier, Mead

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[357]George Wharton James, Picturesque Pala: The Story of the Mission Chapel of San Antonio de Padua Connected with Mission San Luis Rey (Pasadena, CA: The Radiant Life Press, 1916), 53-56; Florence C. Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 54-55.

[358]Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Letters to the Commissioner, 1908-1914, Box 375. Hereafter cited as RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency.

[359]"Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1906," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Federal Concern About Conditions of California Indians, 1853-1913: Eight Documents (Soccoro, NM: Ballena Press, 1979), 143-45; Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 57-58, 161. Shipek explains that "improvements" made by the Indian Irrigation Services were disastrous, often contributing to severe flooding during heavy rains. In addition, wells were often dug without consideration to droughts, lack of basin replenishment, and deeper non-Indian wells that lowered groundwater levels.

cautioned that, "[t]he chief problems presented by efforts to induce Indians to take up agricultural pursuits is lack of land. Each family cultivates an average of five acres, the maximum area cultivated by any one person is forty acres. Greater areas would be cultivated were land available."[360] He added that while market prices were generally fair when obtained for their produce, "Marketing conditions are unfavorable, owing to the distance necessary for hauling."[361] According to Mead, also affected by the lack of available land was stock raising, which the Cupeños had participated in since the Mission Era and which continued to be a profitable industry for whites throughout the valley. For the Indians it was not, however, because, he explained, "the herds of cattle are not increasing owing to the small area for grazing. When the Indians were located at Warner's [Ranch] they had abundant grazing for their cattle in the mountain valleys as well as the valley near their home."[362]

The following year the superintendent cheerfully reported good results from farming among the Indians, "More land has been farmed, new cereals, trees, vegetables, fruits, and other crops are being introduced. Ample irrigation water is obtainable from the San Luis Rey River which flows east to west through the reservation."[363] In 1912, the previous year's sentiments were echoed:

> "With the means he has in hand his farming operations are on par with his white neighbors. More fruit trees were set out on the reservation, apricot, peach, plum, and pear on Pala. The tree fruit

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[360]Pala Indian School, Annual Report, 1910, Superintendents' Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports from the Field Jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, *1907-1938*, Roll 99, Microcopy 1011, Target 2. Hereafter cited as Pala Indian School, Annual Report.

[361]Ibid.

[362]Ibid.

[363]Ibid., 1911.

industry is one this valley seems destined for and the Indians are starting in that direction."[364]

Little did the superintendent know just how prophetic his words were concerning the valley's future in the tree fruit industry. Over the course of the next thirty years the citrus industry in northern San Diego County would grow to be one of the largest in the country.[365] Certainly both the superintendent and the Indians at Pala had every reason to believe they too might participate in the future prosperity. In 1913, the superintendent, although pleased that an additional 170 miner's inches of water was added to the reservation's irrigation system due to the completed well and pumping plant, reminded his superiors "[t]he cry of the Indians each year is for more water."[366] The Indians' plea for water, however, should not have been a surprise to Mead. Just two years earlier he had received a letter from C. R. Olberg, the Department of the Interior's Acting Chief Irrigation Engineer, informing him that due to recent business transactions the Indians' water situation could very likely change:

> [T]he Huntington interests have bought up 90 to 95 percent of the riparian rights of this [river], [though] . . . they could not obtain the rights belonging to the Indians reservations. [The Indians] form a major portion of the water rights not now in their possession. The Huntington interests later sold out to the South Coast Land and Water Company, and this company is now engaged in constructing a dam at the head of the San Luis Rey River, they have undoubtedly filed on all the water of the river as not otherwise appropriated.[367]

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[364]Ibid., 1912.

[365]See, H. Vincent Moses, To Have a Hand in Creation: Citrus and the Rise of Southern California, 1880-1980 (Riverside, CA: Riverside Museum Press, 1989); Steven Stoll, The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

[366]Pala Indian School, Annual Report, 1913.

[367]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, Box 350, File no. 226.

Olberg's letter was in reference to William Griffith Henshaw's purchase of the old Warner ranch from Henry E. Huntington and the Pacific Light and Power Company with the intention of developing northern San Diego County for fruit and cattle. In addition to riparian rights along the San Luis Rey, Henshaw purchased reservoir sites and riparian lands along the San Dieguito River, affecting several other Mission Indian reservations in southern San Diego County.[368] Just how closely federal, state, and local officials would abide by the Indians' reserved water rights remained to be seen.[369]

Certainly, though, any lack of agricultural production experienced at Pala could not be attributed solely to the lack of water, personal conflicts also being to blame. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from M.E. Waite, Pala's government employed "expert farmer," he complained that he was unable to plan the Indians' field work or the types of crops they planted, adding, "[p]ersonally I believe I could do more with earnest and ambitious white men than with Indians."[370] Waite further stated that the local Indian farmer at Pala "is very jealous of any aid [from me] and abhors the idea of any one else getting any credit for anything even though he may leave it undone himself."[371] Responding to Waite's accusations and complaints, Pala's Superintendent Thomas F. McCormick explained to the Commissioner that evidently Waite considered the Indian farmer, Domingo Moro, incompetent, though McCormick's view was that

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[368]Joseph J. Hill, The History of Warner's Ranch and Its Environs (Los Angeles: Privately Printed), 173-174.

[369]Todd A. Fisher, "The Winters of Our Discontent: Federal Reserved Water Rights in the Western States," Cornell Law Review, v. 69 (1984): 1077-1093.

[370]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintedency, Letters to the Commissioner, 1910-1920, Box 355, File no. 1000.

Moro was of greater value to Pala's agricultural output than Waite. He ended by stating that, "Mr. Waite has never made any complaint to me concerning Mr. Moro, and I see no other reason for his attack than jealousy. I consider Mr. Moro the most capable and efficient farmer in the jurisdiction."[372] Apparently the Indian Office agreed with McCormick's explanation and replaced Waite as expert farmer the following year.[373] His replacement, Asa D. Hammock, transferred from the Phoenix Indian School where he held a similar position and appeared better suited to working with the Indians, remaining at Pala for seven years.[374]

In response to Henshaw's purchases along the San Luis Rey River and the proposed dam, the Indian Service Office in Los Angeles hired a consulting engineer to act in an advisory capacity for the reservations. At this particular point in time, though, it was doubtful the Indians or the agency superintendent were aware of the project's implications. Still optimistic about Pala's crop futures, Superintendent McCormick sent the agency's expert farmer, Asa Hammock, to the University of California in Berkeley to take a six-week course at the agricultural college. McCormick also sought university lecturers to come to Pala to give advice on various agricultural techniques to the Indians there. All of this may have been part of his plan to lure a Los Angeles-based tomato packing company to Pala to perhaps put a cannery on the reservation.[375]

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[371]Ibid.

[372]Ibid.

[373]Ibid., Misc. Letters Sent, 1903-1915, Box 366.

[374]Asa Dow Hammock Scrapbook and Papers, 1895-1957, v. I, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[375]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 357, File no. 1018.

McCormick's optimism regarding the Indians' agricultural pursuits was rewarded as the years 1914 through 1917 were marked by continued growth of crop production. Still, there were setbacks for Pala and other reservations in the area. In January 1916 the "Hatfield" or "Big" flood destroyed considerable acreage throughout much of the San Luis Rey River Valley and San Diego County. In a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, McCormick laid testament to the extent of the flood's damage:

> [T]he floods have done considerable damage to all the reservations. Pala suffered the greatest loss. The [irrigations] ditch line on both sides of the river is gone and also the intake [canal] . . . About one-hundred acres of agricultural land valued at twenty-thousand dollars has been destroyed . . . It looked for a while as if the whole village would be washed away . . . The oldest Indians living here never experienced such a flood.[376]

Advising C.R. Oldberg, the Irrigation Chief in Los Angeles, of the situation, McCormick stated that all were "marooned" at Pala with no mail or telephone service and, more desperately, no potable water. Worried that the entire reservation's irrigation system might be destroyed, he declared with great urgency that, "the rain is still falling . . . [and] the river is on a rampage . . . I have never seen [it] so high."[377]

Yet, in spite of McCormick's near apocalyptic account of the January floods, ten months later Pala seemed to have recovered from its experience. In his November report to the Indian Office, McCormick noted that by the middle of June the crops were in such good condition that many of the Indians were able to seek their seasonal employment off the reservation:

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[376]Ibid., Box 358, File no. 1039; Norris Hundley, Jr., The Great Thirst, Californians and Water: A History (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 108-112. The distinction in the flood's names is , in fact, cultural. To whites it was called the "Hatfield Flood" in reference to Charles Hatfield, the southern California rainmaker, while to the Indians it was simply known as the "Big Flood"

> One crowd will go sheep shearing, another harvesting on some of the big ranches, another picking fruit and walnuts . . . [I]t continues along this way until grape picking which is usually finished about October 15 . . .These are Indians not only from the Pala jurisdiction but from all over southern California out working at this time.[378]

Referring to what had become an age-old tradition among the Indians and the ranches of southern California, as late as 1916, many of the region's Native peoples were still an essential part of its economy. McCormick, however, failed to mention in his report that many of the Indian men continued to work round-ups as vaqueros on the local ranches, particularly at San José del Valle and the Warner's Ranch area.[379]

It appears that despite the heavy rains and flooding the river valley suffered, too much rain was better than no rain. In fact, the following year's report giving the jurisdiction's crop yield recorded that there was a surplus of beans and corn, which the superintendent recommended could be purchased by government run boarding schools throughout the Southwest.[380] The only real difficulty that year at Pala, and certainly one more for the Indians than for the agent, was the cancellation of the August fiesta due to the floods washing out the fairgrounds adjacent to the river.[381] Although the floods of 1916 proved to be a mild setback, agency superintendents still used such words as

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[377]Ibid.

[378]Ibid., Box 353, File no. 41.

[379]Bernice Panchetti, Pala Band member, interview with the author, 27 March 2000, Pala Reservation.

[380]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 352, File no. 27.

[381]Ibid., Box 355, File no. 54.

"improved," "profitable," and "successful" to describe the previous three years' agricultural production at Pala and the valley's other reservations.[382]

By 1917, however, Pala's superintendent was not as enthusiastic about that year's crop production as a severe heat wave gripped the region. Only one year after some of the heaviest rains the region had ever experienced, drought again took its toll on the Indians' livelihood, the superintendent reporting considerable damage to corn, beans, fruit, and walnut crops. Estimating that as much as fifty percent of their total crop might be lost, he explained that, "[e]verything possible was done to relieve the situation in regard to furnishing water. The pumps were running night and day [as] the Indians irrigated. The land planted without irrigation is almost a total loss."[383] In 1918 the Pala superintendent took a similar tone, this time regarding the agency's protection over the Indians' water rights:

> "The legal situation on the Pauma Reservation is perplexing. Legal representatives of the Indian Irrigation Service have recently visited the locality and hope to provide relief. A director of the water company in that locality informally discussed a proposition whereby the Indians would be given the services of their ditch to convey the thirty inches which they are entitled, on condition that the government provide certain improvements to the ditch."[384]

Certainly the situation at Pauma, located farther up river from Pala, had more far-reaching implications beyond the boundaries of its own reservation. Already it was apparent that newly established water companies were competing for water rights all along the San Luis Rey River. Moreover, it seemed clear to the superintendent that these competing water interests not only sought to dictate the terms of the Indians' water usage,

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[382]Pala Indian School, Annual Report, 1914, 1915, 1916.

[383]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 352, File no. 27.

but also to press the federal government to pay for the maintenance of the supply systems.

Not coincidentally, in late January and early February of that same year a congressional committee heard testimony concerning the proposed dam and reservoir construction and rights-of-way across Indian land in San Diego County. Among the many issues discussed before the committee, the implied fate of many of the county's Indian groups was put on public record:

> "There is a movement on foot among the businessmen of San Diego to father the organization of a municipal water district, including the city of San Diego and our suburban section. The idea of being able to secure a comprehensive development of the entire water sources of San Diego County . . . [A] committee is negotiating with William G. Henshaw, owner of the Volcan Land & Water Co. system, with the idea of having the proposed municipal water district acquire the said [company]. The Volcan Land & Water Co. controls the waters of the San Luis Rey and Santa Ysabel [San Dieguito] Rivers."[385]

This acquisition along with previous purchases gave Henshaw extensive riparian rights along the San Luis Rey River from its mountain source to the Pacific Ocean.[386] In 1924, the Secretary of the Interior, after rejecting an earlier proposal to flood Indian lands at El Capitan Grande for a new reservoir in San Diego County, in order to facilitate greater development in the northern county region, gave permission for the construction of the Henshaw Dam above the La Jolla Reservation. Subsequently, in the years following, competing water districts took all the San Luis Rey River's water except the six miner's inches provided for the Rincon Reservation. No provisions were made for the other

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[384]Pala Indian School, Annual Report, 1918.

[385]Congress, House, Committee on Public Lands, San Diego, California, Dam and Reservoir Construction Rights-of-Way Across Indian and National Forest Lands, Conveyance Authorization, 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., 28-29 January, 1 February 1918, 40.

reservations along the river, including Pala.[387] The Henshaw Dam's construction marked the beginning of a new cycle for those at Pala and the other native peoples along the San Luis Rey River.

Though, more subtle changes began to take place at Pala and other reservations before these massive efforts to appropriate the waters of the San Luis Rey River. By the end of World War I, many Indians from Pala and the rest of the agency began to leave the reservation more frequently in search of work. No longer just a seasonal opportunity to supplement their agriculturally based subsistence, labor off the reservation was for some the only means for survival. For some who worked as ranch hands on local ranches, the lifestyle was not entirely different from what older family members had done in previous years. Still, others were forced to travel greater distances, leaving the reservation for longer periods of time, and these were not always limited to men. Increasingly entire families were traveling to the Imperial Valley to work lush fields that only a generation before was desert. In September 1920, Kenneth O. Oliver, General Manager of the Imperial Valley Growers Association, telegramed Pala's superintendent requesting he send him as many Indians laborers as possible: "We need several thousand cotton pickers . . . men, women, and children . . . Are any of your Indians available? [The] pay is from one and one half to three and one half cents per pound according to class of cotton. Tents and water will be furnished for at least four months work."[388] A decade before the Great

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[386]Hill, The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs, 174.

[387]San Diego, California, Dam and Reservoir Construction Rights-Of-Way Across Indian and National Forest Lands, 40, 104, 106; Hill, The History of Warner's Ranch and its Environs, 179-81; U.S. Department of the Interior, Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1925 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 28; Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks, 161.

Depression would force thousands of others to take the same pay, Indians could hardly expect to survive on such meager wages.

Another cause for the Indians' gradual exodus from the reservation was due largely to the government's own land policies. Tentative allotments made some twenty-five years earlier usually gave only small plots of land to young men who might then marry and start a family. Because neither his wife nor his children were generally given tentative allotments, his own piece of land, after only a few short years was too small to support his family. Circumstances such as these forced men, and even women, to leave the reservation and establish themselves as laborers and domestics in the white community.[389] To make these matter worse, the scarcity of water continued at Pala and other reservations, forcing many Indians who owned reasonably sized plots to leave their lands uncultivated. To this point, in his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells warned that, "the irrigable areas on these small Mission reservations are exceedingly limited and in many instances offer opportunity for the Indians to make only a bare living."[390]

Also a concern rarely mentioned by the agents was the increasing habit among the Indians, particularly women who had no male family members to work the fields, to lease either a portion or all of their allotment to white or a small but growing number of Mexican farmers. While most of these leases were legal, the agreements often drawn up by the government agent, it was not unusual for the lessees to hold back much of what they owed, usually in crop percentages. Further, because so few of the older allottees

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[388]RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 360.

[389]Ibid., Box 359.

could read or write, when leases were drawn up without the agent's assistance terms often favored the farmers more than the Indians who owned the land.[391]

In 1920, hoping to better administer the Mission Indians, the federal government decided to consolidate the Pala, Campo, and Soboba jurisdictions under a single superintendency called simply the Mission Agency of California. With its new headquarters in the town of Riverside, the superintendency administered thirty reservations in San Diego, Riverside, and San Bernardino Counties, with a total population of 3,806.[392] As with the Campo and Soboba jurisdictions, Pala was designated a sub-agency and assigned a "farmer-in-charge," its last Indian Agent, Paul T. Hoffman, being assigned as the new Mission Indian Agency superintendent.[393]

To some extent the agency's administrative restructuring allowed for greater cultural freedom at Pala and other reservations. With the superintendent some forty-five miles away in Riverside, there was some feeling among the Indians that they could practice their old customs without interference form the government. This was particularly true for the reservations in the hills above Pala where many "hung onto the

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[390]Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 44. Hereafter cited as ARCIA.

[391]Naydene Nelson, Pala Band member, interview with the author, 26 June 1997, Pala Reservation; RG 75, Records of the Pala Superintendency, Correspondence, 1910-1920, Box 359, File-"Leases."

[392]James R. Young, Dennis Moristo, and G. David Tenebaum, eds., An Inventory of the Mission Indian Agency Records, American Indian Treaties Series, no. 3 (American Indian Studies Center, UCLA: 1976), 15. This superintendency also included the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation in Santa Barbara County.

[393]Ibid.

old Indian ways."[394] Many of the traditional ways continued at Pala as well. Male elders continued to sing in their sweat lodges, religious ceremonies were held at Gregory Canyon, families and extended clans still participated in eagle dances and eagle killing ceremonies, and different reservations still congregated for fiestas along the banks of the San Luis Rey.[395] Still, as in previous years, the government agent took great interest in regulating the Indians' fiestas. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mission Agency Superintendent Charles E. Ellis mentioned specifically what he called the Indians' "mourna fiesta," held in commemoration of the dead.[396] In describing the ceremony he notes that, "there are none of the usual contortions which are associated with Indian dancing," concluding that there was "nothing objectionable," and that, "no immorality attends it."[397] Ellis, although inclined to scrutinize the Indians' traditional dances, was pleased to report that the younger Indians tended to "indulge in white dances."[398] Yet, any enthusiasm he may have had for some of their habits, Ellis, like most of his predecessors, remained skeptical about the fiestas:

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[394]Matthew Calac, Pala Band member, interview with the author, 28 March 2000, Escondido, CA.

[395]Ibid.; Panchetti interview, 27 March 2000; William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, v. 26, no. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929), 182, 261, 307.

[396]RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Mission Indian Agency, Central Classified Files, 1920-1953, Box 15, File 073. Hereafter cited as RG 75, Mission Indian Agency. What Ellis mentions is more properly known among the Indians as a "mourning ceremony," held one year after a person's death. Panchetti interview, 27 March 2000; Calac interview, 28 March 2000. See also, Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, 266-268.

[397]Ibid.

[398]Ibid.

> For some time past I have been endeavoring to have the Indians regulate the fiestas so that it will not interfere too greatly with their work . . . Possibly, as many of the Indians work away from the reservations, the number each year will decrease, but, as these fiestas are a heritage from the old Spanish regime, . . . the Indians cannot see why they should be deprived.[399]

Ironically, in his concern over fiestas, Superintendent Ellis spoke to the same concern as Commissioner Sells had only four years earlier. Unlike Sells, however, who worried that the reservations were becoming merely "living-quarters" as more Indians sought work elsewhere, Ellis saw this circumstance as an advantage as it kept the Indians from congregating too often at their fiestas. Similar to basket manufacturing, this situation again, points to a not so subtle duality within the federal government's policy toward Mission Indians. While the Indian Office complained that reservations were losing their viability as self-sustaining communities, strangely Indian agents seemed to favor this condition because it kept traditional events like fiestas to a minimum.

From the Indians' perspective, the government's behavior was viewed simply as duplicitous. While the government expected them to stay on their reservations and work their allotments, they could not because of a lack of tillable land and water. When Indians left the reservations to supplement the meager incomes provided by their allotments, the government worried that they could not maintain, or sequester, the Indians on designated lands. Government bureaucrats and agents failed to recognize that the

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[399]Ibid.

fiestas did as much to foster a sense of place, community, and identity among the Indians, perhaps, more than any other factor.[400]

By the onset of the Depression, poor living conditions at Pala and the other reservations within the sub-agency continued. Many whites throughout San Diego and Riverside Counties, because of the Depression evident national toll, took greater interest in the perceived destitution among the Mission Indians near their cities and towns. In 1932, Mr. S.C. Evans, a resident of Riverside, wrote to San Diego's Assistant Secretary for the County Welfare Commission, complaining of the poor condition of the county's Indian population. Noting that there had been comparatively little progress in aiding these people over the past twenty plus years, specifically mentioning the Cupeños' removal from Warner's Ranch, Evans complained that the recent Congressional Commission to visit the Indians never visited a single reservation. With less than subtle sarcasm, he stated that, "the Mission Inn was about their nearest approach to the wild west."[401] Making six specific recommendations for the Indians' benefit, Evans who was particularly concerned about the availability of water on the reservations, questioned whether the government knew if the Indians had "an adequate supply of water for irrigation" and insisted that "if this is not apparent and substantiated . . . there should be a very thorough investigation and statement."[402]

Concerns such as Mr. Evans' were not uncommon during the Depression years. Perhaps sensitive to his and other complaints, in 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps-

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[400]Race Freeman, Cupeño Tapes, no. 35, Cupa Cultural Center, Pala Reservation; Calac interview, 28 March 2000; Nelson interview, 30 March 2000; Panchetti interview, 27 March 2000.

[401]RG 75, Mission Indian Agency, Central Classified Files, 1920-1953, Box 16.

[402]Ibid.

Indian Division (CCC-ID) first appeared on several Mission Indian Agency reservations in an effort to promote agricultural land improvements so more Indians could obtain at least a subsistence living from farming and ranching activities. At Pala and several other reservations in the San Luis Rey River Valley, much of the CCC-ID's efforts were put toward securing more water through erosion control, well digging, and dam building.[403]

Over the next decade, accessibility to water continued to diminish, not just at Pala but throughout much of southern California's newly consolidated Mission Indian Agency as well. This downward trend is evidenced in part by the various governmental reports issued during this thirty-year period. In their 1930 annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, the Board of Indian Commissioners stated that, "while on paper these Indians have many thousands of acres, but a small part of their land is capable of irrigation, so they are really land poor."[404] That same year United States census data reported there were 3,347 Mission Indians living in both San Diego and Riverside Counties.[405] Of these 3,347 Indians, 2,512 were categorized as part of the "rural population," indicating that a full three-quarters of the two counties' Indian population, including Pala, was in some way affected by this inadequate supply of water for irrigation.[406]

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[403]Donald L. Parmon, "The Indian Civilian Conservation Corps" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1967), 169; Young, et. al., eds., An Inventory of the Mission Indian Agency Records, 16.

[404]Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1930 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), 26.

[405]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), 195. This number excludes Indians under the jurisdiction of the Mission Indian Agency in Santa Barbara and San Bernardino Counties.

[406]Ibid.

For many Indians at Pala, however, the Depression years were no different from any others, as most on the reservation were already poor and remained so. Government assistance through the CCC-ID was in fact noticeable, but more for the salaries it provided, for both men and women, than for the conservation projects it undertook.[407] And there were those who felt few of the era's problems, especially those employed by the county or nearby municipalities. Still, at Pala, it was not uncommon for families to seek assistance from the BIA office where tribal members often waited in line to receive government rations of bacon and flour. And, as the Indians had done for centuries, many supplemented their diets with game hunted on the reservation and acorns gathered in the mountains to make *weewish* or mush.[408]

By the end of the Great Depression through the beginning of World War II the Department of the Interior reported that 2,922 Indians lived within the same two counties on approximately 263,562 acres of either trust allotted or tribally owned lands. Yet throughout the entire Mission Indian Agency the federal government reported that only 1,112 acres, either Indian-operated or Indian-leased land were under irrigation.[409] The following year, in 1943, federal statistics indicated the area under irrigation was increased to 1,792 acres.[410] In 1944 the Department of the Interior reported the entire agency's irrigated land stood at 1,443 acres, a net loss of 349 acres in just one year.[411] Further, at

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[407]Nelson interview, 30 March 2000; Panchetti interview, 27 March 2000.

[408]Calac interview, 28 March 2000; Magee, Cupeño Tapes, no. 84.

[409]United States Department of the Interior, U.S. Indian Service, Statistical Supplement to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs For the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1942, 23-24, 32.

[410]Ibid., 1943, 28.

Pala, then comprising a total of 20,495 acres including reserved government lands, only 221 of the reservation's 829 farmed acres were under irrigation, the rest, nearly three-quarters of all tillable land, were dry-farmed, and these in an area that experiences only 3 inches of precipitation annually.[412]

For most Indians living at Pala this period marked the beginning of the most drastic changes in the character of the San Luis Rey River. What was, however, slowly becoming more clear to federal, state, and local officials had already been quite evident to the Indians. In the winter when the San Luis Rey was at its highest levels, fewer women washed cloths along the riverbanks. In the summer, where the river once flowed even during the hottest months, children no longer swam. And old men, accustomed to fishing along the river during the early morning and evening hours, no longer brought home their catch for their families' next meal.[413]

In 1946 the Office of Indian Affairs established regional or district offices to administer American Indians. The subsequent year the Mission Indian Agency, headquartered in Riverside, was designated a sub-agency to the California Indian Office located in Sacramento, leaving only a handful of agents to administer to southern California's Indian population.[414] By 1953, Pala's population remained relatively constant compared to previous decades, yet agriculture practiced there on any significant level was virtually nonexistent. Indeed, the same year that Congress passed Public Law

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[411]Ibid., 1944, 42.

[412]Ibid., 1945, 44; Tiller, American Indian Reservations and Trust Areas, 276.

[413]Jackson, Magee, Freeman, Cupeño Tapes, nos. 30, 84, 35; Panchetti interview, 27 March 2000; Calac interview, 28 March 2000; Nelson interview, 26 June 1997, 30 March 2000.

[414]Young, et. al., eds., An Inventory of the Mission Indian Agency Records, 17.

280, extending state jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against Indians in California and other states, a House Report concerning Indian affairs published the same year determined that while the Pala reservation's total acreage remained at over 20,000 acres, the actual "area cropped by Indians" stood at only seventy acres.[415] The report made no specifications, however, as to how much of this land was irrigated, only that sixty-five acres were designated as "horticulture" and five as "vegetable gardens."[416] What had once been only an implied fate for the people of Pala in the 1920s was now a harsh reality. Pushed completely out of the county's thriving commercial agriculture industry, Pala's own agricultural output was reduced to seemingly subsistence levels.

The Luiseños of Old Pala and the Cupeños of Warner's Hot Springs, removed to the San Luis Rey River Valley, together forged a new understanding of the river that flowed through their reservation. Long an integral part of the Luiseños survival, the river became equally important to the Cupeños as both groups worked the same soil in hoping for abundant harvests. Even before the Cupeños' arrival to the valley, water was a precious resource sought after not only by the Indians, but an increasing number of whites as well. Unlike previous years, however, when Indians competed with single

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[415]Francis Paul Prucha, ed., Documents of United States Indian Policy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 233-234; U.S. Congress, Report With Respect to the House Resolution Authorizing the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Conduct on Investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953), 1141, 1147. In 1953, as part of the larger federal policy of Termination and Relocation implemented during the Truman Administration, Congress passed public law 280, which transferred civil and criminal jurisdiction over the California Indians from the federal government to the state of California (67 U.S. Stats., 588). This legislation terminated federal trust responsibility thus bringing to a close the Department of the Interior and the BIA's administration of California Indian Affairs.

[416]Report With Respect to the House Resolution Authorizing the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to Conduct an Investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1141, 1147.

white settlers, by the first two decades of the twentieth century thirsty cities and eager corporations became the Indians' primary competitors for water.

Anxious to suitably maintain this body on their newly created reservation, government agents worked diligently to secure for the Indians the water they needed to sustain themselves through agricultural means. An initial infusion of government monies for irrigation projects and generally favorable growing conditions led agents to believe that the Indians might not only sustain themselves on the reservation, but might even play a part in the region's growing agricultural economy. Yet, poorly irrigated, or more often, dry-farmed fields, and individual plots generally too small to sustain even small families, kept the Indians from participating in the burgeoning citrus-based industry.

In part, to assist this agricultural industry and to quench the thirst of expanding towns and cities throughout San Diego County, business interests began to acquire riparian rights throughout the San Luis Rey River Valley where the Indians had traditionally not been forced to compete for water. As the water on the reservation continued to diminish, Indians from Pala and surrounding Native communities were forced to seek a living off the reservations, creating concerns for government agents anxious to keep them on their reserved lands. Further, traditional cultural activities such as religious ceremonies, dances, and fiestas, the few remaining cohesive elements within Indian communities, remained under continual assault from these same agents, many of whom were either unwilling or unable to recognize the advantages of fostering these customs.

From the beginning of the Great Depression through World War II, private citizens and later the federal government sought to improve conditions at Pala and other reservations in the region. For many Indians, however, their efforts were useless. By this

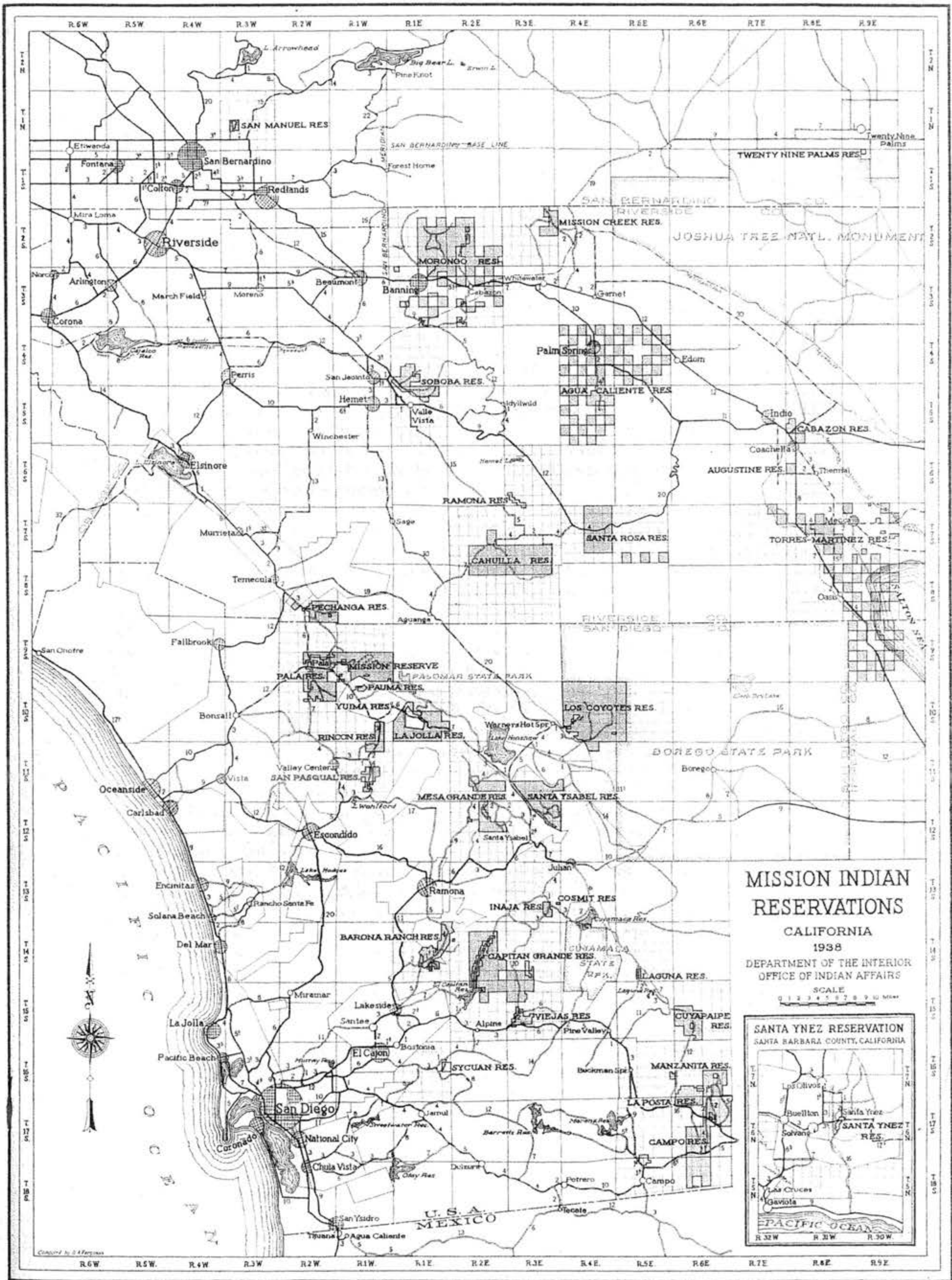

Figure 5. Mission Indian Reservations, 1938. Source: Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938).

time most Luiseños and Cupeños at Pala came to expect little from the federal government or white society in general. While some attempts were made to secure the Indians more water, most Indians who chose to remain on the reservations could barely support themselves through traditional means. By the beginning of the 1950s, the federal government, anxious to place Indian administrative duties in the hands of the individual states, all but backed away from any previous responsibilities it may have held.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In 1965, in a special committee report to the California governor and state legislature, it was concluded that, "Water supply is the basic and salient problem at Pala as on the other Indian reservations in San Diego County." The report further stated "The drying up of the San Luis Rey River within the past few years has removed valuable sources of water . . . [and] operations of any magnitude are precluded due to lack of water supply." Not surprisingly, perhaps, the report concluded: "It should be emphasized that neighboring non-Indian cattle ranchers, dairy farm operators, and agriculturalists have access to sufficient water to carry on their activities. Their fertile green acres, with gushing water, are in stark contrast to the brown, brush covered, and dusty expansion of the Pala Reservation."[417] Twenty years later, speaking before a joint hearing of the United States Senate in 1986, Henry Rodriguez, La Jolla Band member and Chair of the San Luis Rey Indian Water Authority testified to the following:

> "These water disputes are evidenced by underdeveloped reservation lands as compared to the surrounding lush productive citrus groves, truck farming, horticulture, hot houses and expensive homes. Denial of water resources and relative factors has caused the reservation community to live a drab existence on undeveloped

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[417]Progress Report to the Governor and Legislature by the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs on Indians in Rural and Reservation Areas, 1965 (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1966), 80-81.

lands due to the lack of potential water resources for development."[418]

Strikingly similar to those words in the 1965 report, Rodriguez's testimony is a harsh reminder that twenty more years had passed, and still too many circumstances remained the same. Today the Pala Indians, along with the four other neighboring tribes, after over twenty years of costly litigation still await the results of the San Luis Rey Indian Water Rights Settlement Act of 1988, and the increased water flow promised them.[419] While the Pala Band continues to pursue alternative means for generating income, there remains a significant reliance on the reservation's natural resources to do the same.[420] A sand and gravel works along the riverbed, and a 200 acre avocado orchard underscores their continued reliance on the San Luis Rey River as a source of livelihood for all tribal members.

Recently Indians and local ranchers have banded together to fight the passage of a county-wide referendum to place a thirty-year landfill in Gregory Canyon, close to the Pala reservation and directly adjacent to a mountain the Indians hold sacred. Similar to other ranching communities in the West, Indians and whites have jointly participated in legal action to try and stop unwanted development.[421] In this circumstance both groups

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[418]Congress, Indian Water Claims in San Diego County, California, 37.

[419]Jon C. Hare, ed., Indian Water Rights: An Analysis of Current and Pending Indian Water Rights Settlements (Oakville, WA: Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation and Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1996), sec. 10, "San Luis Rey Indian Water Rights Settlement," (Pub. L. 100-675, 102 Stat. 4000 (1988).

[420]It is important to note here that the Pala Band has recently completed a $100 million casino partially paid for and operated by Anchor Gaming of Las Vegas, Nevada (Los Angeles Magazine, December 1999).

[421]Peter Iverson, When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), xv. Here Iverson points to the somewhat ironic situation where white ranchers are

recognize the landfill's potential to pollute existing groundwater. Clearly the San Luis Rey River's continued inability to replenish the decreasing water table merely exacerbates the already precarious nature of this arid agricultural region. Unexpectedly, perhaps, Indian and Anglo tread common ground when faced with "new" problems such as these. Still, what ranchers and other local white residents do not fear is a loss of their identity as a people through the conditions surrounding such seemingly intangible things as dry rivers and proposed landfills.[422]

Known to people of European descent for only two centuries, Pala has been home to Native peoples since time immemorial. There they established a culture that paralleled those of other prehistoric Native groups throughout southern California. Over many generations, the people who inhabited the area around Pala created a complex system of rituals, customs, and beliefs that came to define them as a distinct group. By the mid-1500s, however, Europeans first visited California's coastal regions, arguably having an almost immediate impact on some Native groups. In 1769 the first Spanish expedition

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increasingly identifying with the plight of their Indian neighbors. As with some Indian reservations, many white ranching communities through out the American West are increasingly under pressure from unwanted development. Consequently many whites have either employed similar tactics used by various tribes or sought their help directly in an attempt to thwart further development in these rural communities.

[422]King Freeman, Pala Band member and tribal vice-chair, interview with the author, 14 June 1997, Pala Reservation; Rodney Guild, white rancher and member of the San Luis Rey River Valley Water Authority, interview by author, 13 June 1997, Pala Basin, CA; Jeff Bailey, "San Diego County Moves to Unload its Trash," Wall Street Journal, 12 May 1997; Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Native Americans and Rural Anglos: Conflicts and Cultural Responses to Energy Development," Human Organization v. 43, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 178-85; Raul Fernandez, "Evaluating the Loss of Kinship Structures: A Case Study of North American Indians," Human Organization v. 46, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 1-9; Richard W. Stoffle and Michael J. Evans, "Holistic Conservation and Cultural Triage: American Indian Perspectives on Cultural Resources," Human Organization v. 49, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 91-99; Dan McGovern, The Campo Indian Landfill War: The Fight for Gold in California's Garbage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

reached southern California ushering in an era that would severely impact the lives of Indian peoples at Pala and the rest of California.

First venturing through the San Diego region's northern interior in 1795, the Spanish were struck by the number of Indian settlements they saw as they made their way westward down the San Luis Rey River Valley. Once they arrived at Pala the Spanish were even more impressed with the abundance of water all around the Indian ranchería. Although the first Spanish settlement in southern Luiseño territory was Mission San Luis Rey, some twenty miles toward the coast, because of its large Indian population and abundance of water, Pala became an important agricultural, and later, spiritual satellite for the parent mission. Still, political change in New Spain also had an impact on its northern frontier, as landowners and the Catholic Church both struggled to control California's large and prosperous mission lands. After secularization many neophytes fled to the interior, seeking refuge among Indian groups hostile to Europeans. Yet some mission communities, Pala among them, remained intact, many of their inhabitants continuing to live and work as they had during the previous forty or more years. Though some attempts were made to secure these Indians' shrinking land base, many of them were drawn to the large ranchos where they merely continued the same life of peonage they knew among the missions.

With increasing American hegemony, by the late 1840s, southern California's Mexican-Californios witnessed significant changes to both their political and economic status. With this change in effect, many Mission Indians hoped they might better their position with the Americans whom they viewed as liberators. Yet, Americans proved to be an even greater adversary to the Indians than were the Californios, as it was their land, not labor that Americans sought to control. Left with only a series of broken treaties and

promises, many Mission Indian groups, including Pala, witnessed the continued depletion of their land base as the United States Government took little interest in southern California Indian affairs. In part, though, this neglect enabled the Luiseños at Pala and other Indian communities to maintain the structure of their traditional lives. By the end of the American Civil War, however, the federal government took a renewed interest in southern California's Indian population. And the Indians, having adapted yet again to difficult circumstances, were about to see greater ones still.

Severe drought conditions throughout much of California in the early 1860s virtually destroyed the region's once dominant cattle industry, of which many Mission Indians were a part. Still, while Indians were certainly affected by this economic misfortune, many were more concerned over American interference in tribal issues. Left largely alone during the first nearly two decades of California's statehood, Indians increasingly found themselves under the scrutiny of local whites and, to a lesser degree, the federal government. Renewed efforts on the part of the government to establish Indian reservations were, again, met with resistance from an increasing white settler population. With pressure from citizens' groups and reformers for Indian relief growing, the federal government eventually passed legislation for the Mission Indians' relief. By the 1890s, however, merely establishing Indians on permanent reservations was not enough, as whites began to look more for Indian water than they did for Indian land.

Unwittingly, perhaps, the 1891 Act for the Relief of Mission Indians allowed local and national business groups to utilize Indian lands in order to establish what became a complex water system for the region's growing agriculture industry and cities and towns. Many Indian groups, particularly those on reservations in the San Luis Rey River Valley were not protected by this unrestrained development. Still, at some of these

reservations, the more immediate concern was over allotment of tribally held lands. Living in communally oriented villages and rancherías for centuries, many Mission Indians resisted the idea of tribal separation through traditional white notions of individualized agricultural pursuits. Sometimes violent, their resistance demonstrated just how removed many Mission groups were from white society and its social norms. And, for some Mission groups, specifically the Cupeños and Diegeños of San José del Valle and Warner's Ranch, this relative isolation ended abruptly as they were evicted from their traditional lands and removed to the Pala Valley.

Once at Pala the Luiseños, Cupeños, and, for a brief period, the Diegeños settled into an uneasy existence. The Luiseños moved south, across the San Luis Rey River to their allotted lands. The Cupeños resisted individual allotments where they would be expected to live, demanding instead a central village much like the one they had left behind at the Hot Springs. And, most of the Diegeños removed to Pala from Warner's Ranch, incensed over having to live among traditional enemies, chose to leave Pala to live among Indians of their own culture. With the new agency office located on the reservation many Indians at Pala felt the strains of constantly negotiating between their own customs and traditions and the expectations of both government and clergy. Fearing their parents' cultural influences, the government shipped many Indian children off to boarding schools so they might achieve a higher level of civilization. Perhaps one of the few comforts parents could take in their children's absence was the opportunity to share their culture through native arts, particularly basketry, and working with the growing number of ethnographers who ventured to Pala each year to conduct field work.

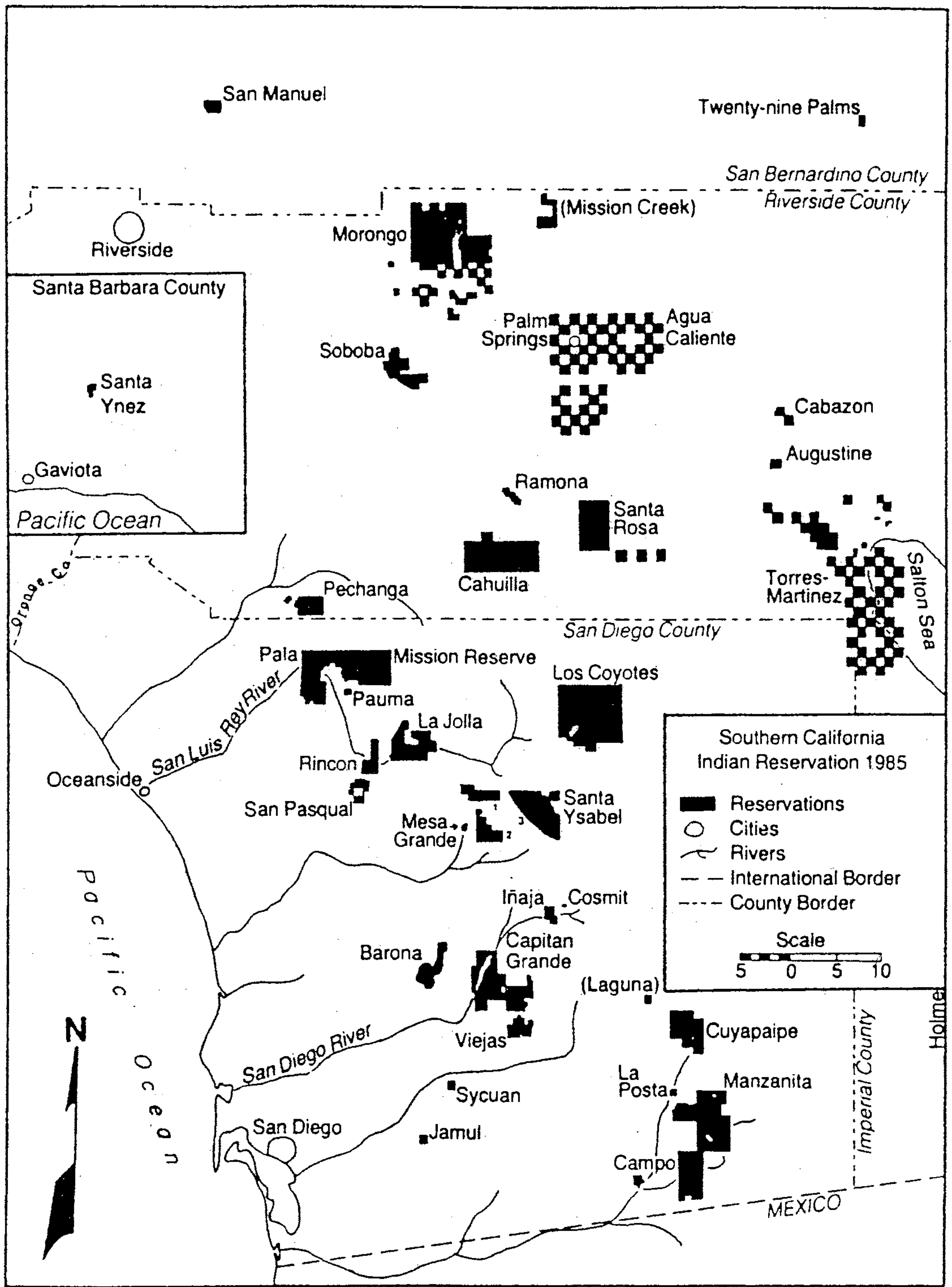

Figure 6. Indian Reservations in Southern California. Source: Florence C. Shipek, Pushed Into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1886 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 61.

By 1915, there were signs that Pala might prosper as agricultural production had steadily grown for over a decade. These productive years would not last, however, as water companies, a presence in the valley since the 1890s, took the final steps to appropriate the overwhelming majority of water along the San Luis Rey River. This mass appropriation culminated in the building of the Henshaw Dam in 1924, changing permanently the Indians' access to suitable amounts of water for agricultural purposes. Moreover, many Indians, forced to go off of the reservations in order to find employment, lost a sense of cohesiveness and community they came to expect, many of their cultural institutions breaking down as a result. Although there were, again, some federal efforts to improve living conditions on reservations during the Depression and World War II Eras, water and a former way of life known at Pala by generations of people were both gone.

Naydene Nelson is an eighty-two-year-old member of the Pala Band who was born and raised on the reservation:

> I planted a small orchard some years ago near the river on the same land my grandmother got when she was removed from Warner's. I have mostly apple trees, some apricot, and nectarines too. But they don't grow. They've all died because there's not as much water here like when my grandmother first came.[423]

King Freeman is a sixty-eight year old member of the Pala Band and tribal vice-chair:

> The county commits violations with the dump at Gregory Canyon. There are more ranches, more development, more people. The reservation is small with few economic resources. Up river in the Pauma Valley there's big money, country clubs, expensive homes, and a great need for water.

[423]Naydene Nelson, Pala Band member, interview with author, 20 August 1998, Pala Reservation.

> And while our economic resources are up, we still have little say in county events. It's all about water.[424]

Leroy Miranda is a thirty-three-year-old member of the Pala band, and Director of the Cupa Cultural Center:

> The elders that I talk to on the reservation tell me they remember when they used to go down to the river and play.[425]

Currently litigation continues over the San Luis Rey River, though no longer in federal courts. This time arguments focus on whether the water that lies below the riverbed is indeed riparian or merely a series of stationary ponds.[426] And while state and local officials eagerly await the outcome of this pending case, the people of Pala continue to live within a changing, yet somehow similar set of circumstances. Perhaps more ironic still, though the river no longer erodes the sandy banks that pass through their reservation, the continued erosion of a people's identity is at risk, and with it the loss of a culture once fed by these running waters.

Patricia Nelson is a Pala Band member and Treasurer of the San Luis Rey Indian Water Authority:

> It is this sense of pride in ourselves, our resources, and our waters that rule our spirit and, in fact, perpetuates our race. We are survivors against all odds, survivors who struggle over the rights to the water of the San Luis Rey River, water we believed could never belong to anyone.[427]

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[424]King Freeman interview, 14 June 1997.

[425]Leroy Miranda, Jr., Pala Band member and Director of the Cupa Cultural Center, interview with the author, 20 August 1998, Pala Reservation.

[426]Adam Duncan, attorney for the Pala Rey Ranch, Pala Basin, CA, interview with the author, 10 September 1998, Los Angeles, CA.

[427]Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resures, Indian Water Claims in San Diego County, 99th Cong., 2nd Sess., 11 August 1986, 39, 40.

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