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Competing Visions: The Politics Of Racial And Ethnic Identity Formation And Land Use In Pasadena, 1771-1890

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“COMPETING VISIONS: THE POLITICS OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY
FORMATION AND LAND USE IN PASADENA, 1771-1890”

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By

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2013

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FORMATION AND LAND USE IN PASDENA, 1771-1890”

By

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Abstract

This project studies the competing visions of land use and racial/ethnic exclusion in Pasadena, California throughout the period from 1771-1890. This work examines how the landscape of the San Gabriel Region during the Spanish, Californio, and American Period reflects culturally subjective ideas about race and visions of optimal land use. It looks at the links between the racialization of space and people and interrogates how racial and cultural attitudes regarding optimal land use constructed the social identities of those who lived in the region. By looking at the continuities that exist between Spanish, Californio, and American attitudes regarding land use it shows that the Mission, Rancho, and homestead became tangible representations of political projects engendered through the process of empire building, nation building, expansion, and conquest during each historical period. The common goal of gaining and maintaining control of land and defining landless groups as social, economic, and cultural others was a common tenant of each colonization project. Immediately following the Spanish Conquest, Mission Secularization, and the U.S –Mexico War, the region became contested ground where dominant groups with differing political ideologies negotiated their place in society as a means of making more capital and maintaining their social status; often using land ownership as the basis for societal distinction. Within their respective colonization processes, Spanish missionaries, Californio Rancheros, and American settlers followed a program based on constructed racial and cultural difference as a means of legitimizing their control of the land and solidifying their social power over the landless populations.

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Introduction

The City of Pasadena is world-renowned for its annual Tournament of Roses Parade and Rose Bowl football game. On any given weekend tourists and locals alike congregate along Colorado Boulevard in Old Town Pasadena to patronize the high-end shops and gourmet restaurants. As they traverse the streets of Old Town, the building facades and alleyways transport them to the turn-of-the-century Pasadena, a town that emerged out of a colossal land-boom that resulted from the railroad's inauguration into the region. The countless photographs of orange groves, majestic landscapes, and harvest festivals--complete with pictures of men on horseback and riding ostriches-- tells the story of Pasadena's early settlers, courageous pioneers that left the cold harsh Midwest winters to establish an agricultural colony in Southern California. These images and the narrative they create fill the walls of local establishments and the minds of those who see them, depicting the agricultural Pasadena that existed so many years ago. The emphasis on this agricultural past tethers modern-day Pasadena to the men and women of a simpler past as a way to show how the land and its people have progressed. The story, as told, represents progress through the displacement of the horticultural past by a contemporary modern present. Pasadena's story of *Anglo progress* is but one layer of a complex history that began in the late eighteenth century. It is a history comprised of multiple layers and representative of the contestation for power in the place that became Pasadena.

Over the course of 120 years, from 1771 to 1890, the land comprising present day Pasadena changed hands several times. During each historical moment, groups such as the indigenous Tongva people, Spanish missionaries, Spanish-speaking Californios, and American colonists used the land in diverse ways that represented their respective ideas about optimal land use. Despite each group differing in their concept of what optimal land use meant, what

remained constant was their belief that their vision of land use was superior to those of previous groups.

In the late eighteenth century, at the time of Spanish arrival in the region, Pasadena, situated eleven miles northeast of Los Angeles, was part of the lands inhabited by the Tongva people of the San Gabriel Valley. Prior to Spanish contact, the inland Tongva were seasonally sedentary and engaged in hunting and gathering. Tongva religious cosmology prompted a deep connection to the land and placed on them a responsibility for wisely managing its resources. This cosmic responsibility created a vision of land use in which the land, in its natural condition, provided for the people's well-being. Until the arrival of the Spanish, the land remained in its "natural" state, valued by its local inhabitants through periodic ceremonies of thanksgiving. When the Spanish missionaries saw how the Tongva people lived, they thought the land undeveloped and wasted. They quickly worked to teach the Tongva Spanish ideas of civilization through land use.¹

The establishment of the Misión San Gabriel Arcángel in 1771 introduced a vision of land use to the region that reflected tenets of Spanish civilization and Christianity. Seeking to teach the Tongva Spanish farming techniques and animal domestication as part of their civilization process, Franciscan missionaries used the land to teach the value of Christian labor while at the same time they attempted to establish the mission's self-sufficiency. By the 1780s, fields of wheat and grape vines filled the vast acreage of mission lands. Additionally, by the late 1700s missionaries raised cattle to produce tallow and hide for an emergent trade network. Agricultural and ranching pursuits changed the landscape in ways that reflected the imposition of Spanish control and mission self-sufficiency. Through the end of the eighteenth and the early

¹ How Franciscans divided Indian labor in the missions indicates that land use, consisting mainly of horticultural production, was a crucial element in the "civilizing process." See James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 9-10.

nineteenth centuries, the San Gabriel Mission grew in wealth and regional influence. Trade with regional presidios and a steadily growing civilian population made the San Gabriel Mission Alta California's economic center. The mission's growing prosperity and the slow emergence of an aspiring elite class led to resentment of mission wealth. Throughout California, aspiring landowners indicted the mission system as an archaic institution that hindered the region's economic development and moved to obtain its rich arable lands through secularization.

As the colonial period ended and Mexico achieved independence, young Californios, Spanish speaking, non-Indian men, motivated by the political thought of early nineteenth century liberalism, sought mission secularization as a means of accessing the region's valuable lands. Secularization, the process of removing the missions from Franciscan control and converting them into local parishes, emancipating Indians from the control of the mission fathers, and placing control of mission lands under the secular government allowed access to the mission's premier lands. In 1834, the Mexican government implemented a Secularization Order that opened the land for private colonization and San Gabriel's Mission lands became Rancho San Pascual. Through the creation of a social network based on familial relations and cultural bonds, would-be oligarchs took advantage of secularization's distribution of mission lands to obtain large land grants. During the early nineteenth century, as the region's tallow and hide trade grew, Californio identity and society were linked to the changing landscape. Defining their identity through land ownership, California's elite class contributed to the creation of a rancho society that used the land as a means to reflect their wealth and social status. The expansion of regional trade and increased land availability in California during the 1830s brought an influx of Americans who slowly assimilated into elite Californio society. The changing landscape and the increased desire and competition for land prompted many avaricious landowners to use

economic denouncement, a process in which a petitioner claimed a land was abandoned due to the owner's financial inability to develop it, as a means of increasing their individual land holding. Throughout California, economic denouncements caused land to change hands amongst an elite class that defined honor by their ability to keep their lands. Rancho San Pascual was not immune to this process, and in the 1830s changed hands on two separate occasions amidst charges of physical and economic abandonment. In the early 1840s, Mexican military lieutenant and aspiring landowner Manuel Garfias laid claim to Rancho San Pascual; he was destined to be the rancho's last Mexican owner. Garfias used the land and his marriage into the established Avila family to gain entrance into elite Californio society and politics. With the outbreak of the U.S-Mexico War during the late 1840s Garfias left San Pascual and put his effort toward fighting the war. At the war's end, Garfias returned to Rancho San Pascual and worked to develop it as a means of maintaining his social status and establishing his political career in California's early American period. With the intention of bettering the homestead, Garfias obtained a loan from acculturated American Benjamin Davis Wilson. Soon, Garfias fell behind in his payments and lost San Pascual's lands to Wilson. Garfias' loss of the property signified the end of San Pascual's Mexican ownership. Other Californios quickly realized that their vision of optimal land use would soon disappear.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Americans migrated into the newly conquered territory in search of wealth and land. American expansion, fueled by the ideas of Manifest Destiny and white Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, began to change San Pascual. By the 1860s, citrus groves and fruit trees covered San Pascual's landscape. The age of land speculation had begun, and gradually San Pascual's prosperous owner, Benjamin Davis Wilson, sought to sell land parcels to interested parties. In 1873, travel accounts highlighting the region's climate and health benefits

caught the interest of Daniel Berry, the land scout for the Indianapolis-based Indiana Colony. Berry promptly purchased San Pascual from Wilson and within one year, the Colony settled in the region. Colonists quickly divided the land into small plots and established homesteads and productive citrus groves. The age of Rancho San Pascual had given way to Pasadena, the representation of the nineteenth century Jeffersonian ideal of the yeoman farmer. Throughout the 1870s, as the colony flourished, it represented the triumph of Manifest Destiny and American Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy. As the citrus trade grew, Pasadena's reputation did as well; by 1885, the arrival of the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad prompted a massive land boom that forever changed the colony's landscape. In 1887, as speculation spread and the land gained more value, the Indiana Colony became the incorporated City of Pasadena. This transition marked a change from an agricultural society to a modern city. By the end of the nineteenth century, growing recognition of the region as a premier tourist destination displaced interest in pursuing a lucrative horticultural society. The landscape no longer reflected the agricultural foundations of the Indiana Colony; palatial resort-like hotels and shops dedicated to serving an ever-increasing tourist population displaced the farmer, relegating him to a pioneer past.

Over the course of 120 years, during which Misión San Gabriel's lands became Pasadena, there emerged various contentious power relationships amongst the region's inhabitants. These interactions and relationships repeatedly used the physical landscape to reflect specific cultural ideas about land use and the people who lived on the land. As Franciscans, Spanish pobladores, Californios, American horticulturalists, and land speculators entered the region they each viewed the land as theirs for the taking. They saw land as an opportunity to expand their social influence and wealth, with each group viewing the land with an eye towards

subjective notions of progress. These differing ideas of progress as manifested thorough visions of the lands, peoples, social, and economic structures set up the framework to develop “the best place ever” by the most capable group/country/empire/power. Culturally and racially supported visions of land led to Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo American settlers’ exploitation, exclusion, erasure, and/or subsuming of groups who did not share dominant notions of proper land use. Each group’s land policies established and (re)created a specific regional identity and reputation. Land ownership quickly became a marker of societal status and economic power. Within this structure a person’s relation to land determined contemporary socio-cultural power dynamics and influenced future constructions of historical memory of place. The complex relationship between people, land ownership, and culture produced regional dynamics reflective of Franciscan, Spanish, Californio, and American ideals about optimal economic systems and societal hierarchies. Working from this notion, I argue that competing visions of land use throughout the period from 1771 through 1890 created intricate relationships among institutions, people, land ownership, and culture. Looking closely at the power dynamics present in these relationships, we see how optimal ideas of land use and improvement were at the foundation of Spanish, Mexican, and American hegemony during their respective eras.

This dissertation aims to study the competing visions of land use and their effect on racial and cultural identity in Pasadena, California, throughout the period from 1771 and 1890. By examining changing ideas about race, gender, culture and land use in the San Gabriel region over the course of 120 years, I explore how culturally subjective ideas about race and visions of optimal land use became tangible representations of Spanish, Californio, and American political projects such as empire building, nation building, expansion, and conquest. This project examines how racial and cultural attitudes regarding ideas of optimal land use constructed the

social identities of those who inhabited the land and was a determinant of social power dynamics that manifested themselves on the physical landscape in the form of the mission, rancho, or homestead.

To understand how optimal visions of land use affected the creation of cultural and racial classification throughout these disparate periods I conducted archival research and extensive review of public and private historical records for each respective period. I place San Pascual into a framework that recognizes the malleability of racial and cultural identities taking shape in a dynamic frontier location. I interrogate these sources with an eye towards inter- and intra-racial and cultural interactions and negotiations over 120 years, in order to see how people's attitudes about the physical landscape simultaneously constructed and represented socio-cultural beliefs and identities for each respective era. As a means of studying general cultural, economic, and social attitudes during the Spanish period, I use personal correspondence between mission priests, regional officials, and civilian settlers from throughout Alta California. To look at Franciscans' attitudes about the mission system's role in the region and the Order's attitudes about Indigenous groups' conversion, civilization, labor and land, I study letters between Franciscan missionaries and their superiors from a variety of Alta California's missions, including San Gabriel. For a glimpse into the missions' broader financial role in the region I look at annual reports, mission inventories, and business correspondence between mission priests and pobladores or settlers. Sources for the Mexican / Californio Period include *testimonios* of prominent Californias/os and articles from *El Clamor Público*, the first Spanish- language newspaper in Los Angeles after the U.S-Mexico War. For the American period, my sources were mainly comprised of personal correspondence between early Pasadena settlers and widely read nineteenth-century regional travel accounts. Other sources include the personal papers of

Benjamin Davis Wilson, a Los Angeles politician, and one of Rancho San Pascual and Pasadena's most prominent men. Aside from the material pertaining to specific periods, I use additional sources that give insight into the links between land ownership and the construction of racial and cultural identity in San Pascual over the course of time. I use matrimonial investigations, baptismal records, Mexican Land Case files, property deeds, and Padrón / census information ranging from the Spanish colonial period through the American period to trace racial and cultural designations for each era as well as gain a look at the link between racial/ethnic identity and class for San Pascual's population. Reading these sources using an analytical lens linking land use and racial identity, it becomes clear that regardless of the historical period, or group in power, the physical landscape served as the materialization of racial and cultural ideals. The land and its inhabitants were inextricably linked in a project that defined them in relation to each other.

My primary objective in this dissertation is to contribute to the scholarly discussion of the link between landscape, race and culture. This work pushes past the traditional temporal and spatial boundaries of American, Latin American and Chicana/o history to show that although reflective of very different historical periods and often seen as having different goals, the continuities that existed amongst Spanish missionaries, Californios, and American settlers are quite striking. The goal of gaining and maintaining control of land and defining landed groups as social, economic, and cultural superiors was a common tenet of each colonization project. During each historical period, the Spanish conquest of Alta California, mission secularization, and the U.S –Mexico War, the region became contested ground where dominant groups with differing political and cultural ideologies negotiated their place in society as a way to attain wealth and maintain their social status. Within their respective colonization processes, Spanish

missionaries, Californio rancheros, and American settlers followed a program based on constructed racial and cultural difference as a means of legitimizing their control of the land.

I approach this project with the idea that San Pascual's landscape represents the physical materialization of the racial and cultural ideals of each group that controlled the region. What occurs through each historical period covered in this work is the creation of an identity based on the view of the landscape. Subjective ideas about civilization designated the mission, the rancho, and the farm as a part of a superior racial and cultural identity. The landscape, created through specific land use techniques, served to simultaneously reflect and generate racial identity categories by constructing, maintaining, or dismantling the spatiality of the dominant order. According to historian Laura Barraclough, "the production of space and landscape is a fully relational process. All systems of racial categorization are produced through the ongoing reproduction of racialized places and landscapes that are related to – indeed, dependent on – one another."² Race and land therefore are part of larger colonization efforts to establish hegemony; the physical landscape became the physical representation of domination and control. Within cultural geography, scholars "define landscape as the fusion of physical, material space, and cultural or discursive representations of it."³ The landscape of a particular place, although appearing non-racial and nature-based, was part of larger colonial and later national projects to create a state-sanctioned racial order that determined the racial politics of everyday life.

In California, those who controlled the physical land, regardless of the era, used it to create and sustain racial categories. As racial theorists Michael Omi and Howard Winant argued in their influential theory of racial formation, "racial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are

² Laura R. Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley: Rural Landscapes, Urban Development, and White Privilege* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 16.

³ Ibid., 16.

embedded.”⁴ During the mission, Californio, and early American periods, the larger social, economic and political forces provided the ideologies that formed the basis of racial categorization and, in turn, shaped racial meaning. At any given historical moment, racial identities are a result of competing political projects and ideas. It is this interplay of power, manifested through a variety of interactions, which racializes or extends racial meaning to previously unclassified relationships, social practices or groups.⁵ Although the process of racial formation provides a solid foundation for my discussion of the link between land and race, these social, economic, and political processes alone cannot account for the malleability of racial meaning. Supplementing Omi and Winant’s racial formation with theorist Ian López’s concept of racial fabrication, in which human hands are involved in giving shape to racial meaning,⁶ provides for an analysis of how racial thought within each period influenced policies regarding land ownership. A person’s inclusion or exclusion from land ownership directly reflects his or her social and cultural position in the society. As critical race theorist Cheryl Harris argued, access to land was a marker of freedom and citizenship, a constitutive element of whiteness that had profound ideological and political effects.⁷ A person’s relationship to the land defined his or her racial identity and either awarded or denied access to things such things as property, voting, and social and political citizenship. In creating the mission, the rancho, and the farm, those in control of land directly influenced social identity formation as they shaped the land.

The creation of racial/ethnic identity within the context of San Gabriel directly correlated with the development of ideas of optimal land use. Ideas regarding the use of mission lands

⁴ Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge Press, 1996), 61.

⁵ Ibid., 61.

⁶ Ian López, “Social Construction of Race,” in *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, ed. Richard Delgado (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 196.

⁷ Cheryl I. Harris, “Whiteness As Property,” in *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writing that Formed the Movement*, ed. Kimberlé Crenshaw et. al. (New York: The New Press, 1995), 277-278.

reflected the manner in which visions of land use racialized those who lived, worked, and profited from it during each specific period. Although there is ample scholarship on cultural constructions and representations of race in California and the American Southwest during each respective period,⁸ few studies have undertaken a thorough, comparative approach that interrogates the physical materialization between each dominant group's ideas of optimal land use and the racial and cultural identity of landed populations.⁹ Historians of the mission period, nineteenth-century California, and the American West have studied land tenure laws for each individual period, as well as the personal writings of missionaries, Californio *testimonios*, and American settlers' personal correspondence, but have based their work on the contentious relationships between colonizer and colonized. In this work I utilize these sources and read them with an eye towards continuity, choosing rather to look at interactions amongst each dominant group as a ongoing contestation and negotiation of power. My work interrogates these sources to examine how each dominant group attempted to maintain their economic, social, cultural status by using land to distinguish themselves from the lower, landless classes.

Building on the work of historians Laura Barraclough and Linda Heidenreich, this project aims to provide a new way of looking at the history of place and its interplay with dynamics of conquest, colonization, Manifest Destiny, and racial ideology. Similar to Barraclough's examination of the links between race, whiteness, and land use in the San Fernando Valley, my work on Pasadena contributes to the fields of Borderlands, American West, and California

⁸ Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios : A Social History of the Spanish-speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers : the Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1990); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Tómas Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines: The Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society : From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁹ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

history because it provides a springboard for reconceptualizing Pasadena's American 'pioneer' history. By looking at the area's history through a lens critical of notions of Europeaness and whiteness, "Competing Visions" challenges the temporal boundaries that tie Pasadena and the greater San Gabriel Valley to a constructed pioneer history that erases the Spanish and Mexican past. To this end, I utilize historian Linda Heidenreich's framework of bifurcated history, in which the historian uncovers the counter-memories about a place and challenges linear histories skewed by dynamics of conquest, colonization and nation.¹⁰ Accordingly, this project accentuates, rather than downplays, the region's Spanish and Mexican past through an examination of the changing landscape. Although part of this study's goal is to uncover the silences in the history and disrupt the dominant narratives of the region's history, its contents focus on the people who held social, political, and economic power in the area during their respective periods. It examines how each dominant group used the land to represent their specific ideas of culture and class, and it expands on way each of these groups was subsequently marginalized and replaced by an incoming group that thought itself more civilized, sophisticated, and superior.

While the links between land and culture are the central foci of this dissertation, the importance of gender in the development of colonial projects is crucial to an understanding of cultural and societal dynamics. In addition to looking at racialized land visions, my work also interrogates gender dynamics as they relate to land visions and land ownership. Following the methodology of Chicana historians who work on land ownership, dispossession, and women's rights during different waves of conquest and colonization, I look at how racialized visions of land reflected the dominant group's patriarchal structure through its ideas of land ownership.

¹⁰ Linda Heidenreich, *"This Land Was Mexican Once": Histories of Resistance from Northern California* (Austin, TX : University of Texas Press, 2007), 4.

Expanding on the work of Chicana scholars such as Deena J. González, Antonia Castañeda, Miroslava Chávez-García, Angelina Veyna, and Linda Heidenreich, all of whom discuss land and gender dynamics in different areas of the southwest ranging from the colonial period to the American conquest, I show how men and women in the San Pascual / Pasadena region continuously negotiated their space within land laws and visions.¹¹ Contributing to this scholarship, historian Louise Pubols utilizes a gender-based framework to interrogate the role patriarchal power played in the establishment of wealthy Californio families' political and social power.¹² Pubols argues that a stable, yet malleable, patriarchy helped create the political, social, economic and cultural order of Spanish and Mexican California. Building on her work, "Competing Visions" studies the deployment of masculinity and patriarchy through men's landownership and the establishment of a stable, respectable homestead based on patriarchal control in the ranchos surrounding San Pascual. Using this conceptual framework as its premise, "Competing Visions" examines the interrelatedness between racialized land use policies, labor, class and its correlation with ethnic/ racial identity.

"Competing Visions" provides another layer to Pasadena's history by studying the interaction between the land and its people. Despite the idea that people defined the land, this project demonstrates that through these different periods of conquest and colonization, it was the

¹¹ Angelina Veyna, "It Is my last wish that..." A Look at Colonial Nuevo Mexicanas through their Testaments," in *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana History*, eds. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*; Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: the Spanish Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Antonia Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras: The Journey North and Life in Frontier California" in *En Aquel Entonces: Readings in Mexican American History*, eds., Manuel G. Gonzales and Cynthia M. Gonzales (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Miroslava Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004); María Raquel Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land : Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880* (Reno : University of Nevada Press, 2007); Linda Heidenreich, *"This Land Was Mexican Once" : Histories of Resistance from Northern California* (Austin, TX : University of Texas Press, 2007).

¹² Louise Pubols, *The Father of All: The de la Guerra Family, Power, and Patriarchy in Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Pubols' study focused on Santa Barbara's De la Guerra Family and its very wealthy patriarch José de la Guerra.

land that determined how the people lived. This project provides an additional history for this world-renowned city, not in an attempt to completely erase the “pioneer past,” but rather to show the city’s multiple layers of history. In a broader sense, this work contributes to our understanding of American history and regional history by moving past the constructed metanarrative of American progress and recognizing that the history of the American Southwest is representative of a several layers of political, governmental, social and cultural ideologies representing a vast diversity of peoples and landscapes.

Chapter 1 discusses the mission system’s economic, social and cultural impact on Alta California from 1769 to 1833. The chapter explains how missionaries’ ideas regarding religion, race, and culture manifested themselves through land use and created specific relationships between people and institutions on the frontier. Tracing how the mission institution became a leading economic agent in California, Chapter 1 explores how missionaries’ control of mission lands led to the development of ideological and economic conflicts between Franciscan missionaries and Californio landowning elites. Furthermore, the chapter examines how these differing ideas regarding land led to the 1834 secularization of mission lands.

Chapter 2 examines the construction of regional identities at the Misión San Gabriel Arcángel during the period from 1771 through 1834 by looking at the interactions of Spanish and Indigenous cultures within the context of colonialism. This chapter also details Tongva society and culture as well as the Spanish *casta* system to show how the colonial process within the mission imposed a racial order that was increasingly linked to one’s relationship to the land.

Moving past the Spanish mission period, Chapter 3 looks at the creation of Rancho San Pascual and spotlights its aspiring oligarchs and their place in a newly Independent Mexican California by questioning how liberalism, secularization, and changes in land use affected

regional development and identity formation. This chapter also addresses how the politics of racial projects manifested themselves on Rancho San Pascual's physical landscape and often determined who was included and excluded in the new landed class.

Chapter 4 studies Rancho San Pascual's development during the transitional period after the U.S.- Mexico War from 1851 through 1872. The first part of this chapter analyzes the connection between land use and Californio identity through the rancho and the ranchero image. It interrogates the land owning elites' use of material culture to distance themselves from landless laborers by creating a racialized class distinction based on land ownership and proximity to Spanish identity. Specifically, this chapter looks at the emergence of San Pascual within this ranchero culture. The second part of the chapter speaks to the reconceptualization of ranchero culture leading up to and immediately following the U.S-Mexico War by looking at how the interjection of whiteness changed societal and cultural dynamics between landed elites and the lower classes, as well as between Californios and Anglos.

Chapter 5 focuses on the period from 1873 through 1890 and examines San Pascual's transition from a Californio rancho to the City of Pasadena within the nineteenth-century rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and ideas of white racial superiority. The chapter shows how ideas of race and proper land use influenced Indiana Colony settlers' visions of optimal land use and chronicles the transition from a small agricultural community to a commercial, tourist-based city after the railroad entered the region in 1885. Lastly, the conclusion examines the links between each of the Spanish, Californio, and American periods in order to see the commonalities shared amongst missionaries, rancheros, and gentlemen farmers concerning land use and socio-cultural identity in San Pascual. I look at how these communities created their respective landscapes and in the process contributed to the production of Pasadena's contemporary historical memory.

Chapter 1

Land Use and the Development of a Regional Economy: The Case of Misión San Gabriel Arcángel

This chapter, divided into three thematic sections, examines the Misión San Gabriel's role in determining land use and the development of the regional economy from 1771 to 1834. I place the mission institution within the larger context of Spanish colonial expansion into Alta California and its role as a colonizing agent in order to study how missionaries' visions of land use manifested themselves on the regional landscape. The second part of this chapter looks at how the San Gabriel Mission's development of self-sufficiency contributed to its emergence as the region's economic center. Furthermore, this section studies how San Gabriel's economic dominance sustained military and civilian populations during the early part of the nineteenth century, specifically within the context of Mexican Independence and Mexican Liberalism. Lastly, I examine how the mission's success during this specific period placed it at odds with aspiring oligarchs and ultimately contributed to the push for mission secularization in 1834.

Alta California: Franciscans, Missions and Spanish Colonial Project

Within the context of the late eighteenth century, the mission's purpose was a multifaceted endeavor that speaks to Spain's changing political and military interests. Spain's use of Christian missionizing efforts in New Spain dates back to 1523, immediately following the conquest of the Aztecs. By 1526, the Spanish Crown issued orders requiring at least two priests to accompany each exploring party.¹³ The Franciscan order heeded the call and quickly

¹³David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 94.

worked to convert indigenous groups throughout the Spanish Empire.¹⁴ As missionaries entered into new areas, the Crown issued the Royal Order for New Discoveries in 1573 and placed missionaries at the center of exploration and pacification of new lands. This order linked Christian missionary efforts to the Crown's imperial expansion and made missionaries into agents of colonization.¹⁵

Missionaries worked to convert Indians, while at the same time helping the military bring new lands under Spanish imperial and cultural control¹⁶ As the mission system expanded, the relationship between the Church and Crown grew tumultuous due to increasing conflict between military authorities and missionaries. In New Spain's interior, this conflict often manifested itself through attempts by secular clergy and civilian settlers to limit missionaries' influence over Indians. As shown by historian David Weber, the dynamics of the frontier were different. The further north the missionaries went, the "less competition from civilians and secular priests" they faced for control of the region and its inhabitants.¹⁷ In the mid to late eighteenth century, the Spanish Crown, concerned over the Russian settlement at Fort Ross and the presence of Russian and English merchants in Alta California, approved expansion into the area in 1769. Spain's desire to protect its northern border from potential foreign encroachment led to the establishment of twenty-one missions spanning seven hundred miles along the California coastline.

California's missions occurred within the context of imperial rivalries. In May of 1768,

¹⁴ Both the Franciscan and Jesuit orders were involved in the conversion of indigenous populations throughout the newly acquired Spanish territories. Present in Florida and Texas, the Jesuit presence was stronger in Antigua or Baja California. In these areas, the Jesuits established various missions that helped solidify Spanish control. In the 1760's the Spanish Crown expelled the Jesuits from its American colonies. The remainder of this project focuses on the role of the Franciscan Order, as they were responsible for the missionizing of the Alta California's indigenous peoples. For a discussion on the Jesuits' role in missionizing Indians, see Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 241.

¹⁵ Ibid., 95.

¹⁶ Ibid., 105-111.

¹⁷ Ibid., 96.

Spain sent word to Mexico City that Russians had landed on the California coast. Immediately following this, New Spain's Inspector General, José de Gálvez, who had long taken an interest in protecting the northern frontier, received authorization to occupy Alta California's Monterey Bay.¹⁸ That same month, Gálvez decided to send both naval and overland expeditions to settle Monterey. A variety of obstacles, including the great distance to Monterey and a lack of available troops, impeded the successful launch of the expedition. Seeing no other alternative, Gálvez turned to missionaries to help settle Alta California.¹⁹ Although Gálvez found the missions cost effective due to their ability to "manage Indians at a low cost," he did not fully support the idea of using them to settle new areas; Gálvez believed missions stunted the growth of economic wealth and delayed Indians' full assimilation into Spanish culture.²⁰ Despite his reservations, he reluctantly agreed with the military strategy and the larger colonial project of the late eighteenth century, which inaugurated a new era of Spanish expansion that heavily relied on missionaries to implement Spain's vision of empire in Alta California.

Franciscan missionaries' entrance into the region proved to be the point of origin for Alta California's civilian settlements. Although the missions were the first Spanish institution in Alta California, eighteenth-century colonial policy called for establishment of presidios, or military garrisons, to accompany missions. Presidios were well-established components of empire throughout the northern frontier, dating back to the mid to late 1500s.²¹ By 1730 the Spanish government had established eighteen presidios a way to protect the northern outskirts of the

¹⁸ Ibid., 241.

¹⁹ Ibid., 242.

²⁰ Ibid., 242; in his capacity as Inspector General, the Crown placed Gálvez in charge of implementing the 1767 Jesuit expulsion as part of the Bourbon Reforms.

²¹ Max Moorehead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 7.

empire from Indian revolts and encroachments by foreign powers.²² The presidios' geographical isolation at the fringes of empire often resulted in governmental neglect and haphazard development that followed no real plan to provide stable protection for frontier regions.²³ In the attempt to professionalize the military and emphasize military efficiency, the Crown issued the Regulations of 1772, which created uniform standards for dress, weaponry, and supplies. Furthermore, they established the units of frontier soldiers known as *soldados de cuera* or leather-jacketed soldiers,²⁴ and turned the garrisons and their soldiers into efficient agents of conquest and colonization.

Spanish expansion into Alta California in 1769 brought the California mission institution and the presidio together as a way to facilitate the conquest of the region's indigenous populations. On the frontier, the presidio was responsible for providing military protection to the region's missions. Missionaries, concerned with insulating newly converted Indians from corruptive secular populations did not look positively on the presidio. Despite Franciscans' objections, the presences of the presidios allowed soldiers to engage in contact with mission Indians, often with negative consequences.²⁵ The San Gabriel Mission did not have an accompanying presidio but it was designated a small mission guard unit from the San Diego Presidio. As missionaries worked to congregate the Tongva into the mission, conflict arose between soldiers and indigenous populations. Many soldiers, despite missionaries' repeated complaints to officers and colonial authorities, used sexual violence against indigenous women

²² Ibid., 30-31. These presidios were located throughout the northern areas of the empire including Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Nuevo México. Each presidio was comprised of a force of men numbering from five to one hundred and five.

²³ Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 213.

²⁴ Ibid., 217.

²⁵ For a discussion of the negative consequences of contact between soldiers and Indians see Antonia I. Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Policies and Politics of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in *Building with our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

as an extension of conquest.²⁶ As sexual violence escalated, missionaries found that it inhibited their missionizing efforts by making Indians reluctant to go to the mission.²⁷ In the attempt to end the violence, Junípero Serra, father president of the missions, traveled to Mexico City in 1772 and demanded that colonial authorities address the situation. In his meeting with Viceroy Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, Serra suggested that intermarriage between presidial soldiers and indigenous women could relieve tensions between Indians and Spaniards. Serra believed that these intermarriages would end sexual violence against Amerindian women and help establish permanent Catholic settlements in the region.²⁸ The resulting directive, Echeveste Reglamento of 1773, gave soldiers who married California neophyte women livestock and land. Soldiers who brought their families from other areas to Alta California received a pay increase, animals, and other provisions.²⁹ The reglamento played a crucial role in establishing permanent Spanish civilian settlements in California, which helped boost the region's Spanish population. Furthermore, the reglamento encouraged the interethnic marriages that served as the foundation for California's oldest families.

As the missions grew, presidios and civilian settlements grew alongside them. In the eighteenth century, Spain established three civilian settlements in Alta California: San José in 1777, Los Angeles in 1781, and Branciforte in 1797. Despite governmental efforts to encourage northward migration from the interior, most early settlers in these pueblos were former military personnel from nearby presidios who received the region's first land grants.³⁰ However, economic growth stalled because the missions held the region's best lands and monopolized

²⁶ Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Policies and Politics of Conquest, 19-21.

²⁷ Bárbara Reyes, *Private Women, Public Lives: Gender and the Missions of the Californias* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 65-66.

²⁸ Castañeda, "Sexual Violence in the Policies and Politics of Conquest," 20.

²⁹ Miroslava Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s-1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 14.

³⁰ Robert H. Jackson, "Northwestern New Spain: The Pimería Alta and the Californias," in *New Views of Borderlands History*, ed. Robert H. Jackson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 86.

trade with local presidios. During the early nineteenth century, the mission system's dominance over the local economy triggered an increasingly antagonistic relationship with the new landowners and their desires to expand their wealth.

The missions' economic development and the growth of the civilian settlements changed Alta California's colonial structure during the early nineteenth century. The imperial rivalries that propelled Spain into the region and placed the mission institution at the center of regional development gave way to thoughts of liberalism and an independence movement, which defined the mission system as archaic. It is within this context that the mission system became Alta California's dominant economic institution and facilitated the growth of a landed elite who spearheaded calls for secularization.

The Colonial Project and Mission San Gabriel

In 1769, the establishment of the San Diego Mission began Alta California's mission era. Shortly after establishing the mission in San Diego, the Spanish continued their northward march into the furthest reaches of California, establishing two additional missions by the summer of 1771.³¹ In August of that year, an expedition of ten Spanish soldiers and two Franciscan priests encountered armed Tongva Indians on the banks of the Santa Ana River, near present day Los Angeles.³² One month later, Franciscan missionaries founded the Misión San Gabriel Arcángel.

The San Gabriel Mission was the fourth of twenty-one missions built between 1769 and 1823, and the first established amongst the Tongva people. At first contact, the Tongva had well-established social and cultural systems that provided the foundation for their communities. Numbering 5,000 by 1771, The Tongva were a migratory people who established temporary

³¹ Mission San Carlos Borromeo Carmelo, and Mission San Antonio de Padua.

³² James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), xvi.

villages of 50 to 500 people, in accordance with their seasonal food sources.³³ Tongva villages spanned a large portion of the present-day Los Angeles Basin, the city of Long Beach, and into several areas of Orange County.³⁴ Each village had its own distinct name and Tumia'r, or chief.³⁵ The Tongva closest to the Mission San Gabriel, the group from the Akuranga village, survived through hunting and gathering. To supply their dietary needs, men hunted small game and women gathered piñones or pine nuts, and acorns.³⁶ In addition, they traded with coastal Tongva groups, which gave them access to fish and other foods. Blood lineages determined the society's social stratification, placing chiefs and their families at the top of the village hierarchy.³⁷ Lower level persons of distinction, often people who were of distinguished bloodlines but were less successful than their ancestors, occupied the second level of the social order.³⁸ Spanish arrival and the Franciscans' establishment of the San Gabriel Mission sought to reorganize Tongva life according to Spanish tenets of civilization.

Throughout Alta California, the mission institution served as the site for the missionaries' goals of conversion and civilization. Franciscan missionaries believed that the foundation of Spanish culture and civilization rested on Catholicism, productive agriculture, and disciplined labor. Aside from emphasizing a program of religious conversion, missionaries focused on transforming Indian converts into strong, reliable Catholic workers who spoke Spanish, used Spanish labor forms, and adhered to Spanish cultural tenets of behavior. Through strict regimentation aimed at controlling Indians' behaviors, missionaries taught Indians about Christianity. Franciscans integrated labor into the neophytes' Christian education by making

³³ Alfred Louis Kroeber, *Handbook of Indians of California* (Berkeley: California Book Co., 1953), 883.

³⁴ Rosanne Welch, *A Brief History of the Tongva Tribe: The Native Inhabitants of the Lands of the Puente Hills Reserve* (Claremont: Claremont Graduate University, 2006), 6-7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

them perform a variety of work, ranging from constructing buildings, to working agricultural crops, and tending livestock.³⁹ During the early mission period, priests used labor as a means of replicating Spanish society and teaching Indians their subordinate position within the society.⁴⁰ As the civilian population increased during the early nineteenth century, the mission's regional reliance on goods and supplies grew. As the demand for mission products increased, the meaning of mission Indian labor changed, prompting missionaries to increase production and impose a more extensive and exploitative labor regimen; labor was no longer simply a way to establish Spanish culture but a means of making wealth for the mission. After some instability, Indian labor built the mission into a dominant economic institution. As a means of maintaining self-sufficiency, missionaries dedicated more mission lands to agricultural production and raising livestock as a way to create surplus goods they could sell to regional settlements and presidios. The growth of regional economic self-sufficiency changed the mission project and changed the Franciscans' vision of land use, making the mission institution a very powerful socio-economic structure in Alta California.

Divine Purpose: How Should We Use this Land?

Early during the colonial period, Alta California's missionaries used their lands for subsistence agriculture and ranching. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries proved quite lucrative for the mission institution. The prosperity of the California mission system and its control of surrounding mission lands prompted authorities to call for mission secularization in 1834. How could an economically successful institution, so crucial to Spain's settlement of its

³⁹ Robert H. Jackson, "The Formation of Frontier Indigenous Communities: Missions in California and Texas," in *New Views of Borderlands History*, ed. Robert H. Jackson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 134.

⁴⁰ Sandos, *Converting California*, 9-10.

northern frontier, lose its power? The answer to this question lies not only in missionaries' conceptualization of their role on the frontier, but also in how the institution changed in the minds of those entering the area with aspirations of economic wealth.

Missionaries functioned on the fringes of empire as representatives of the Church and the State. In their religious capacity, missionaries charged themselves with the souls of their converts, but recognized the inherent greed that existed in the process of colonization. As representatives of the Crown, they knew that the overall purpose of Spanish colonization was to exert Spanish territorial control, expand trade, and to create subjects loyal to the king. In California, as well as in other frontier regions, missionaries often had to negotiate their dual roles in ways that satisfied the larger colonial project. Missionaries' negotiation of these positions faltered as the mission institutions grew in size and self-sufficiency. As individual missions gained converts, the Franciscans became concerned with the amount of secular influence entering frontier areas and exerted tighter control over Indian labor and mission profits.

For centuries, *Las Leyes de las Indias* had defined land policy and stipulated that Indians be guaranteed access to lands they needed for their subsistence.⁴¹ Long-established sedentary Indian communities in Central and Southern Mexico relied on these laws to defend their communal lands against encroachments by non-Indians. In frontier regions with hunting and gathering populations, Indians understood land differently. Neither the Europeans' notions of individual property nor the indigenous concept of collective ownership of specific, well-marked sections of territory made sense in a hunting and gathering economy. Groups such as the Tongva or *Gabrielinos* living along the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains were not farmers and their subsistence depended on hunting small animals, deer, and gathering piñones, acorns and a

⁴¹ Carlos II, *Recopilación de Leyes de Los Reynos De Las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1681. Reprint. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1973), book iv, title xiii, law, xviii.

variety of plants.⁴² Missionaries, of course, wanted to convert the natives of Alta California not only to Christianity but also to a sedentary, agricultural lifestyle. For this, the neophytes would need land. The missions thus acquired large tracts of land, supposedly held in trust for the Indians, but in the meantime, the California missions became very wealthy.

Spanish entrance into the San Gabriel region in 1769 destabilized the centrality of Tongvan *rancherías*, or villages. The establishment of the San Gabriel Mission and the increased interactions between Tongvans and missionaries provided a new source for food and shelter. Access to sustenance and a space to live allowed Indians to rely less heavily on their *rancherías* for survival. As historian Steven Hackel points out, Alta California Indians viewed the missions as resources oriented around agricultural production and places of congregation.⁴³ Although the mission provided the Tongva with a variety of opportunities, it also proved detrimental to the Tongvas' overall survival, due to heavy workloads, poor diet, lack of sanitation, and damp dormitories.⁴⁴ Indians trying to survive soon found themselves trapped in a system that demanded their prized labor to produce enough food for mission self-sufficiency. Although slow at first, agricultural production steadily increased causing the San Gabriel Mission's production to surpass subsistence levels and therefore allowing the missionaries to sell the surplus to incoming settlers for a profit.

During Alta California's early colonial project, missionaries and Indians both viewed land as important to their survival, albeit in different ways. As Mission San Gabriel became stable and self-sufficient, missionaries' vision of land use shifted towards agricultural surplus

⁴² Lowell John Bean and Charles R. Smith, "Gabrielino" in *Handbook of North American Indians*: Vol 8, *California*, ed. William Sturtevant (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 538.

⁴³ Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 75

⁴⁴ Historians Robert Jackson and Edward Castillo contend that due to Alta California's regional isolation during the early mission period disease was not responsible for the decimation of regional Indian populations. See Robert H. Jackson and Edward D. Castillo, *Indians Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 44.

production and the sale of animal by-products, bringing great wealth to the mission. The heavy-handed mission economy became reliant on indigenous labor and the profits went directly into mission coffers.

In Alta California, the Franciscans' vision of land use resonated with the views set forth in the *Leyes de las Indias*, in that missionaries held surrounding Indian lands in trust until converted neophytes were ready to manage them. This vision hinged on the idea that that frontier missions were temporary institutions that facilitated quick assimilation into a civilized Christian society. The idea of mission establishments as temporary institutions did not immediately prompt discussion about land holding in these newly conquered regions. The conflict over land arose later when Father Junípero Serra argued that Franciscans could not assimilate Alta California's Indians in the allotted ten-year period. As colonization progressed and an increasing number of Indians came into the mission institutions, mission land holdings also increased. An expanding neophyte population, compounded by the mission system's growing self-sufficiency and continued missionary presence on the frontier, brought an array of questions and conflicts over how much land missionaries could hold for mission neophytes.

In a society in which land ownership translated into wealth and power, the question of how much land was too much quickly came to a head. Aside from this question and its implications concerning economic and social conflict in the region, my research asks other questions: How did Franciscan missionaries at the San Gabriel Mission utilize land laws presented in the *Leyes de las Indias*, and their status as protectors of the Indians, to obtain the vast acreage they held by the time of secularization? Furthermore, what role did ideas of civilization and race play in the interpretation of laws regarding land and how did they translate into missionaries' ideas of optimal land use? The answers lie in the interpretation of the phrase

“civilized society.”⁴⁵ During Alta California’s mission period and during the move towards secularization, visions of optimal land use were intertwined with missionaries’ economic and political aspirations; this intertwining reflected contemporary implicit racial and ethnic meaning.

Methods utilized in the attempt to assimilate Indians reflected colonial perceptions about indigenous populations and linked the “civilizing process” to labor. During the earlier colonial period, Spain advocated the *encomienda* system as a way to teach Spanish culture to Indians. This system placed Indians under the tutelage of *encomenderos* or landowners, with the intention of teaching them how to become civilized Christian farmers. *Encomenderos*’ corruption and exploitation of Indians resulted in the deaths of thousands of Indians and prompted men such as Dominican Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas to call for the end of the system, citing that Indians were free and deserved the same treatment as others.⁴⁶ In 1542, after extensive debate, *Las Nuevas Leyes* outlawed the *encomienda* system. Throughout the New World colonies, Spanish colonists protested the law. Fearing revolt, the king scaled back the laws allowing *encomenderos* to retain their rights to Indian tribute, but limiting their right to Indian labor.⁴⁷ During the seventeenth century, throughout Spain’s colonies, indigenous population declined and the resultant low levels of tribute led to the end of the *encomienda* system. Despite the end of the *encomienda* system, labor still served as the best way of “civilizing” the Indian while providing continued profit for the Spaniards who controlled Indian labor.

⁴⁵ As we will see throughout this project, the term “civilized” will change according to the specific power dynamics of each period, the social context in which it exists, and more importantly, who is using it. These changing definitions of “civilized” will in turn affect the ideas about optimal land use.

⁴⁶ Challenging the *encomienda* was only part of Las Casas’ critique; he relentlessly questioned Spain’s right to invade a sovereign dominion. Rooting his argument in Thomistic theory of natural law, Las Casas questioned a *just* war, not conversion. For discussion of the debate see, Rolena Adorno, “Discourses on Colonialism: Bernal Díaz, Las Casas, and the Twentieth-Century Reader”, *Modern Language Notes* 103 (Mar., 1988), 239-258.

⁴⁷ Amy Butler Greenfield, *A Perfect Red: Empire, Espionage, and the Quest for the Color of Desire* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 64.

At the time of Alta California's settlement in the mid-eighteenth century, missionaries interested in converting Indians and transforming them into a reliable agricultural labor source used the mission institution as a form of Spanish tutelage to achieve religious conversion and control of Indian labor.⁴⁸ Placing Indians under Spanish tutelage within the mission walls gave Franciscans the opportunity to teach Indians Spanish culture and educate them in the fundamental principles of Christian vassal-hood, sedentary living, and productive labor practices.⁴⁹ Throughout Alta California, missionaries used Indian labor to develop mission lands, first for subsistence and later for profit. Friars' paternalism in the missions veiled the increasingly exploitative dynamic between neophytes and missionaries. As the mission institutions grew stronger, the theological perspective of teaching Indians Christianity gave way to the implementation of colonialism's economic policies and social hierarchies. From this perspective, the *encomendero* and the missionary are part of similar colonial processes that sought to profit at the expense of indigenous populations. The *encomienda* and mission system, despite geographic and temporal separations, both served the function of civilizing Indian populations. Each system was inherently exploitative because both were based on ideas of Indians as "uncivilized heathens" requiring Spanish tutelage.⁵⁰

Colonialism, represented as Spanish desire for cultural transformation and hegemony, meant bridging the frontier between what Christian Spaniards saw as "civilized" and "uncivilized." Early colonization efforts reflected a variety of attitudes about Indians. As noted by David J. Weber, Spanish missionaries and soldiers settling the fringes of the empire did not

⁴⁸ Although making links between seventeenth and eighteenth century encounters between missionaries and Indian borders on an extreme generalization with no regard for social/historical context, it is clear that there are several foundational ideas that continued to frame this colonial relationship well into the late eighteenth century in Alta California.

⁴⁹ David Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," in *The New Latin American Mission History*, ed. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 4.

⁵⁰ Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Historical Review* 23 (1917), 43-44.

simply use the term *indios* when identifying indigenous groups; they placed them in a variety of taxonomies reflective of their level of exposure to Spaniards or missionaries.⁵¹ Spaniards classified Indians as *indios bozales*, *indios infieles/gentiles*, or *indios salvajes/bárbaros*. Each term implied a stage of development but also placed them lower on the social scale in relation to Spaniards termed *gente de razón* and Christianized Indians. As colonial expansion moved northward into the furthest regions of the empire, differentiation between the taxonomies blurred and Spaniards regarded all Indians as “never fully escaping their barbarism.”⁵² In eighteenth century Alta California, military and religious officials brought their visions of “civilization” into these “uncivilized” regions with the intention of re-making the Indian, and placed Indians outside the parameters of their “civilized” society.

In Alta California, Franciscan missionaries’ conversion and “civilizing” efforts focused on the eradication of culture through modification of Indian behaviors.⁵³ For example, in a letter to Fray Junípero Serra, Visitador General José de Gálvez referred to Indians as “*viciosos y chupadores*,” depraved drunkards, and added that they indulged in smoking tobacco when they could find it or engaged in other less desirable activities in its absence.⁵⁴ These inappropriate and unchristian behaviors were precisely the type of “uncivilized” behaviors Franciscans sought to eradicate in their converts. At the San Gabriel Mission, these same widespread ideas about Indians motivated the Franciscans to utilize force, discipline, and labor to modify neophytes’ behavior. Making Indians work mission lands and produce above subsistence levels speaks to Franciscans’ larger colonial goals of religious indoctrination. The link between Indian labor and

⁵¹ David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 15.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵³ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 131.

⁵⁴ José de Gálvez, letter to Junípero Serra, 15 Septiembre 1768, Real de Santa Anna, Junípero Serra Collection, Folder 124, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA).

mission production directly correlated with Franciscans' ideas of optimal land use during the mission period. Fray Fermín Francisco Lasuén's early description of San Gabriel Mission lands to the Guardian of the Colegio de San Fernando de Mexico (the headquarters of the Franciscans in Alta California) reflected this connection; Lasuén described the land and its people by stating that:

la tierra es bellísima, la gentilidad mucha y muy dócil; y en sembrando tal leguas, se podran resembrar nuestras voces con toda seguridad de que con el favor de dios se hagan abundante cosechas de lo eternal.⁵⁵

Here Lasuén makes the connection between the land and the Indians who worked it; the successful cultivation he speaks of not only referred to indigenous labor in the fields but also applied to successful cultivation of Christianity amongst the "docile" populace. The desire to convert Indians while achieving successful land cultivation emphasizes the Franciscans' connection between neophytes, land and civilization, and governed laws pertaining to mission property and land distribution. Mission land laws within the *Leyes de las Indias* specified that Indians living on missions would receive collective title to the land that they worked, after the process of conversion had been completed.⁵⁶ Land ownership as a requirement of civilization is thereby represented in the Spaniards' racialized ideas of land use.

Agricultural production and land for grazing livestock reflected the Franciscans' vision of optimal land use. Franciscans and mission Indians filled regional needs for agricultural and material goods by creating a mission economy based on horticulture, agriculture, ranching, and

⁵⁵ Letter, Lasuén to Guardian de Colegio de San Fernando de México, 1774 April 23, Misión San Gabriel, Documentos Relativos a las Misiones de California, 1768-1802, VII, Box 1, Folder 55, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley (Berkeley, CA). Translation: "the land is beautiful, and the people plenty and very docile; and in sowing these leagues (acres) we can plant our voices and with the favor of God will cultivate eternal harvests."

⁵⁶ As we will see, this did not occur as planned. Mission land holding continuously grew; calls for secularization in the 1820s and 1830s cited missionaries' failure to distribute the land to Indians as an example of missionaries' monopoly.

regional trade. Missionaries' exploitation of indigenous labor allowed them to participate in the trade of wheat, grape wine, tallow and hides, and other mission-produced items.⁵⁷ The missionaries' success helped establish an array of lucrative trade relationships throughout the region, including deals and exchanges with the steady flow of foreigners during the early nineteenth century.

Spanish Colonial Economic Policies and the Mission Institution as a Micro Economic Structure

The Colonial Period: Institutions of Empire on the Alta California Frontier

In the period from 1769 to 1775, the mission institution and the presidio, or fortified garrison, worked to solidify Spanish settlement in Alta California's Spanish borderlands.⁵⁸ Alta California's isolation from the Mexican interior presented a very difficult situation for missionaries and military personnel alike. The sporadic delivery of supplies, scarce resources, and scant economic support eventually prompted Alta California's mission and military leaders to develop a regional economy based on self-sufficiency. The development of self-sufficiency created a reciprocal, yet often contentious relationship between presidial soldiers and missionaries. As evidenced through the conflicts in other parts of Spain's empire, military authorities and missionaries often clashed on how to approach the colonization of the frontier. Often governmental and military officials saw the use of missionaries as peripheral to colonization efforts. In Alta California, the use of the mission institution and Franciscan missionaries reflected a last ditch effort on the part of Spanish Visitador General Gálvez to

⁵⁷ R. Louis Gentilcore, "Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51 (Mar., 1961), 46.

⁵⁸ Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution," 46-47.

populate the isolated region.⁵⁹ Missions provided a basis for Spanish regional settlement while the garrisons protected the missions, maintained roads, and fought against Indians.⁶⁰ Aside from protection, soldiers also helped missionaries with the enforcement of discipline and the recapturing of runaway neophytes.⁶¹ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, these early presidial soldiers became *pobladores* or settlers for new civilian communities.⁶² Within this context, both the presidio and the mission were important to Spain's development of the frontier. Despite the presidio's role in protecting settlers, the mission institution was indispensable to the region's social, cultural, and economic growth. Missionaries attempted to turn Indians into Spaniards, thereby populating the region at a lower cost to the Crown.⁶³ Governmental dependence on the mission to sustain the frontier led to greater on-site autonomy for the institution. As missionaries increased their control over indigenous populations and the mission institutions became self-sufficient, the previous reciprocal relationship eroded. This erosion was due to the secular authorities' resentment of the mission system's control of the regional economy, mission lands, and Indian labor.

The Early Colonial Mission Economy

The mission institution functioned under a system created by Visitador General José de Gálvez's administration during the late eighteenth century. Under his plan, each mission site received two missionaries, a governmentally provided 150-peso annual stipend, and a set amount

⁵⁹ Weber, *Bárbaros*, 122.

⁶⁰ For discussion of presidios in Northern New Spain see, Max Moorhead, *Bastion of the Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975).

⁶¹ James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 16.

⁶² Oakah Jones, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 207-208.

⁶³ Weber, *Bárbaros*, 122.

of supplies shipped from the Mexican port at San Blas, Nayarit, on the Pacific Coast.⁶⁴ Early Alta California's society and economy were at the mercy of government and military officials located thousands of miles away in Mexico City. Reliance on supplies shipped by sea created an economic system marked by shortages and inflated prices. In addition to the inconsistent arrival of supplies and the unscrupulous practices of those charged with distributing them, missionaries complained that the annual stipend was unrealistically low and did not allow them enough money to supply the missions.⁶⁵ Despite repeated complaints, the government did not make any efforts to address the situation.

In 1773, Father President Junípero Serra traveled to Mexico City and presented his complaints and demands, ranging from economic concerns, labor issues, and social matters to the central government.⁶⁶ Serra articulated his worries regarding the spiritual aspect of the colonial project in a thirty-two-point report addressing the mission project's difficulties on the Alta California frontier. Serra's *presentación* attributed the nascent missions system's problems, economic or otherwise, to the government's failure to establish a strong military presence in the north.

Despite the lack of direct supervision over the social and cultural conditions in the frontier missions and presidios, Spain attempted to maintain control over Alta California's economy by setting soldiers' salaries and missionaries' stipends, delineating governmental fiscal support of the presidios and missions, and regulating prices of products and goods imported into

⁶⁴ José de Gálvez, Reglamentos acordados y contenidos con el Padre Presidente de las Misiones, 30 Noviembre de 1768, La Paz, Junípero Serra Collection, Folder 151, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA).

⁶⁵ Verger to Manuel Lans de Casafonda, Mexico, June 30, 1771, AGN. *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Segunda Serie, Bol. 15. Cited in Richard Archibald, *The Economic Aspects of the California*.

⁶⁶ Serra to Bucareli, Representación, 30 Marzo 1773, Junípero Serra Collection, Folder 327, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA).

and exported from the missions.⁶⁷ Over the next few years, the Crown solidified its power in Alta California through several *reglamentos* that attempted to incorporate Alta California into the larger economy of New Spain. By doubling mission stipends and rations for the first five years after their establishment, the newly instituted regulations indirectly affected the missions' increased economic power in the late eighteenth century. The regulations increased presidial soldiers' buying power by providing them money with which to purchase items from the missions. Increased demand for good required missionaries to work their Indian charges harder to produce more supply. When, in the mid-1770s, new Governor Felipe de Neve suspended the double rations, citing the scarcity of resources for presidial troops,⁶⁸ it became clear that in order for each mission to survive, the institution needed to move away from dependence on royal support.⁶⁹ Although the original intention behind the regulations was to increase missions' dependence on the Crown, their broader consequences provided the mission system the necessary push to increase its production and sustain itself. The situation in the late 1770s illustrates the connection between the mission system's economic growth and Franciscans' visions of land use. Each mission's wealth and the survival of the nearby presidio and pueblo depended on successful mission production. The cultivation of crops and the grazing of livestock correlated with shifting economic markets, labor structures, and socio-cultural categorization of those present in frontier Spanish society. These dynamics produced immense conflict between missionaries and secular groups vying for power over Indian labor, control of

⁶⁷ The Echeveste Reglamento, May 19, 1773, printed in Fray Francisco Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, trans. and ed. Herbert E. Bolton, 4 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), 1: 58-77.

⁶⁸ Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 8-9.

⁶⁹ Following Neve's order, Viceroy Martin de Mayorga ordered mission rations restored for the sites that could not sustain their neophyte population through their own crops. See Mayorga to de Croix, Regarding rations for new missions, 29 Marzo 1780, Mexico, Junípero Serra Collection, Folder 819, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, (Santa Barbara, CA).

the regional economy, and access to land. Ultimately, this contention culminated in the secularization of the missions and land disbursement.

The Misión de San Gabriel Arcángel and the Regional Economy

The mid-1770s and 1780s proved to be a period of growth and self-sufficiency for San Gabriel. The mission met settlers' and presidial needs by providing an array of agricultural products, livestock, and other goods, such as soap, candles, cattle, sheep, and wine produced from their vast vineyards.⁷⁰ As the only institution on the frontier that could supply the soldiers at regional presidios, and after 1781, the civilians at the Pueblo Los Angeles, regional inhabitants slowly grew to rely on the mission for access to goods and supplies. As early as 1773, the regional presidios agreed to purchase all their food, clothing, and leather products from the regional missions.⁷¹ Aside from increased demands for everyday goods, a growing international fur trade linked Russians, French, and English vessels, involving Franciscans in far-reaching trade networks. Participation in the international fur trade facilitated missionaries' involvement in the tallow and hide trade, as well as in other products, because Franciscans traded these mission items with foreign vessels that entered the area.⁷² Despite Governor Diego de Borica's declaring this trade illegal in 1796, it continued clandestinely until 1822. In the broader sense, Franciscans' participation in this underground trade greatly increased regional missions' production by requiring them to yield larger surpluses to meet growing demands.⁷³ During the

⁷⁰ Sowings and harvest at San Gabriel, J.N. Bowman Papers Regarding California History, BANC MSS C-R 18, Spanish Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁷¹ Jackson, "The Formation of Frontier Indigenous Communities: Missions in California and Texas," 132.

⁷² In the late 1780s, the Spanish government reluctantly agreed to allow Spanish merchants to enter into the Sea otter trade as a way to limit the Russian and English presence in the region. For more on the Spanish establishment of the sea otter trade see Adele Ogden's classic work, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), 15-31.

⁷³ J.N. Bowman Papers Regarding California History, "Periodization of the History of California Agriculture BANC MSS C-R18, Carton 3, Folder 17. Spanish Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

same period, the San Gabriel Mission's economic growth directly challenged the Crown's control over the regional economy by allowing mission priests to set prices and create regional trade contracts benefiting the mission, not the Crown.⁷⁴

Missionaries' ability to control the prices at which they sold their goods illustrated the missions' growing economic power. Presidio officials soon denounced what they saw as unfair prices. While investigating presidial complaints, governmental authorities uncovered missions' excessive charges for their goods and products. Over the course of the next two decades, the regional government decreed a set price for goods provided to the presidios and its soldiers and established prices for all items sold on the northern frontier.⁷⁵ During the next decade, as part of the Echeveste Reglamento of 1773, authorities established governmental warehouses in Alta California and instituted a price list based on the rates at the Port of San Blas, Nayarit. In 1781, in an attempt to account for soldiers' lower pay rate, Governor Neve reset prices for goods such as beans, corn, and garbanzos.⁷⁶ These price adjustments indicate an indirect attack on mission wealth. By 1786, the regional missions were the only provider to the presidios and settlements for the majority of these goods. Missionaries believed that prices were intentionally set lower for mission produced goods, livestock, and animal by-products, and that private, non-mission ranchers were paid higher prices for their goods and livestock. Missionaries believed that price regulations and disparities reflected a governmental dislike of their growing enterprises and perpetuated an anti-mission prejudice amongst the growing settler population. Government

⁷⁴ During the late eighteenth century, the Bourbon Reforms changed Spain's mercantilist policies. The Crown attempted to strengthen colonial defenses, improve administration and limit spending while simultaneously producing revenue for Spain. See Edward Castillo and Robert H. Jackson, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 26.

⁷⁵ Archibald, *The Economic Aspects of California*, 11.

⁷⁶ The governor's ability to change these established prices depending on soldiers' cost of living came from the Law of the Indies.

attempts to control prices and limit Franciscans' economic monopoly in the region affected larger economic relationships between the mission institutions and growing civilian populations.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as the regional population grew and private land holding increased, mission production and trade posed a growing threat to the stability and profit of the emerging ranchero class. With the exception of a 1788 amendment that lowered the price of livestock, Neve's 1781 order set prices well into the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Faced with growing resentment by the ranchero class and governmental attempts to curb the mission system's wealth, Franciscans continued to participate in the lucrative tallow and hide trade.⁷⁸ The regional government attempted to regulate the mission economy by continuously claiming that the missions engaged in unfair competition and kept prices artificially low. Governmental efforts at regulation indicate that the missions had grown into wealthy and powerful regional institutions that competed against privately owned ranches.⁷⁹ Most missions, including San Gabriel, charged what they wanted for their products, and local consumers still purchased from them, indicating that the strict implementations of price controls were subject to the frontier's volatile forces and conditions.

Economic records from the late 1780s into the first two decades of the nineteenth century reveal increased military and civilian reliance on the mission system.⁸⁰ Despite the tenuous economic relationship among missionaries, soldiers, and civilian settlers, the absence of governmental intervention left regional inhabitants no choice but to negotiate and contest their

⁷⁷ Fages to Lasuén, 20 Julio 1787, Documentos Relativos a las Misiones de California, Archivo de la Mission de Santa Barbara, VI 19, Spanish Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁷⁸ Letter from Lasuén to Ugarte, Monterey, 12 Octubre 1787, California Mission Documents, Folder 69, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, (Santa Barbara, CA).

⁷⁹ Although the missions faced increased competition from privately owned ranches at the start of the nineteenth century, the missions were still the main source of supplies in the region until about 1820.

⁸⁰ Paul Farnsworth and Robert H. Jackson, "Cultural, Economic, and Demographic Change in the Missions of Alta California: The Case of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad," in *The New Latin American Mission History*, eds. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 110.

positions amongst themselves. The continued conflict over price regulation illustrates that although the government attempted economic regulation, they were not wholly successful; each group, while not completely satisfied with their situation, managed to create a beneficial and functional relationship for everyone involved. Missionaries, concerned with attracting and keeping Indians at the mission, presidios interested in maintaining their soldiers, and civilians' desires to subsist, left everyone no choice but to co-exist.⁸¹ California's regional isolation, the inconsistent arrival of supplies from Mexico, and economic instability caused by government reluctance to fund the missions made Franciscans protective of their surpluses. Franciscans interested in maintaining their individual settlements, believing their surplus production was temporary and that governmental aid was not assured, refused to commit mission resources to the sole purpose of supplying presidios and civilian populations.⁸² The colonial government met missionaries' reluctance to provide for secular installations with attempts to re-establish itself as the director of the missions. In 1787, fiscal authorities decreed that "the government should know who is coming and going at the missions...because they needed to insure that not just anybody would run things; and to insure that those 'that did' come were not useless."⁸³ This statement came directly from fiscal authorities and illustrated the government's efforts to control

⁸¹ Alta California's place in the Spanish borderlands replicated economic and social conditions present in other borderland regions, mainly the need to create community and negotiate for survival despite differences. For Texas see Jesús de la Teja, "Discovering The Tejano Community in 'Early' Texas," in *Journal of the Early Republic* 18 (Spring, 1998), 73-98; Armando Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998). For Sonora see Miguel Tinker-Salas, *In the Shadow of the Eagle: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border during the Porfiriato* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). Thomas E. Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986). Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997). For New Mexico see Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). For a general collection pertaining to borderland negotiation see, Donna Guy and Thomas Sheridan, *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998).

⁸² Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 97.

⁸³ Decree 1787, El Señor Fiscal, 21 Abril 1787, Mexico City, Documentos Relativos a las Misiones de California, 1768-1802; V 1, Folder 33, Spanish Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

missionaries' comings and goings, specifically those missionaries who were reluctant to commit mission resources. However, the statement indirectly addressed the missions' growing financial power, while also showing the struggle emerging along with the mission system's growing self-sufficiency. By establishing artificial prices in Alta California, authorities aimed to create an economy that limited mission wealth, influence, and power over indigenous labor, while simultaneously wanting to make Alta California less of a drain on the Spanish treasury. At the same time the government wanted to make California's economy productive and self-sufficient, they did not want the mission, presidio or civilian settlements to gain too much power. To reduce dependence on the mission and, I argue, to inject competition, the Crown established the civilian settlements of San José, Los Angeles, and Branciforte to provide for the presidios.⁸⁴ Falling grain production and stagnation at these settlements resulted in regional dependence on the missions. Despite governmental efforts to control the mission system's influence, the fact remained that the San Gabriel Mission and other lucrative missions held the best lands, owned a great deal of livestock, controlled a large labor force, and produced goods that secular society wanted.

In the late 1790s, Alta California's missionaries continued to build on the mission system's wealth and averted government attempts to restrict their power by participating in the lucrative otter pelt trade. Participation in foreign trade was not new; as early as the mid – 1780s Franciscans were involved in trade with the outside world. In 1786, Father President Fermín Lasuén and Governor Pedro Fages received word that Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez had granted missionaries permission to enter into the foreign fur trade. The agreement designated missionaries as trade agents in charge of collecting highly valued sea otter pelts. Missionaries relied on indigenous groups to hunt otter and trade the pelts for beads. Between 1787 and 1790,

⁸⁴ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 276.

the pelt trade proved lucrative; Franciscans traded over 2,000 otter pelts which garnered missionaries 6,000 pesos' worth of credit.⁸⁵ Government restrictions did not allow soldiers and settlers to intercept or directly trade with the mission Indians who were collecting the pelts.⁸⁶ This prohibition did not keep unscrupulous soldiers and settlers, resentful of their exclusion from such a lucrative market, from taking the pelts from Indians and then selling them to the missions as if they were their own.⁸⁷ Missionaries, suspecting the illegal methods used to obtain the pelts, had no other choice but to pay the 7 pesos per pelt price to soldiers and settlers. Missionaries, unhappy with their lack of control over the trade, the increasing conflict with settlers and soldiers, and with declining control over the neophyte population lured into leaving the mission to hunt for sea otter, attempted to limit the missions' participation in the trade. In spite of their disillusionment with the fur trade, missionaries continued to participate in the trade even after a 1790 royal decree officially ended the Viceroy's trade project. Although the decree ended legitimate, officially sanctioned trade between missionaries, presidios, and foreign traders, illegal smuggling continued well into the period of Mexican Independence.⁸⁸ Increased liberalization of trade restrictions at the turn of the century allowed ships to carry extra cargo into Alta California's ports, and facilitated missionaries' trade with Russians and Anglo-American traders on the California Coast.⁸⁹ From 1795 to 1805, Alta Californians involved in the clandestine markets traded sea otter pelts, tallow, hides, hemp, and grains -- items produced in high numbers to meet the early nineteenth century demand.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade*, 116-118.

⁸⁶ Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 117-118.

⁸⁷ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 278.

⁸⁸ Although the official policy made trade illegal, it was quite profitable, and it is highly likely that officials knew that the trade continued despite the official end. This clandestine trade was made possible through a network of military and mission personnel, as well as civilians.

⁸⁹ Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade*, 20-24.

⁹⁰ Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Mission*, 118; Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 135.

Scholarly work on the illegal trade between Franciscan padres and American and British traders demonstrates that between the years 1800 and 1810, “the American smuggler William Shaler estimated that the combined trade from Alta and Baja California totaled about 25,000 pesos a year.”⁹¹ In his 1804 journal, Shaler referenced this total in Spanish pesos and estimated merchandise value:

For several years, American trading ships have frequented this coast in search of fur and they have left annually in the country about 25,000 pesos in specie and merchandise. The missionaries are the principal monopolizers of the fur trade. Anyone acquainted with the coast can easily obtain abundant provisions.⁹²

Shaler’s journal indicates that despite official orders to refuse foreign ships entrance into California ports, missionaries were very willing to continue their trading practices.

Illegal trade with Shaler and other Americans brought missionaries a variety of goods, ranging from frying pans to rum and tobacco. In addition to goods exchanged for otter pelts, missionaries also received hard specie. Historian Julia G. Costello’s study of the recorded transactions between the American ship *Mercury* and the San Gabriel Mission in 1806 and 1807 shows a sum of around 58 pesos exchanged in cash and provisions.⁹³ Costello highlighted the fact that although the individual mission totals are not very high, the combined sum for all missions was 4,936 pesos. She also stated that out of this amount, 3,000 pesos was paid cash and 2,000 pesos paid in goods.⁹⁴ This clandestine trade, comprised of both merchandise and hard

⁹¹ Julia G. Costello, “Purchasing Patterns of the California Missions in Ca. 1805,” in *The Archeology of the Spanish Colonial and Mexican Republican Periods, Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 26, no. 1 (1992), 62.

⁹² William Shaler, *Journal of a Voyage Between China and the Northwest Coast of America Made in 1804 by William Shaler* (Claremont: California, 1935), 59. As cited in Robert Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 131.

⁹³ Costello, “Purchasing Patterns of the California Missions,” 62; the amounts detailed in the ship’s ledger reflect the total made at each mission as well as the total amounts netted throughout the region. Costello posits that the totals are an indication of how populated each individual mission was.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

specie, explains the origins of the monetary reserves held at the missions and the wealth of each respective institution.

As the colonial period continued, the missions' institutional position on Alta California's frontier changed. By the early nineteenth century, each mission had become the center of regional settlements, despite governmental attempts to limit their growth. The mission served as the central civilizing agent for Spain's success in Alta California; through its co-opting of indigenous labor, and its control of the regional economy, the mission created the foundation for continued civilian settlement and the establishment of cultural hegemony. Despite their crucial role in establishing the region, after Mexico declared its independence in 1810, the missions came under constant scrutiny due to their monopoly over land, labor and the economy.

Mission San Gabriel: Independence, Economic Growth, and Power

Despite the Franciscans' vows of poverty and rejection of private property, mission priests at San Gabriel, and throughout California, steadily obtained land for their new converts. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, reconciling their increasing wealth with the order's vows of a poor and humble life became more difficult. As production and land holding expanded, profits quickly climbed. The increasing profit margin and the mission's vast land ownership, as well as the impending move towards Mexican independence, further exacerbated the tensions between missionaries and a quickly growing private rancho class.

The first thirty-five years of the nineteenth century proved very lucrative for the San Gabriel Mission, with much of its development occurring during the push for Mexican independence. Historian Robert H. Jackson's quantitative data makes it clear that the San Gabriel Mission's "golden age" emerged and remained stable from 1810 to 1832. Jackson's

figures for the San Gabriel Mission's wheat and corn production show that in the decade before 1821, San Gabriel's agricultural production grew steadily. Following independence in 1821, when most regional missions focused on expanding their livestock production for sale in the tallow and hide trade, San Gabriel continued producing agricultural goods at a steady rate (with the exception of the 1824 wheat harvest, which declined due to inclement weather).⁹⁵ The Franciscans concurrently expanded their livestock and participated in the tallow and hide trade. Jackson's work shows that the San Gabriel Mission maintained a large number of cattle, sheep, and horses. Jackson argues that these numbers indicate missionaries' profitable participation in the tallow and hide trade.⁹⁶

After Mexican independence, the San Gabriel Mission's success rested on missionaries' effective management of emerging merchant capitalist markets. San Gabriel Mission priests provided items similar to those imported from San Blas or Mexico City. They also bartered a variety of locally produced supplies, such as wheat, wine, grains, and tallow by-products to presidios and El Pueblo de Los Angeles; these activities transformed San Gabriel missionaries into successful businessmen.⁹⁷ Within this period, the San Gabriel Mission became the hub of regional trade and the most economically powerful institution in the area.⁹⁸ The success of the independence era marked the beginning of the mission's decline.

⁹⁵ Annual Mission Report, San Gabriel Mission, 1824, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA); Jackson, *The Changing Economic Structure*, 406.

The production of corn during this year was also low, but it was higher than the amount of wheat produced. Missionaries attempted to grow barley but the number of *fanegas* for the entire period was 757.

⁹⁶ Jackson, *The Changing Economic Structure*, 412. During the course of my research I have located many letters between San Gabriel Mission (Franciscan and secular) leaders and Pueblo de Los Angeles authorities, South American traders, and prominent men such as José Antonio De La Guerra, all dealing with the trade in livestock and livestock by products. I will discuss these letters in detail later in this project.

⁹⁷ Costello, "Purchasing Patterns of the California Missions," 59-63; Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 104-105. For a discussion about Los Angeles' reliance on the mission for these products, see Michael J. González, "Searching for the Feathered Serpent: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1830-1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 35-75.

⁹⁸ I will discuss the effect on the lives of the American Indians whose work made this economic power possible later.

Independence and Trade

Mexico's War for Independence, lasting from 1810 to 1821, produced three key developments that created a prime economic situation for the growth of the mission economy and the *Californio* elite. First, the war disrupted long established, yet tenuous, trade routes between California and the Mexican interior. Secondly, the devastating war destabilized commercial agriculture and export markets in Mexico.⁹⁹ Lastly, independence severed ties with Spain, creating an unstable economy marred by the flight of capital as Spaniards fled the country. Individually, each of these conditions is not unique to countries engaged in wars for independence from imperial powers. However, examining them collectively in the context of nineteenth century Alta California, it becomes evident that they converged and deeply influenced ideas about optimal land use. In turn, these conversions determined the region's economic growth, power distribution, and institutional development and collapse.

Since the establishment of the first mission in Alta California during the late eighteenth century, trade between the Mexican interior and the frontier was tenuous at best. Years later, the War for Independence exacerbated the difficulty of bringing supplies into Alta California; with no other recourse for survival, the lack of governmental support and the instability of war led to a complete dependence on the mission institutions. At San Gabriel, a plentiful cattle supply provided settlers and traders alike with much desired tallow and its by-products. Plentiful wheat and grain production supplied military personnel and the nearby Pueblo de Los Angeles with much-needed food.¹⁰⁰ Prior to the war, missionaries gladly bartered with settlers and soldiers.

⁹⁹ The decade-long war devastated both mining and agriculture. The mining industry, on which the Mexican economy relied, collapsed due to lack of workers- many of whom left to join the war effort. Agricultural and livestock production declined because crops were destroyed and livestock were slaughtered.

¹⁰⁰ El Pueblo de Los Angeles was second to the San Gabriel Mission in wheat production; many of Pueblo's inhabitants were not interested in farming, therefore, settlers obtained their wheat from the mission. For discussion on this topic see González, "Searching for the Feathered Serpent," 35-75.

Now, within the context of war, as the economy collapsed, and military personnel did not receive their salaries,¹⁰¹ soldiers and settlers increasingly looked at the mission as their only source for survival.

Many soldiers and settlers, focusing on the mission's religious aspect, believed that it was the missionaries' duty to help those in need. Franciscans, concerned with providing for mission neophytes, hesitantly entered into a business relationship with the presidios and El Pueblo de Los Angeles.¹⁰² Missionaries lacking governmental monetary support relied on the profit made from the sale of their products. Between 1810 and 1830, during the War for Independence and into the first decade of the Republican period, the San Gabriel Mission provided supplies for the presidios at Santa Barbara and San Diego worth approximately 56,600 pesos.¹⁰³ Despite the missionaries' high volume of trade, military personnel and settlers paid using notes drafted from Mexico's bankrupt treasury, which often put missionaries at a monetary disadvantage because they never received payment for the items they provided.

Mission *memorias*, or requisitions, prior to the war reflected items of value to persons living in the region. Requests for cloth, blankets, tools, foodstuff, oils, spices, religious articles, and vestments give a glimpse into the cultural happenings at the missions.¹⁰⁴ Requests for copies of *Ordenanzas Militares*, *Filosofia moral* and *La Istoria del antiguo y Nuevo testamento* show continued adherence to tenets of societal order premised on military regulation and Christian

¹⁰¹ Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 11; Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 7.

¹⁰² Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 97.

¹⁰³ California State Archives, Provincial State Papers, Benicia, Vol 1XXIX, 653. Cited in Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles* (Chicago Franciscan Herald Press, 1927), 134; Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 104-105.

¹⁰⁴ These are items found in the Santa Barbara Mission's *Memorias* for 1804; see Memoria for Santa Barbara Presidio, 2/18/1810, *Californias* 53, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, cited in Giorgio Perissinotto, ed, *Documenting Everyday Life in Early Spanish California: The Santa Barbara Presido: Memorias y Facturas, 1779-1810* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Trust for the Historic Preservation, 1998), 355. It is safe to surmise that most missions requested similar items for their populations.

philosophy and religion.¹⁰⁵ Items requested prior to the war did not change during the fight for independence, allowing missionaries and private entrepreneurs to capitalize on the collapsing mercantilist system. The collapse of the empire created an opening for increased participation in foreign markets. Californios and missionaries alike were quite eager to trade with Russians, British, and American traders. Mexican authorities, preoccupied with concerns of war, were not there to restrict regional participation in these illegal, yet long existing trade markets. This brought great profit to those involved and premised Alta California's participation in the "Anglo-oriented world economy" during the early Mexican period.¹⁰⁶

Independence, Trade, and Optimal Land Use

The war's economic and political effects coalesced with missionaries' visions of optimal land use by necessitating an expansion of the land holding for wealthier missions, such as San Gabriel. Regional demands for goods and increased participation in foreign markets further defined ideas of land use by prompting Franciscans to dedicate more land to agricultural production. The *diseño*, or map, of mission lands reflected, through its layout, the Franciscans' conceptualization of land usage. The San Gabriel Mission's *diseño* showed that within its boundaries, Franciscans used land nearest the mission building for the cultivation of crops and grazed livestock on the outlying land. Franciscans' ideas of optimal land use reflected their continued desire to grow agricultural products and obtain land for cattle grazing. By the end of the War for Independence, the San Gabriel Mission had reached its highest point of development and had successfully cultivated crops in the surrounding region. San Gabriel's growth allowed missionaries to produce the necessary surplus to meet regional demands, as well as meeting trade

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 355.

¹⁰⁶ Costello, "Purchasing Patterns of the California Missions," 59-66

requests with European, South American, and Russian vessels. For example, in 1821 mission Indians successfully harvested wheat (5,000 *fanegas*), maize (3,000 *fanegas*), beans (150 *fanegas*), and lentils (30 *fanegas*) totaling 8,180 *fanegas*.¹⁰⁷ Measured in fanegas, a unit of measurement used throughout the Spanish empire, the numbers reveal important points regarding the San Gabriel Mission's production and land use during this period. Used to measure the volume of dry goods as well as land size, the *fanega* was not a standardized measurement and often times reflected specific regional conditions, but it was generally about 1.5 bushels.¹⁰⁸ The term *fanega de sembradura* indicated "the area of land that could be sown with a *fanega* of grain."¹⁰⁹ For example, despite there being no standardized measurement until the mid-1840s, scholars such as J.N. Bowman indicated that in 1830s California, the *fanega* area for wheat was 1.74 acres and the *fanega* area for corn was approximately 6.94 acres.¹¹⁰ Applying these calculations to San Gabriel's harvest of wheat and corn, 5,000 and 3,000 *fanegas* respectively, reflects the cultivation of about twenty-nine thousand acres of land, a plausible amount considering San Gabriel's significant land holdings. The fact the San Gabriel's missionaries used this vast acreage to produce corn and wheat, as well as other crops, indicates that agricultural production constituted their vision of optimal land use.

British, Russian, and American demands for goods produced at the California missions, and regional demands for foreign products led to increased maritime smuggling. Increased trade

¹⁰⁷ J.N. Bowman Papers Regarding California History, BANC MSS C-R18, Item 70, Spanish Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁰⁸ J.N. Bowman, "Weights and Measurements of Provincial California," *California Historical Quarterly*, 30 (1951): 318-319.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 323.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 323. For a discussion on weights and measurements in other areas of New Spain throughout the colonial period, see Manuel Carrera Stampa, "Evolution of Weights and Measurements in New Spain," *Hispanic: American Historical Review*, 29 (1949): 2-24.

restrictions after 1817 made smuggling commonplace in Alta California.¹¹¹ Missionaries were heavily involved in this clandestine trade, but they received help from secular agents looking to profit from the underground trade network. The two stronger regional missions, Santa Barbara and San Gabriel, met growing demand with increased production and trade. The expansion of their trade networks required that the missionaries work with purchasing agents to handle mission trade with foreigners. Missionaries at the Santa Barbara Mission designated as their agent, José de la Guerra y Noriega, a man familiar with the trade activity off California's coast. As Comandante of the Santa Barbara Presidio, De la Guerra's official responsibilities included enforcing governmental trade restrictions and combating smuggling. Despite his sworn responsibility to the Crown, De la Guerra played a key role in regional clandestine trade and, as a result, became quite wealthy.¹¹² Commander de la Guerra maintained amicable relationships with a bevy of foreign traders, making it easier for him to secure relationships with Franciscan missionaries. As the designated purchasing agent for the Santa Barbara Mission, De la Guerra was responsible for managing mission monies and items that were not part of annual governmental mission allotments or paid for with government stipends.¹¹³ As purchasing agent, the *Comandante* arranged trade transactions between missionaries and foreign business agents. Once a transaction was complete, De la Guerra received a portion of the profit as his commission. De la Guerra's responsibilities at Santa Barbara often required him to work with the San Gabriel Mission as well. In one example, in 1817 De la Guerra oversaw the shipment of over 3,000 pesos' worth of goods to San Gabriel. De la Guerra obtained the merchandise from the foreign traders, brought the supplies to San Gabriel, and sold them at a competitive price,

¹¹¹ Louise Pubols, *Father of All: The de la Guerra Family, Power, and Patriarchy in Mexican California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 44.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 44.

¹¹³ Archibald, *Economic Aspects of the California Missions*, 121-122

netting 522 pesos for himself. Because he traded the items on consignment, De la Guerra instructed missionaries to buy what they wanted and return the rest to him.¹¹⁴ Similar to Santa Barbara's missionaries, San Gabriel's mission priests worked with De la Guerra to sell their mission products and purchase foreign staple goods and luxury items.¹¹⁵ These trade networks were among the many from which Mission San Gabriel profited during this period.

In addition to their participation in this clandestine trade, San Gabriel's missionaries supplemented their profits by establishing contracts with San Diego and Los Angeles residents for the slaughter of cattle. Missionaries sought these contracts because the number of mission-owned cattle had grown too large to be confined to mission lands.¹¹⁶ The agreement stated that settlers would slaughter the cattle, keep half of the hides for themselves, and give the other half to the mission. Missionaries could then trade or sell these hides to foreign traders entering the region. The San Gabriel Mission quickly became the region's key tallow producer and engaged in extensive trade with foreign companies. Most of the San Gabriel Mission's trade was with a Chilean company, represented by English-born agent William Hartnell. Hartnell's company was the only one allowed to conduct business, with few restrictions, out of any California port. Letters between San Gabriel's Fr. José María de Zalvidea and Hartnell illustrate the volume and variety of trade engaged in during, and immediately following, Mexican independence. Hartnell's company brought items into the region that were also available from the Mexican interior, but it was their quick availability that made them appealing to California's missionaries. Easy access to these items was tempting, but by no means were missionaries at the traders' mercy. For example, an 1823 letter requesting knives, iron, and sugar indicated that Zalvidea

¹¹⁴ Pubols, *Father of All*, 45.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 45.

¹¹⁶ "Angustias de la Guerra Ord: Occurrences in Hispanic California," in *Nineteenth Century Testimonials*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez, Beatrice Pita, and Bárbara Reyes (La Jolla: University of California, San Diego, 1994), 235.

believed the prices were too high, and he stated that he could obtain them at a lower cost.¹¹⁷

Regardless of how appealing this trade was, Zalvidea's tone in his letters to Hartnell indicated that San Gabriel's missionaries had an advantage in the trade relationship, and were not simply forced to acquiesce to the foreign trading companies.

It is important to question the mission's control in this trade relationship. The economically powerful mission held what essentially constituted a trade monopoly with trading companies, with both the mission institution and traders important to regional survival. While other trading companies were restricted to either the Port of Monterey or San Diego, Hartnell obtained a license to conduct business at any California port and often traded at the Port of San Pedro, located in San Pedro Bay about 35 miles south of the San Gabriel Mission. San Pedro Bay became a bustling commercial center in 1822, with its port serving as an outlet for local goods and a source for imported foreign products. Tallow and hide produced at the San Gabriel Mission and regional ranches found their way into foreign markets through the vessels docked at this port.¹¹⁸ Hartnell's exclusive access to San Pedro Bay meant that, in all likelihood, missionaries did not have much of a choice in deciding whether to trade with Hartnell.¹¹⁹ In an April 15, 1823 letter inquiring about the barrels needed to store *manteca*, or lard, Zalvidea stated that "*hacen falta y necesitamos como 200 barriles,*" and that it was very difficult and time

¹¹⁷ José María Zalvidea, carta a Hartnell, San Gabriel, April 7, 1823, Archivo de las Misiones, BANC C-CA 4-5, folder 130, Spanish Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹¹⁸ Eugene P. Moehring, *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840-1890* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 62.

¹¹⁹ William Hartnell was able to establish a successful relationship with Fr. Payéras, who then gave him permission to enter into three-year contracts with individual missions. See Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 138; also, María Casas, *Married to the Daughters of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007), 54.

consuming to make other storage arrangements.¹²⁰ Zalvidea's follow-up request for barrels, used to facilitate the storage and transportation of mission products, indicates that trade was extremely important for the mission's economic well-being.

From these letters we gain a sense of the amount of *legitimate* commerce the mission was engaged in; Zalvidea's and Hartnell's letters indicate the symbiotic economic relationship between the missions and Hartnell during this "golden age." Trade with Hartnell, and later with others, played a role in the solidification of regional power and transformed visions of land use in nineteenth-century Alta California. To better understand Hartnell's role in land transformation and the larger political, social, and cultural spheres during this period, two things must be established. First, the Provincial Governor Pablo Vicente Solá and head of the mission system, Fr. Mariano Payéras, not authorities in Mexico City, granted Hartnell's ability to legitimately trade at any port without restriction. In other words, those most vested in the success of the regional economy were the ones who granted permission. Second, Hartnell developed a good reputation and established very deep roots in Alta California's emerging Californio community, despite his being Anglo.¹²¹ Both of these factors speak to the solidification of economic and social power amongst Californio politicians, regional elites, and missionaries during the post-independence period.

Having arrived in Alta California in 1822 as an agent for the Chilean-based John Begg Company, Hartnell found it easy to establish himself amongst the social elite. During his travels, Hartnell moved north to Monterrey and became a frequent guest of José de la Guerra, who by this time was one of the richest and most influential men in Alta California. In the 1820s, during

¹²⁰ Jose María Zalvidea, carta a Hartnell, San Gabriel, April 15, 1823; Archivo de las Misiones, BANC C-C4-5, folder 131, Spanish Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Translation: "They are necessary and we need about 200 of them."

¹²¹ This was not unique to Hartnell or to Alta California. Anglos were easily incorporated into the social structure in this early period because their numbers were so low they did not threaten existing social structures.

one of his visits, Hartnell met 14-year-old María Teresa de la Guerra and subsequently, as traditions of the time dictated, submitted a letter to De la Guerra asking for permission to wed his daughter.¹²² Hartnell converted to Catholicism in 1824, and wed María Teresa in April 1825.¹²³ After the John Begg trading firm failed, Hartnell used his reputation and connections to maintain trade with the regional missions. Unfortunately, Hartnell's career as an independent trade agent was short-lived and he found himself in financial ruin. In 1829, the shipwreck of Hartnell's trade vessel, the *Danube*, at the port of San Pedro left him financially devastated and heavily indebted to his clients.¹²⁴ Believing that land ownership was his only way out of financial collapse, Hartnell became a naturalized Mexican citizen in 1830, making him eligible to own land.¹²⁵ In 1833, Hartnell obtained a portion of Rancho de Alisal, a land parcel located in present-day Salinas, granted to the Soberanes brothers and Hartnell by Governor José Figueroa.¹²⁶ Hartnell worked very hard to keep up his land allotment, which he named El Patroncinio de San José; not having very much extensive ranching experience, he often went to his father-in-law for guidance.¹²⁷

Studying Hartnell's economic life and career in Alta California during the 1820s and 1830s reveals the power relations and changing ideas about optimal land use in that era. Hartnell's arrival in Alta California occurred at a time when the San Gabriel Mission had reached its apex of production and independence ushered in unrestricted trade. Hartnell's desire

¹²² For details of this courtship see María Casas, *Married to the Daughters of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007), 54-61.

¹²³ Pubols, *Father of All*, 118.

¹²⁴ Casas, *Married to the Daughters of the Land*, 58; Pubols, *Father of All*, 137.

¹²⁵ Naturalization Certificate, William Edward Petty Hartnell Papers, 1815, BANC MSS C-B 665, Papers concerning Hartnell's Naturalization, 1828-1830, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹²⁶ The Soberanes were sons of José Soberanes, who had moved north with the Portolá Expedition. Both sons married into wealthy *Californio* families. Mariano de Jesús married María Isadora Vallejo, sister of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. See Ogden Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases Determined in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California* (San Francisco: Numa Hubert Publisher, 1862), 210.

¹²⁷ Casas, *Married to the Daughters of the Land*, 58-59.

to trade with all of Alta California's missions reflected the missions' regional importance and financial viability. Supported by local elites, Hartnell entered into a tight-knit community and slowly assimilated into Californio society, going so far as to take the name Guillermo Eduardo Hartnell. Negotiating Californio gender structures, he married into one of Alta California's most powerful families, thereby increasing his social network and elevating his status in the community. Calls for mission secularization in the latter part of the 1820s indicate the decline of the mission as a powerful cultural institution, but secularization legitimized the mission institution as a major source of agricultural production and economically viable lands.

During the late 1820s, ranching comprised the vision of optimal land use. Despite the fact that missionaries utilized the majority of their lands for ranching, they were still criticized for adhering to an archaic colonial system. Although critics who advocated secularization emphasized the evangelical project's ineffectiveness in their complaints against the mission system, an increasing attitude of secularism and a desire to control mission lands and neophyte labor was at the core of these critiques. For example, in the narrative of her life, Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell discussed the great endearment and sense of debt that her family, some of Alta California's original inhabitants, felt towards the missionaries. Interestingly, De la Guerra Hartnell took issue with those seeking secularization, stating that their denigration of mission priests was a result of historical ignorance:¹²⁸

He oido muchas personas que sin estar al corriente de como caminaban las cosas en los tiempos de antaño aplicaban a los reverendos padres misioneros mil epitetos denigrantes.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ In her narrative, Teresa De la Guerra Hartnell referred to those who ousted Governors Chico and Gutiérrez, one of whom was Juan Bautista Alvarado, a main proponent of secularization and former student of William Hartnell at the school he established in 1834 on the grounds of El Patroncinio de San José.

¹²⁹ María Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell, *Narrativa de la distinguida matrona Californiana*, 1875 Mar., msS, 19, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. "I have heard many people that without being current on how things have changed over time, use a thousand denigrating epithets towards the reverend missionaries." Author's translation.

In her defense of the missionaries, she stated that the Franciscans represented the interests of their Indian pupils, and credited them with the establishment of civilization and progress:

Confio que gente de mi raza que hanpreciado la conducta de eso dignos ministros de Dios dejaran de reconocer que la civilización es deudora mas a ellos del progreso que ha hecho esta, mi patria que el extranjero. Tal sin ninguna excepción fue la Buena conducta que los padres misioneros observaron en la Alta California desde el día 3 de 1770 hasta 1833. No tengo embarazo en hacer esta aserción pues mis abuelos y parientes, verdaderos fundadores de este país, me han contado. Tengo referido, y yo misma hepreciado, muchos actos meritorios de los reverendos padres misioneros cuyas virtudes he admirado cuando joven gozaba de los placeres de este mundo y que fui madre de veinte varones y cinco hembras con un pie en la tumba recuerdo con la mas complete satisfacción.¹³⁰

Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell not only attributed the region's progress to the mission priests but also tied her identity and that of her family to the land by stating that the original founders recognized the mission system's importance in establishing the region. Throughout her narrative, Doña Teresa seemed to regard the secularization process as something foreign to the region, believing it was a sentiment emanating from the region's younger, aspiring, not well-established families such as her own. A closer look at her words illustrates attitudes about changing regional economic structures. Doña Teresa's indictment of settlers' historical ignorance and dismissing of missionaries' roles could be a direct critique of an emergent capitalist and oligarch system in which land ownership, ranching output and profit, and a racialized, dependent labor force displaced the archaic system that had brought her family and her husband wealth. Doña Teresa's father, José de la Guerra, one of California's largest landowners, had obtained over 350,000 acres through land grants and private purchases.

¹³⁰ De la Guerra Hartnell, *Narrativa*, 20. "I am confident that the people of my race who have valued the conduct of those dignified missionaries of God will recognize that civilization is indebted to them for the progress that our country has made here. That without any exception were the fathers' observed good conduct in Alta California from the 3rd day of 1770 to 1833; I have no impediment in making this assertion that my grandparents and relatives, the true founders of this country, have told me. I, myself, have referred to and value the many dignified acts of the mission fathers whose virtues I admired when I was young and enjoyed the joys of this world, and that I was mother of 20 boys and 5 girls, with one foot in the grave I remember with complete satisfaction." Author's translation.

Popularly known as El Capitán, De la Guerra rose through the ranks to become the Santa Barbara Presidio's Comandante, and later the purchasing agent for the Santa Barbara Mission. De la Guerra's participation in the mission economy garnered him a strong position in the regional economic structure, and his social position gained him great respect and political influence in the larger Californio community.

Doña Teresa's narrative and her family's legacy as one of Alta California's *verdaderos fundadores*, reflects the interconnectedness that existed between the mission and regional elites; landed families, such as the De la Guerra's, felt tremendous respect towards mission fathers. Conversely, missionaries respected landed families by allowing some of these landed patriarchs direct and continued participation in their trade networks. For example, De la Guerra's role as purchasing agent for the Mission Santa Barbara provided William Hartnell the opportunity to participate in this lucrative trade. The shared respect that resulted from mutually beneficial business relationships created an environment that left the mission economy vulnerable to outside economic factors and allowed secular interests into the mission grounds.

José De la Guerra's position and access to the Mission Santa Barbara and San Gabriel's trade networks facilitated Hartnell's induction into Californio society and gave him access to many economic opportunities. After receiving his land allotment, Hartnell worked to develop his position as a member of Alta California's landed class. Hartnell's inexperience frequently led him to ask De la Guerra for advice and financial help, often at the request of Teresa. Hartnell's dependence on his father-in-law caused strain in the relationship between Teresa and her father. Upon De la Guerra's death in 1858, Teresa received a very small inheritance; his will implied that he had already provided a great deal of help to his daughter's husband. With the statement, "I have already delivered to her at her request as much as it was my intention to leave

her in my will,” De la Guerra all but excluded Teresa from his will.¹³¹ Despite Hartnell’s financial difficulties, the cooperation and support during the mission era continued into the 1830s, and the business relationship survived the shift from the vision of agriculture to one of ranching.

The cooperation between mission and regional authorities, with implicit or explicit backing by regional elites, created a mutually beneficial business relationship for all those involved. The relationship that developed between Hartnell and missionaries at the Santa Barbara and San Gabriel Missions during the 1820s illustrates the interwoven nature of business and socio-cultural interactions. Prominent Californios, men like Juan Bautista Alvarado and José Castro, who supported mission secularization and were deeply involved in the politics of the time, supported Hartnell’s permission to both trade without restriction and maintain an exclusive trade license. During the 1830s, after secularization, both Alvarado and Castro served as secular mission administrators and Governors of California. Alvarado’s and Castro’s adaptability to changing economic conditions guided them towards the lucrative trade potential that existed between Russian and American traders and they jumped at the opportunity to expand their participation in these markets.¹³² When markets shifted from an agricultural base to one of sea otter pelts and later cattle hides and tallow, they quickly moved to obtain the necessary lands on which to graze cattle and mission lands thereby became the jewel of the region. Increasing interest in an economy focused on the cattle industry displaced the vision of California as a place for farming.¹³³ Emphasis on an industry that required a great deal of uncultivated land changed

¹³¹ Joseph Thompson, OFM, *El Gran Capitan: José de la Guerra* (Los Angeles: Franciscan Fathers of California, Cabrera and Sons, 1961), 155.

¹³² This trade helped Alta California establish itself as a functioning economy, but more importantly, I argue, it helped create non-secular desires on land thereby changing ideas about optimal land use.

¹³³ Antonio Rios-Bustamante, “Los Angeles, Pueblo and Region, 1781-1850: Continuation and Adaptation on the North Mexican Periphery” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 83.

the vision of optimal land use; the age of the rancho had emerged. Aspiring oligarchs supported secularization, and greatly benefited from its implementation in 1834, professing a shift towards liberalism after Mexican independence. **Nineteenth-Century Mexican Liberalism and Secularization**

During the period from 1811-1821, the mission institution became the means of survival for all those living on the northern fringes of a collapsing empire; paradoxically, for many aspiring Californio elites, the mission served as the archetype for a broken colonial system marred by avarice and socio-economic limitations. The rhetoric of liberalism rationalized the shift in land use. Aspiring oligarchs accused missionaries of unjustly holding their vast mission lands hostage and stunting the region's economic growth by not allowing access to those premier lands. By constructing the mission as an archaic Spanish institution, Californios constructed themselves as progressive and modern.¹³⁴

Tenets of democracy, secularism, and freedom of expression become part of the political and social attitudes of a considerable number of Mexicans during first half of the nineteenth century. The end of colonial rule, as well as the short-lived empire of Agustín de Iturbide, resulted in the rise of republicans who would form an independent Mexican Republic.¹³⁵ After the creation of the Mexican Republic, work soon began on writing a constitution. Under the Constitution of 1824, the Republic would be federalist in nature, giving states representation in the federal legislature; further, it eliminated race and class distinctions, and provided for regional

¹³⁴ Although these two terms did not fully emerge until later in the nineteenth century I argue that they were present in Mexican liberalism in a nascent form much earlier, because of merchant capitalism. The rhetoric of liberalism with its racial and ethnic implications would play out through a socially fabricated and often contentious ethnic and class structure. Differentiations such as Spanish/ Mexican/ Mestizo; archaic/ modern; *Californio*/ Indio reflect socio-economic identities that had implicit racial/ ethnic meaning. In addition, one's position in society determined what type of work one did and whether or not one owned land. I will develop this point later in discussion about the development of social identity at Misión San Gabriel, Rancho San Pascual and Pasadena.

¹³⁵ Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds, "The First Mexican Empire," in *The Course of Mexican History*, 6th edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 296-297.

autonomy, which translated into increased representation for Californios at the national level. Despite its federalist intention, it still had several conservative tenets: first, Catholicism became Mexico's official religion; second, it maintained *fueros*, or special privileges for military and clergy. Members of these groups were able to exercise rights not available to others. For example, if members of the military or clergy were charged with a crime, rather than trying them in civilian courts, their peers tried members of these groups in military or ecclesiastic courts, where they were more likely to receive lighter punishments. Despite the *fueros*' connection to the clergy, their military aspect is of main concern to our study of California because the special privileges blocked open access to mission lands and made it easier for these groups to obtain land grants. Because most of California's aspiring landowners were ex-military officers, the *fueros* made it possible for them to receive the region's best land. The fact that these ex-military men and proponents of Mexican liberalism received the best land, to the exclusion of others, illustrates that although they rhetorically supported equality, they were committed to maintaining privilege and distinction in their everyday practice.

In an attempt to formalize land distribution, the Mexican government addressed the issue of land disbursement in California through the Colonization Act of 1824 and the Supplemental Colonization Act of 1828.¹³⁶ These acts greatly affected the emergence of the rancho by defining the process of granting land, determining who was eligible, and settling the maximum disbursement. In order to obtain land, one needed to either be a Mexican citizen or file a formal petition with the Governor.¹³⁷ The state handled distributions to military personnel and

¹³⁶ The Supplemental Colonization Act of 1828 followed the Colonization Act of 1824, which stated that individual states could draw up regulations for colonization of a territory. The 1824 act applied mostly to areas of Tejas y Coahuila that at the time experienced a massive influx of American immigration into its borders. For a discussion of the Anglo-American Colonization of Texas, see David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 162.

¹³⁷ The 1824 Act did not require citizenship but gave preference to Mexican citizens; Mexican citizenship was required after passage of the 1828 Supplemental Act. See David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 162.

stipulated that they receive supreme authority over these vacant lands.¹³⁸ The acts limited the quantity of land disbursed to one person to no more than one square league of irrigable land, four leagues of land dependent upon the seasons, and six for the purpose of raising cattle.¹³⁹ Furthermore, to the disappointment of many, during the years 1828 to 1846 the thirty-seven land grants issued to individual citizens created a California oligarchy that by the late 1840s had successfully displaced the regional missions.¹⁴⁰

Questions regarding land distribution came at a time of political division in Mexico. Conflicting political ideologies pitted federalists versus centralists and liberals versus conservatives, and despite the fact that Alta California was geographically distant from the center of government, the conflicts found their way onto the fringes of the republic. In California, into the 1830s, there were several rebellions and battles reflective of the struggle for political power, which is illustrated by the rapid succession of California governors during this period. Beginning with José Figueroa's appointment as governor in 1833, California's government reflected a shift towards liberalist ideals. Early in his tenure, Governor Figueroa's administration successfully implemented the Secularization Order proposed under acting Mexican President Valentín Gómez Farías' anti-clerical program in 1833. After assuming presidential duties from Antonio López de Santa Anna, Gómez Farías undertook his liberal project of ending *fueros* for the military and destroying the power of the Church.¹⁴¹ His project aimed to establish a secular mentality that emphasized utilitarian rather than religious values.¹⁴² Conservatives did not respond to the Gómez Farías' reforms and the Congress allowed the changes to continue despite

¹³⁸ W.W. Robison, *Land in California: The Story of Mission Lands, Ranchos, Squatters, Mining Claims, Railroad, Land Scrip, Homesteads* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 66.

¹³⁹ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 373. One square league of land is equivalent to 4428 acres.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 374.

¹⁴¹ Gómez Farías, originally Santa Anna's vice President, assumed the presidential duties in Santa Ann's absence from Mexico City.

¹⁴² Charles A. Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821-1853* (New Haven: Yale University, 1968), 160.

popular disagreement. Gómez Farías' plan for secularization was part of his idea to modernize Mexico by abolishing church power. In Alta California, the secularization order had regionally specific ramifications. Basing his secularization on concerns about missionaries' control over Indians, the failure of the mission project, and missionaries' ownership of massive acres of desirable land, Gómez Farías sought to dismantle the mission system and divide land amongst settlers, including, at least theoretically, Indians. In further efforts to increase Alta California's secular population, Gómez Farías supported the establishment of the 1834 Hajar-Padrés settlement. This 239-person expedition, comprised of teachers, lawyers, tailors, carpenters, and other professionals, set out for Alta California to fulfill Gómez Farías' secular experiment.¹⁴³ Upon President Santa Anna's return in the spring of 1834, the Vice President's congressionally supported plan for secularization fell apart. Santa Anna quickly ousted Gómez Farías and did away with a large portion of his plan, leaving only the policies dealing with the secularization of mission lands.

Secularization and the Emergence of the Alta California Rancho

The Secularization Order of 1834 gave the government control over mission lands and placed their redistribution under the Governor's auspices. The process of secularization, which would take place over the course of two years, promised great opportunity for Californios wishing to obtain mission lands. Unfortunately, for Californios, Governor Figueroa attempted to pace the distribution of land to ensure that Amerindians received some of the mission lands. Under the secularization order, mission lands were to be divided equally between mission Indians and land grantees; half the lands would go to Indians for the establishment of mission pueblos and the other would be parceled out through land grants to presidial soldiers and

¹⁴³ Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 185.

California's Mexican residents.¹⁴⁴ Figueroa's attempts to implement secularization ended with his death in 1835. After the governor's death, the secularization program continued under a spoils system mentality, in which Figueroa's successors divided land amongst themselves and their supporters.

By the mid-1830s, a few select Californio families had obtained choice lands on which to build their rancho estates, and solidified a regional identity increasingly tied to land ownership.¹⁴⁵ The process of secularization, as historian Lisbeth Haas argued, included the emancipation of indigenous groups, including the Tongva people (*Gabrielinos*), who defined their freedom in relation to land ownership.¹⁴⁶ Under Mexican liberalism, which maintained that neither ethnicity nor class could exclude people from obtaining land and citizenship rights, Indians had the right to apply for land grants and receive disbursements; to this end, Californios pressed for secularization to include the emancipation of mission Indians. In their calls for secularization, Californios argued that Indians, as "natives of the land," were entitled to receive mission lands. Although their use of the label "native of the land," implied Californios' recognition of Amerindians as the rightful inhabitants of the land, and to a certain extent their entitlement to it, the use of this language was not intended to give former mission Indians claim to mission lands. Californios used the label to frame their own claims to mission lands and gain the labor of newly freed Indians. The phrase "native of the land" or *nativo* later became a standard part of elite Californios' identity and was often used to describe their native connection with and entitlement to the land. Framing their claims to land in the language of liberalism and citing the mission institution and priests as oppressive agents holding the land captive allowed

¹⁴⁴ Michael J. González, "Searching for the Feathered Serpent," 40-41; Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 34-35

¹⁴⁵ The process of secularization and emancipation was an important factor in shaping regional, as well social and political identity; this matter is addressed in detail in a subsequent chapter.

¹⁴⁶ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 38.

Californios to gain popular support for secularization through the illusion of land ownership for all. Through this rhetorical naming, Californios designated themselves, not Indians, as the rightful heirs of these lands. Rather than using the phrase as a means of claiming space for themselves *and* Indians, Californios increasingly used it to distinguish themselves from indigenous populations and maintain a superior socio-cultural status.

Local elites' and governmental authorities' efforts to keep land away from newly emancipated Indians did not occur without Indian resistance; they challenged coercive labor structures and demanded land. Furthermore, Indians pointed to their productive work at the missions and their involvement in creating a viable regional economy. Despite their newly gained political rights, and demands for freedom, Haas points out that "the new political ordering of space continued to bind former neophytes to many of the same conditions of coercive labor that had characterized their previous states."¹⁴⁷ The dismantling of the mission system left newly emancipated Indians needing a way to survive. Many ex-mission Indians moved to the Ciudad de Los Angeles to work for the local *pobladores* as servants and manual laborers.¹⁴⁸ Although once in the pueblo, some ex-mission Indians assimilated into the Mexican population through marriage, the majority of Indians in Los Angeles remained landless laborers.¹⁴⁹

Indians' land ownership was limited because those charged with distributing land often granted land to applicants considered Spaniards. Elites excluded Indians from owning land, and constructed them as a racialized labor force. Labor therefore served as a concrete example of how racial ideals manifested themselves through land. Those considered Spanish or *gente de razón* owned land, while those who were Indians were destined to work it. Despite the promises

¹⁴⁷ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 40-41.

¹⁴⁸ Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, *Mexican Los Angeles: A Narrative and Pictorial History* (Encino: Floricanto Press, 1992), 88.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.

of a society free from race and class distinctions, local authorities did not easily award former mission Indians land parcels, at least at first. Upon learning of the proposed Hajar-Padrés settlement, the territorial government issued laws that spelled out former mission Indians' rights, through comprehensive laws ensuring land ownership based on their designation as the "sole population of the mission pueblos."¹⁵⁰ Promising ex-neophytes access to mission lands allowed aspiring elite Californios to protect mission lands from Mexican immigrants entering the area.¹⁵¹ Although these laws based on the promise of land ownership implied certain freedoms for Indians such as mobility, the right to control their labor, and political rights, these laws restricted Indians' rights and tethered them to mission lands as laborers.¹⁵² By placing ex-mission lands under the jurisdiction of Californio administrators, limiting Indian voter participation to elections of municipal officers, and requiring Indians to work on undistributed lands, elites quickly mobilized themselves into a political and social force to determine who would hold power in Alta California.¹⁵³

Liberalism, Secularization and Visions of Optimal Land Use

Increased liberalism prompted the proliferation of critiques aimed at removing any remnants of colonial institutions from the landscape, mainly the missions and presidios. During the early nineteenth century, young liberals such as Juan Bandini and Carlos Antonio Carrillo, the sons of well-respected men and members of the region's oldest families, advocated secularization to limit the missions' power in Alta California. For example, in 1830, while working for the customs service in San Diego, Bandini wrote his thoughts regarding Alta

¹⁵⁰ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 35.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁵² Kevin Starr, *California* (New York: Modern Library Press, 2005), 48; Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 35.

¹⁵³ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 35-37.

California's secularization in his "*Statistical Description of Alta California*." Bandini envisioned a thriving economy based on private property and commerce.¹⁵⁴ To Bandini, this new economy rested on the eradication of archaic colonial institutions and practices, mainly the presidios and the missions, which he saw as hindrances to Alta California's regional economy. Bandini believed that the presidios were outdated and that their buildings "were falling into total ruin and lately, some private individuals, those who are retired, and even some people who are still on active duty, have constructed simple houses in the vicinity of the presidios."¹⁵⁵ In his 1831 statement to Congress, fellow liberal Carlos Carrillo indirectly indicted the colonial structure for sustaining a system that stifled regional growth and controlled the local civilian population.

Carrillo stated:

From this source [Territorial Presidio Commanders] has flowed the accumulation of evils inflicted upon this unhappy population, governed as they are at the discretion of Military Commanders great and small who hold in their hands all the executive and judicial powers, the exercise of which no one is able to dispute. It is easy to imagine, such conditions, the tortures endured day after day by those wretched people for lack of courts of justice.¹⁵⁶

The issue being raised regarding the presidio was the lack of power and access to land. Bandini raised a similar issue in his indictment of the mission:

All of the missions are under the charge of the Franciscans of Propaganda Fide. Each Franciscan administers a mission and has absolute authority there. The work in the fields, the harvesting of the crops, and the slaughter of the cattle are all directed by the Father. He is the only one who can attend to the buying, selling, and other business affairs of the mission without having to go through another person. The possessions of the missions extend from one end of the territory to the other. Their borders come right up to each other. Even though they might not need all the land they appear to have for the care of the crops and

¹⁵⁴ Juan Bandini, "A Statistical Description of Alta California," in *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846*, eds., Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Santa Clara: Santa Clara University, 2001), 375-385.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 377.

¹⁵⁶ Carlos Carrillo, *The Coming of Justice to California: Three Documents*, ed. John Galvin and trans. Adelaide Smiters, (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1963), 50-52; Carlos Carrillo, "The California Delegate Argues for Rule of Law," in *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California*, 386-389.

the maintenance of their herds, they have insensitively appropriated all the area. They have constantly been opposed to any private person becoming involved in the affairs of the missions. With that sinister notion, they occupy the best land and water sources.¹⁵⁷

In their statements, Bandini and Carrillo highlighted the revolutionary tenets of liberalism, the contestation of oppression and injustice, as they defined it, resulting from the denial of opportunity to aspiring oligarchs. Descriptions of Franciscans' control of the best and most productive land, and the military's complete control of the judicial system, reinforce the idea that archaic colonial systems threatened Alta California's stability, growth, and development. By referring to Spain's inability to develop stable commerce and provide access to land, liberals questioned and challenged what they defined as the entire fabric of society. Critiques such as these fueled the 1830s secularization project in Alta California, which placed Californios as the central actors in the changing economic and social systems.

Secularization and the desire to obtain ex-mission lands focused on the continued profit of long established trade networks. The limitations of the Colonization Law of 1824 and the Supplemental 1828 Law that protected mission lands blocked private citizens' access to this lucrative trade. To young liberals such as Bandini, Carrillo, and countless others, secularization provided a chance to become involved in the tallow and hide trade. By this period, the San Gabriel Mission had become the center of the tallow and hide trade in Southern California. This trade changed visions about land use and motivated local aspiring landowners to emphasize their vision of land use based on a rancho economy. For example, as Bandini surmised in his statistical description, "Alta California lacks none of the essential elements for an inexhaustible production. The only thing it lacks is people."¹⁵⁸ Despite the fact that Bandini did not explicitly mention a vision of land use, his critique of missionaries' continued control of viable land, or the

¹⁵⁷ Bandini, "A Statistical Description of Alta California," 385

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

“essential elements for inexhaustible production” reflected liberal elites’ desires to take, redistribute, and privatize mission lands. The Secularization Order of 1834 released millions of acres of mission land to private citizens. The subsequent land grants brought more families into the competition for trading power within these lucrative markets, and solidified their identities as landed Californio elites. Privately owned land and grazing cattle supplanted the mission system and became the basis of a rancho system that changed the optimal vision of land use.¹⁵⁹

Conclusion

Filling the region’s needs created a mission economy based on agricultural production, ranching, the trafficking of the mission-produced material goods, and the tallow and hide trade. This economy transformed the landscape and missionaries’ purpose and directly affected indigenous groups whose labor made the individual missions’ wealth and monopoly possible. Sporadic arrival of Spanish supplies and Alta California’s marginalization within the colonial economy made the missions the region’s main providers. Reliance on individual missions prompted a proto-capitalist system in which missionaries were able to charge what they wanted for the goods they produced, despite governmental officials’ attempts to regain control of the regional economy. Policies regarding land ownership, influenced by Franciscans’ theological beliefs, affected the way in which this economy developed. Ironically, Franciscans’ ethical dilemmas regarding their spiritual purpose and material wealth attempted to slow the quick-paced growth of the economy they created. Aspiring elites’ desire to profit from the quickly expanding economy resulted in their indictment of Franciscans’ control of mission lands,

¹⁵⁹ David Hornbeck, “Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion in Alta California, 1784-1846,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 4 (1978), 379.

ownership of livestock, and price setting. As the profit increased and mission lands became more valuable, calls for secularization grew.

As expansion in production increased labor demands, missionaries attempted to tighten their grips on mission lands. Their basic view of land use did not change; mission lands were communal property held in trust for their Indian converts and any profit made from the land would be used to better mission Indians' conditions. As the nineteenth century progressed, outsiders' avarice for wealth and land defined the mission project as archaic, and placed Franciscans and indigenous laborers into the shadows of a decrepit colonial system. The shift towards nineteenth-century Mexican liberalism plowed through missionaries' horticultural and agricultural views about land use with repeated quarrels over land access, allegations of unfair price setting, and increasing competition for a stable labor force in an increasingly private rancharo system. Ultimately, this power struggle resulted in the Secularization Order of 1834, which dealt the deathblow to the Mission Era in the nascent Mexican Republic.

Inhibiting the Crown's and local emerging rancharo elites' wealth and control of premier lands by becoming the region's core site of production, the San Gabriel Mission weakened its position in California's colonial system. The economic competition Franciscan missions posed caused the Crown, and then Californios to replace missionaries' vision of land use and purpose with a vision that emphasized individual wealth over Amerindian conversion. The Mission period brought missionaries great economic prosperity. The mission system's economic dominance created tension with the emerging California elite and prompted clandestine trade networks between missionaries and foreign traders. Increased trade with Euro-Americans helped entrench American economic dominance in California. Once embedded, American pseudo-

colonialism encouraged further friendly incursions and facilitated the mid-nineteenth century territorial conquest of the Mexican Northwest.

Chapter 2

Social and Cultural Identity at Misión San Gabriel

This chapter traces the development of Spanish culture and identity in San Gabriel during the period from 1771 to 1834. It first looks at the mission framework of colonialism to show how it functioned as a site of socio-cultural production. It then studies the Tongva people at contact and traces the establishment of the San Gabriel Mission, detailing Franciscan missionaries' efforts to change indigenous labor practices, land-use customs, and gender structures. This section also discusses Tongva resistance to and negotiation of religion and Spanish culture. I then examine the attempt to replicate Spanish society on the frontier. Lastly, this chapter looks at the development of Spanish cultural identity on the Alta California frontier, paying specific attention to the decline of the *casta* system and the reconceptualization of the terms *de razón* and *sin razón*. This chapter provides a thematic base for the rest of the chapters in this project. It examines how cultural identity formation during the colonial period set the foundations for the Californio identity, secularization and land use.

Colonialism on the Alta California Frontier

San Gabriel Mission and Culture

Established in 1771, the San Gabriel Mission was integral to Spain's expansion into Alta California. Because of its location, the San Gabriel Mission often served as a starting point for military expeditions heading northward from San Diego and as the meeting point for travelers entering the region from Sonora and Sinaloa. Spanish Franciscans, soldiers, civilians, and mission Indians --groups who together comprised the San Gabriel Mission settlement-- lived with the results of the region's conquest and colonization. Together they inhabited a space and

geography wrought by the knowledge and power of colonialism and its accompanying institutions. Conquest, “the process that extends the political, economics, and social dominion of one empire, nation, or society over another one,”¹⁶⁰ and colonialism, the system of domination that delimits differences in power, autonomy and status to maintain subordination defined the territory’s peoples as well as the land on which they lived. Prior to contact, both Spanish and indigenous populations had their own distinct socio-cultural systems. Each group’s societal organization reflected the values and customs they defined as the basis of their society; religious and spiritual beliefs, labor organization, formation of individual, social, and cultural identities, as well as gender structures and behaviors framed their respective worldviews. The convergence of these different groups after contact prompted interactions with the ideologies and institutions of colonialism and engendered a process of transculturation in which dominant and subjugated cultural practices and ideas were adapted and altered according to social, and in this case, geographical conditions. By examining transculturation we acknowledge that the dynamics of colonialism and settlement existed alongside those of acculturation and resulted in inhabitants’ (re)creation, reconfiguration, and reappropriation of social and cultural identities, as well as their ideas about land and labor.

Life on the fringes of Spain’s northern frontier gave rise to a society in which frontier people shared many common experiences. Despite the similarities produced through the environment and place, the frontier’s instability and isolation produced a new societal stratification that defined people’s social identity according to the specifics of their communities, not New Spain’s racial *casta* system. New Spain’s *casta* system was a racial hierarchy in which

¹⁶⁰ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 2.

people's ethnic classifications formed the basis for their personal standing in colonial society.¹⁶¹ This ranked series of categories placed Spaniards at the top of the racial hierarchy, mixed raced persons or *castas* in the middle, and Indians and Africans at the bottom.¹⁶² In colonial Mexico the *casta* system provided a racial ideology that "functioned as a system of social control that created status differences" amongst the population.¹⁶³ Within this system, Spaniards' and *castas*' social behavior, occupation, wealth, and opportunities were determined and allocated based on their position in this social hierarchy. The social divisions produced and sustained through the *casta* system allowed Spaniards to maintain social, economic and political control of colonial society while marginalizing the racially mixed populations. As historian R. Douglas Cope contends, despite perceptions of the *casta* system as a very rigid structure in which *casta* identities were "permanently fixed at birth, they were social identities that were reaffirmed, modified, and manipulated in a wide variety of contexts."¹⁶⁴ Cope argued that in Mexico City race and *casta* identities "were complex and full of ambiguities" and that *castas* "redefined race in a way that made sense to them and served their purposes."¹⁶⁵ Although Cope's study focused on Mexico City, his argument has implications for the construction of race on the Alta California frontier.

Creating a social identity on the Alta California frontier proved difficult because of the region's constantly changing social, economic, and political environment, which continuously (re)shaped cultural and social identities. The power exerted by and through ideologies and institutions of colonialism, such as the mission, civilian settlements, ranchos, labor systems,

¹⁶¹ Cheryl Martin and Mark Wasserman, *Latin America and Its People* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 169.

¹⁶² R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 4.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

gender stratification, and Spanish culture, defined the identities of those living at the mission and its surrounding areas, leaving inhabitants' positions in the social structure "subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power."¹⁶⁶ The conditions of the frontier, the definition of culture, and the structures of colonialism produced a system of social stratification that made Spaniards out of castas and positioned Indians at the bottom of the colonial order. Colonialism, however, was not static; it continuously changed depending on different regimes of power and reproduced a new understanding of social identities and positionality.¹⁶⁷ During the early nineteenth century, as the mission became self-sufficient and Mexico pulled away from Spain, the region's population grew. Under the new nation, Spaniards quickly became Mexicans and regionally these Spaniards produced and embraced another socio-cultural identity; they became Californios.

The creation of Californio identity did "not proceed in a straight, unbroken line, from some fixed origin" but rather it was "constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative, and myth."¹⁶⁸ Californios positioned themselves within the changing cultural landscape and its accompaniments. Cultural identities, as Stuart Hall argues, "are the points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture."¹⁶⁹ During the course of these periods, the creation of Californio identity emerged out of the conditions that simultaneously necessitated cultural similarity and difference.¹⁷⁰ In this light, Californio identity resulted from the layering of multiple colonial discourses that changed over the course of the

¹⁶⁶ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 225.

¹⁶⁷ Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁷⁰ This is informed by Stuart Hall's idea of framing identities in a dialogic relationship between two axes. Hall argues that "identities are framed by two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture." *Ibid.*, 227.

Spanish and Mexican periods in Alta California. As the mission period ended and the rancho period emerged, landed elites created racial fictions that positioned them at the top of society.

Establishment of La Misión de San Gabriel Arcángel

The San Gabriel Mission was originally located in the present day city of Montebello, California, near the Santa Gabriel River, known to the Spanish as the *Rio de los Temblores*. As early as its founding, the missionaries faced resistant Tongva Indians. The mission story states that ‘hostile Indians’ were placated after the fathers unfurled a painting of Our Lady of Sorrows, a black clad Mary with seven swords piercing her heart to commemorate her suffering as the mother of Jesus Christ.¹⁷¹ This event marked the establishment of the Franciscan presence amongst the Tongva people in the region. By 1775, continuous flooding of the San Gabriel River, as well as continued Tongva resistance, compelled the Franciscans to move the mission site a few miles upstream to its present location in San Gabriel.

In 1775, following the deaths of mission’s founding fathers Pedro Benito Cambón and Angel Fernández de la Somera, the dedication and construction of the new mission began. The Franciscan leadership appointed Fr. Antonio Cruzado and Fr. Miguel Sánchez as administrators of the new mission site and the two oversaw the completion of the mission church. In 1805, the same year the church was completed, both Fr. Cruzado and Fr. Sánchez died. After their deaths, Fr. José María Zalvidea was appointed San Gabriel’s president and led the mission from 1806 through 1826. Under Zalvidea’s tenure the mission enjoyed its most prosperous and profitable

¹⁷¹ Tongva spirituality contained a parallel image, the female spirit, Chukit. Historian Rosanne Welch argues that “the Tongva believed that Chukit was impregnated by lightning and bore a son, regarded as the son of god, and contend that the similarity prompted the Tongva to consider the unraveling of the image as a friendly gesture.” See Rosanne Welch, *A Brief History of the Tongva Tribe: The Native Inhabitants of the Lands of the Puente Hills Reserve* (Claremont: Claremont Graduate University, 2006), 6-7.

period.¹⁷² As we saw in the previous chapter, the mission established itself as a major part of the regional economy through its trading power in the otter pelt industry, tallow and hide trade, as well as in its role as main supplier of goods to Alta California settlements. In the 1830s, as a result of secularization, the government took control of San Gabriel, and distributed its lands amongst the Californio elites, marking the full emergence of the California rancho era.

As was the trend in during California's mission period, the San Gabriel Mission priests controlled the richest, most productive, and most highly desirable land. The missionaries' control of mission lands, Indian labor, and mission production played a large role in the region's economic, social and cultural development. After secularization, the Mexican government issued private land grants comprised of ex-mission lands to the region's aspiring oligarchs, common settlers, and Indians. Most of the region's economic growth after secularization developed in the lands of the ex-missions and the mission as an institution played a crucial part in the region's landscape. Aside from its economic presence, the mission played a fundamental role as the site of cultural and social production. As a result, subsequent generations of elites and regional inhabitants traced their ancestry to one of the region's twenty-one missions. The San Gabriel Mission followed these broader regional trends. In the areas surrounding present-day Los Angeles and the San Gabriel Valley, it served as the center of economic, social, and cultural development. Within this context the region's aspiring oligarchs, pobladores, and Indians negotiated their identity and their relationship to the land that each claimed as rightfully theirs.

¹⁷² At the height of Zalvidea's tenure, Misión San Gabriel it is believed to have owned about 24 ranchos in the present day San Gabriel and Pomona Valleys. See James Miller Guinn, *A History of California and an Extended History of Los Angeles and its Environs* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1915), 460.

Missions: Sites of Social Control and Socio-Cultural Production

In a time of instability, the mission represented a source of permanence and was a symbol of civilization in a place regarded by Spaniards as uncivilized. The mission institution reflected Spain's values in the colonial project and represented their intention to colonize the area.¹⁷³ The Crown intended the mission project to help establish Spanish society amongst Alta California's indigenous populations. Although the move north emphasized the religious principle of conversion, there were political, territorial, and economic motivations as well. As historian James Sandos argues in his work on the Franciscans and social control in Alta California, "the king gave the lead hand to Junípero Serra...a man with a medieval worldview, the antithesis and enemy of the Enlightenment thinking that simultaneously supported the Crown while unleashing the forces that would ultimately undo it."¹⁷⁴ Sandos postulates that the Franciscans in Alta California, led by Father President Serra, implemented social control over multiple levels of society, religious and secular, through "moral precepts and by psychological manipulation."¹⁷⁵ Missionaries attempted to control the interactions and behaviors of presidial soldiers, settlers, governmental authorities, and Indians, and they felt morally justified in their right to do so. Not surprisingly, this led to bitter conflicts among Franciscans, secular authorities, settlers, and Indians, conflicts that in Alta California ultimately resulted in mission secularization and directly

¹⁷³ In terms of permanence, the mission can be seen as a way of forming collective identity amongst people. This is true in the present day historical memory of San Gabriel, but I believe also during the colonial moment as well. Because the mission served as the point of contact between the civilized and uncivilized, as well as an agent of colonization, it is possible that the mission was symbolic of Spanish Catholic values and civilization. The mission was meant to be a temporary institution and lasted far longer than intended; this might point to its continued role in shaping regional identity after secularization. For a discussion on the relationship between structures and permanence see Kevin S. Blake and Jeffery S. Smith, "Pueblo Mission Churches as Symbols of Permanence and Identity," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Jul. 2000), 359-380.

¹⁷⁴ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 3.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

affected the development of a regional cultural and social identity based on specific socio-historical realities.

Conflicts among missionaries, military leaders, governmental officials, and settlers were not unique to the Alta California frontier. We see similar conflicts spanning temporal and geographical locations. In places like New Mexico and Baja California, the conflict between missionaries, governmental administrators, and the Crown manifested themselves in ways that included violence against Franciscan missionaries and administrative measures.¹⁷⁶ The pattern of conflict between secular officials and missionaries reflects the amount of power that missionaries held in New Spain. Missionaries' attempts to determine behavior and policy on the frontier show their move towards implementing social control on all levels. The constant contestation by the missionaries and the government to exert power in the region and its people directly affected inhabitants' social and cultural identities. Thusly, the regionally specific meanings of Indian, Español, Californio and Mexican began to take shape within this contentious climate.

Social Identity and Colonialism

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the rise of specific regional identities based on interactions between Franciscans, soldiers, settlers, and Indians. In a colonial system, such as that established at the San Gabriel Mission, social identity emerged from the imposition of previously held notions of order. Social identity refers to how people define themselves or how others within their own cultural groups define them. People's identities are representative of power relations within a specific context and change in accordance with socio-

cultural fluctuation.¹⁷⁷ Because social identity is dynamic, changes in government, economics, and land policy directly influenced the factors that constituted each identity. As a site of conquest and colonization, the San Gabriel Mission influenced the social identity of those who functioned within its sphere of influence at specific historical moments. In the early colonial period, those regarded as being part of the dominant racial group distinguished themselves from subordinate racial groups using categories of Spanish and Indian. As the mission period evolved and regional conditions changed, these categories failed to capture the San Gabriel mission's complexities and social diversity. As anthropologist Barbara L. Voss argued in her work on social identity at the San Francisco presidio, "Historical emphasis on the colonized-colonizer distinction masks the differences in social identities within each group."¹⁷⁸ By the early nineteenth century, the change in the regional economy and the growth of civilian settlements around San Gabriel prompted a redefinition of Spanish identity. The Spaniards in the region were quite distinct; some were missionaries, others were presidial soldiers, and still others were pobladores or civilian settlers. The diversity of these groups shifted the racial meaning of the term "Spaniard" to a more culturally based designation that also implied their place in the social order. For example, terms such as soldado (soldier) indicated a multitude of other interrelated identities and social standing such as occupation, gender, nationality, colonial status, rank, and class, all of which were defined by colonial ideologies.¹⁷⁹ The terms used as markers of social identity—fray, soldado, indio, neófito, poblador—were imbued with the rhetoric of colonialism and changed in accordance to the social, economic, and cultural transformations taking place during Alta California's mission and Mexican periods in California.

¹⁷⁷ Barbara L. Voss, "From Casta to Californio: Social Identity and the Archaeology of Culture Contact," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 107, Issue 3 (2005): 461-474.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 462.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 462.

At the Misión San Gabriel, both Spanish and Indigenous inhabitants lived within a newly established and unstable colonial order, supported by the mission, the military, and the state. The social order at the San Gabriel Mission functioned within a colonial dichotomy that assigned status through the traditional Spanish *casta* system. Historian William M. Mason's extensive work on California's demographic history illustrates the fact that people at San Gabriel and other regional institutions utilized the terms associated with the *casta* system for classification purposes.¹⁸⁰ A look at the *Census of Alta California*, compiled on January 1, 1775, by the order of Governor Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, showed that the soldiers were "of different categories, whites and blacks"¹⁸¹ The diversity amongst the contingent of soldiers at San Gabriel was present in other places as well. The majority of Alta California's inhabitants came from the racially mixed *castas* of Mexico's Northern provinces; despite their mixed births, they defined themselves and each other as Spanish, especially in comparison to California's indigenous population.¹⁸² The racial categorization of Spanish soldiers, Franciscans and Indians illustrates that racial difference shaped their world. As the colonial period continued, those living in these lands negotiated their old social order and slowly shaped a new society and culture reflective of the social realities at the fringes of empire. Through the process of transculturation, regional inhabitants altered and adapted cultural practices and categories according to their local contingencies.¹⁸³ Although Alta California's social order blurred the *casta* system's restrictive boundaries as they applied to Spanish soldiers and settlers, the system solidified Indians' lower socio-cultural status.

¹⁸⁰ William M. Mason, *The Census of 1790: A Demographic History of Colonial California* (California: Ballena Press, 1998), 27-28.

¹⁸¹ "The Census of Alta California, January 1, 1775," as cited in William Mason's *The Census of 1790*, 28.

¹⁸² Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005), 294.

¹⁸³ Nancy E. van Deusen, *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of *Recogimiento* in Colonial Lima* (California: Stanford University Press, 2001), xiii.

Sin Razón?: Tongva Society at Contact

At the time of Portolá's 1771 entrance into present-day Pasadena, the Tongva people numbered over five thousand. The Tongva inhabited a vast area of southern California; they occupied the entire Los Angeles basin and inhabited the area as far north as Santa Barbara and south towards San Clemente.¹⁸⁴ The Tongva people were part of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic group, speaking dialects from the Takic dialect family.¹⁸⁵ Each politically autonomous village had populations ranging from fifty to five hundred individuals, its own chief, and hierarchal structure. The Tongva's inhabitation of such vast acreage of land and their dialectic variation speak to the autonomy of each village, but the villages were bound together by economics, social, and religious ties.¹⁸⁶

Geography determined individual village locations, daily subsistence and diet. Tongva settlements were often located near water sources and varied from seasonal to permanent settlements. For the San Gabriel and Pasadena Tongva, the terrain facilitated the hunting of deer and small game, and gathering of acorns and piñones (pine nuts). Because the inland groups did not engage in fishing, they participated in a well-established trade network with their coastal brethren who did, giving them access to fish and shellfish. During the winter months, inland groups separated into family units and migrated to the shellfish-gathering areas of San Pedro.¹⁸⁷

Prior to Spanish arrival, the Tongva had a well-established society, culture, and economy. Religious beliefs, labor practices, economic systems, land use and gender structures framed a complex society that extended into the diverse areas the Tongva inhabited and were the basis of a

¹⁸⁴ Edward D. Castillo, "Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation Among Female Neophytes in the Missions of California: A San Gabriel Case Study, *American Indian Cultures and Research Journal* 18 (1994):68.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 67; Keepers of Our Indigenous Ways, Inc., Tongva Language, <http://www.keepersofindigenouways.org/id9.html>, accessed on June 3, 2011. This study speaks specifically to the villages in the immediate areas of Pasadena and San Gabriel: Hahamongna (Pasadena) and Sibanga (San Gabriel).

¹⁸⁶ Castillo, "Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation," 68.

¹⁸⁷ William McCawley, *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Novato, CA: Ballena Press, 1996), 27.

stable society for its population. Spanish arrival and their goals of conquest and colonization resulted in the imposition of Spanish values, beliefs and practices. The clash of Spanish and indigenous values caused unavoidable transculturation of Tongva and Spanish culture. Attempts to replicate Spanish society through the mission structures resulted in the reconfiguration of both Tongva and Spanish societal and cultural norms. The colonial context and interethnic contact in the mission required both the Tongva and missionaries to reappropriate social and cultural identities within this new, unstable colonial order. Upon their arrival, Franciscan missionaries attempted to eradicate the perceived ills within Tongva society by establishing Spanish cultural and social practices amongst the indigenous population. Through religious indoctrination, labor, restructuring of gender structures, and violence, missionaries aimed to “save” Indians souls by slowly dismantling their indigenous ways of life.¹⁸⁸

Religion

Tongva religion evolved over generations and was fused with spiritual beliefs from other Tongva peoples as well as agricultural peoples from Arizona and New Mexico.¹⁸⁹ Some important features included a hierarchal structure of deities placing Chengiichnegech, the supreme creator, at the top; a religious cosmology that influenced land use and labor practices; the creation of a religious elite that held religious knowledge unavailable to others in the community; a location of worship, the yovaar; and a code of morality and behavior for the

¹⁸⁸ Castillo, “Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation,” 69.

¹⁸⁹ There are many different theories about the origins of the Chengiichnegech religion. Some fall under the “foreign influence theories” that argue the religion was a reactionary religion fueled by Spanish presence; other theories argue for its indigenous nature, citing evidence of its existence dating back to as early as 1602, the year of the Vizcaíno expedition. For a discussion on Tongva religion and practices see William McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 143-169.

Tongva people.¹⁹⁰ This religious order permeated all of Tongva society, influencing societal hierarchy, concepts of morality, labor and land use, as well as rituals and ceremonies.

Tongva religious cosmology defined the relationship between Chengichnegech, the Tongva, and the world they inhabited. The Tongva believed the universe was comprised of three parallel worlds, the first inhabited by supernatural beings, the middle being the realm of humans, and the lower world the dwelling of malicious spirits.¹⁹¹ In this cosmology, the Tongva believed that “humankind was not the focus of creation but merely a strand in a larger web of life.”¹⁹² Therefore, everything they did in this middle world had a connection to something else, and nothing existed in and of itself. A person’s societal position, the hunting and gathering economy, the ritual and ceremonies enacted during specific times, and individual responsibilities and behaviors were all part of a larger integrated system of beliefs stemming from their religious cosmology.

Land use

The Tongva lived in diverse areas of Southern California; topography, geography and seasonal variation often determined the utilization of land as well as settlement patterns. The inland Tongva, those of the San Gabriel / Pasadena region, were seasonally sedentary and engaged in hunting and gathering. Religious cosmology guided these hunting and gathering economies by directly linking people to the land. According to historian Edward Castillo, the Tongva believed that “humankind’s primary religious responsibility was to act as wise stewards to earth’s living things and sacred places, while offering periodic ceremonies of thanksgiving to

¹⁹⁰Ibid., 144.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 147.

¹⁹² Castillo, “Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation,” 68.

the creator and earth spirits.”¹⁹³ Prior to Spanish arrival, the Tongva did not farm.¹⁹⁴ They were very successful hunters and highly skilled in making bows and arrows. Tongva religious cosmology fostered a deep connection to the land and placed on them a responsibility for managing its resources wisely. This connection to the land translated to the larger community in a variety of ways that touched upon the moral code and expected community behavior. For example, as part of the societal values of reciprocity, hunters and anglers were prohibited from eating the animals they hunted or the fish they caught.¹⁹⁵ This rule attempted to prevent food hoarding and encouraged communal sharing. This rule exemplifies the inter-reliance and interconnectedness that existed amongst the Tongva and was a rule important to the preservation of life.¹⁹⁶

Prior to Spanish arrival, the Tongva did not use the land in the same manner as the Spanish did. They did not grow corn because the climate did not lend itself to the cultivation of this staple crop of many Mexican tribes. They substituted acorns for corn and enjoyed other readily available foods such as yucca root and cactus fruit.¹⁹⁷ Tongva reliance on hunting and gathering and the religious implications involved with these activities brought stability and order to their society. Due to cultural arrogance, the Spanish did not see the stability produced through Indians’ relationship to land. Instead they saw an uncivilized, heathen society in need of

¹⁹³ Ibid., 68.

¹⁹⁴ Bruce Miller, *The Gabrielino* (Los Osos: Sand River Press, 1991), 63.

¹⁹⁵ Johnston, *California’s Gabrielino Indians* 33-34; Miller, *The Gabrielino*, 64; McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 148.

¹⁹⁶ Franciscan missionary Gerónimo Boscana documented many Tongva religious beliefs and practices. Boscana’s, *Chinigchinich: a Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California Called the Acagchemem Nation* provided an in-depth ethnographic study of Alta California’s native peoples. This text was translated from Spanish by American businessman, Alfred Robinson who quickly became part of the economic elite after the American conquest of California. Full citation, Fray Gerónimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich (Chi-ñich-ñich): a revised and annotated version of Alfred Robinson’s translation of Father Geronimo Boscana’s historical account of the belief, usages, customs and extravagancies [sic] of the Indians of this mission of San Juan Capistrano, called the Acagchemem Tribe* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1933).

¹⁹⁷ Johnston, *California’s Gabrielino Indians*, 32.

improvement. Part of this improvement lay in the Franciscans' attempts to regularize Indian food sources, thereby thoroughly changing their way of life. As stated by Father Lasuén in a letter to Fray Antonio Nogueyra:

If we cannot gently withdraw their hearts from their own way of living, how are we to get them to appreciate ours? How shall we teach them Christian obedience, and the ways of a civilized society? The effort entailed in procuring sustenance from the open spaces was incomparably greater than what is now enjoined on them so that they can sustain themselves; but the former is free and according to their liking, and the latter prescribed, and not according to their liking.¹⁹⁸

Lasuén believed that if Indians could be taught to use land in a way that provided them regular, steady access to food (i.e. farming, and the domestication of animals) they would have more time to engage the teaching of Christianity. Here we see the direct correlation between land use and religion; religious conversion reflects a fundamental tenet at the core changing land use practices but other elements of indigenous society as well.

Indigenous Labor Structures

Indigenous labor structures, prior to Spanish contact, were gendered and ritualized. Contrary to Spanish perceptions of Indians' life and work as "free and lazy,"¹⁹⁹ the Tongva were accustomed to hard, strenuous labor and directed efforts towards completion of a variety of necessary tasks such as hunting, gathering, building shelter, and manufacturing clothing, utensils, and weapons. Indigenous labor systems were based on "intermittent effort rather than consistent exertion."²⁰⁰ This labor structure worked for Native Americans living a seasonal existence, one whose food supply came during specific times of the year. The Tongvas' familiarity with their

¹⁹⁸ Fray Francisco Lasuén to Antonio Nogueyra, January 21, 1797, in *Writings of Fermín Francisco Lasuén*, vol. II, ed. and trans. Finbar Kenneally (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965), 6.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 205.

²⁰⁰ Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 99.

environment and their knowledge of the seasonal availability of fish and acorns allowed them to work tirelessly to accumulate foodstuffs and then live off their reserves until they were depleted; upon exhausting their reserves they set out to collect more.

The activities of Tongva women were very important to the economy and trade networks. Similar to other indigenous groups, the Tongva practiced gender parallelism. Not to be mistaken for gender equality, “gender parallelism was compatible in and existed within a degree of hierarchy.”²⁰¹ Gender parallelism encouraged a sexual division of labor, but unlike western patriarchy that valued men’s work over women’s, each gender respected the other’s contribution as part of separate but complementary realms within the society. Men hunted and fished, while women were responsible for gathering acorns and pine nuts, basket weaving and food preparation. Women’s labor roles were pivotal to the survival of the Tongva because they were responsible for the “bulk of [the] native diet.” Additionally, women’s efforts were a significant because the “caloric importance of female food procurement” dwarfed men’s hunting and fishing activities.²⁰² Because women’s roles were respected, gender parallelism valued the work of both men and women as important elements of the Tongvas’ overall well-being.

Pre-Contact Gender and Sexuality

To understand the values of Tongva society during the pre-contact era we must look at societal and cultural behaviors through the analytical lens of gender. As noted by historian Joan Wallach Scott, “gender provides a way to decode meaning and to understand the complex

²⁰¹ Susan Kellogg, “From Parallel and Equivalent to Separate but Unequal: Tenocha Mexica Women, 1500-1700,” in *Indian Women of Colonial Mexico*, eds. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 132.

²⁰² Castillo, “Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation,” 68.

connections among various forms of human interaction.”²⁰³ In her work on Southern California Indians, anthropologist Edith Wallace concluded that amongst native groups such as the Tongva, “females enjoyed a large measure of freedom, respect and independence.”²⁰⁴ The respect and value accorded to women is part of the larger ideology of gender parallelism.²⁰⁵ Societal gender organization allowed Tongva women to participate in important religious ceremonies and rituals and gave them cultural authority amongst the indigenous population.²⁰⁶ For example, the existence of powerful female shamans such as Toypurina, best known for helping organizing a revolt at San Gabriel Mission in 1785, indicates that women did hold positions of power and reverence amongst both the male and female population.²⁰⁷ In pre-contact Tongva society, tribal ceremony, rituals, and customs best reflect the politics of gender and sexuality. Gender roles/behaviors and sexuality manifested themselves through a variety of different institutions and structures such as labor (as seen in the discussion above), marriage, and coming of age rituals.

Coming of age rituals, performed during puberty, allowed indigenous boys and girls to transition into adulthood. It was at this point when the society solidified children’s awareness of gender traditions. Religion played a major role in these ceremonies, thereby linking gender roles and sexuality to religious cosmology. For boys, the puberty ceremony was comprised of instruction pertaining to ritual practices and standards of behavior, as well as tests of

²⁰³ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 46.

²⁰⁴ Edith Wallace, “Sexual Status and Role Differences,” in *California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer, 683; *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William Sturtevant, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1978).

²⁰⁵ Many historians have looked at gender parallelism amongst many Native American groups in pre-Columbian Meso-America groups, the Peruvian Incas, and other indigenous populations in North America. For a discussion of gender parallelism in Peru, Mexico, and present day U.S respectively, see: Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton University Press, 1987); Susan Kellogg, “From Parallel and Equivalent to Separate but Unequal,” 123-143; Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in the American Indian Tradition*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985).

²⁰⁶ For a discussion of Tongva death and mourning ceremonies, refer to McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 155-158.

²⁰⁷ Toypurina will be looked at in detail later in this chapter.

endurance.²⁰⁸ For girls, the ceremony prepared them to be wives and mothers. When a girl experienced her first menstruation, she began the rite of passage. The ceremony hinged on testing a girl's virtue through a seclusion and purification. Girls underwent a series of rituals to purify their menstruating bodies; during these exercises they were forbidden to eat meat and could only drink warm water, similar to the practices observed by menstruating women.²⁰⁹ In addition to purification, girls also listened to lectures about proper behavior and lifestyle. After the completion of these ceremonies, boys and girls became adult members of Tongva society.

In addition to coming of age rituals, courtship and marriage customs helped frame Tongva society. Not unlike European and American culture, marriage presented the opportunity to create familial alliances with other indigenous communities, amongst them the Chumash and Cahuilla. Marriages took place between persons from the same socioeconomic ranks. Marriage practices indicate the importance of social distinctions amongst the Tongva. For example, elite men and shamans could engage in polygamy, a privilege not available to lower class men. Hugo Reid, a Scottish immigrant who settled in California in 1832 and married a Tongva woman, penned his recollections of Tongva customs and practices, including marriage:

Chiefs had one, two or three wives, as their inclinations dictated. The subjects only one. When a person wished to marry, and had selected a suitable partner, he advertised the same to all his relations, even to the nineteenth cousin. On a day appointed, the male portion of the lodge, and male relations living at other lodges brought in a collection of money beads. The amount of each one's contribution was about twenty-five cents. All the relations having come in with their share, they (the males) proceeded in a body to the residence of the bride, to whom timely notice had been given. All of the bride's female relations had been assembled, and the money was equally divided among them; the bride received nothing, as it was a sort of purchase. After a few days the bride's female relations returned the compliment by taking to the bridegroom's dwelling baskets of meal

²⁰⁸ For full description, see McCawley, *The First Angelinos*, 151-152.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 153.

made of Chia, which was distributed among his male relations.²¹⁰

As seen in Reid's writing, polygamy, a practice, abhorred by the Spanish, was seen as a necessary measure to ensure alliances across tribal lines and help manage food sources.²¹¹

Apart from polygamy, most other Tongva courtship and marriage rituals were similar to Spanish customs. For example, a strict prohibition of incest required potential marriage partners' lineages to be investigated back five generations. Additionally, betrothal followed one of three specific protocols. In the first, a young man declared his interest in marrying; if the young woman consented, she would then ask for her parents' permission. In the second approach, he asked the woman's parents for their daughter's hand first. Lastly, some betrothals occurred when the children were infants.²¹² These were not unlike the betrothal practices observed in Spain and colonial Mexico.²¹³

Rituals imbued with sexual and religious meaning best exemplified gender roles' importance to the broader Tongva worldview. Mallorcan Fray Gerónimo Boscana wrote of such rituals in his ethnographical essay on the Luiseño Indians; his work described three religious dance rituals performed by indigenous populations in Southern California.²¹⁴ Indian sex and sexuality were present in a number of indigenous dances. Boscana, quite disturbed by the wanton exhibitions of "superstitious, ridiculous, and extravagant Indians,"²¹⁵ wrote:

The males commenced, first dancing alone, and continued to do so for a short time, when they formed themselves in a line, and one of the females came

²¹⁰ Reid's letters were originally published as a series in the *Los Angeles Star Newspaper*. They were later reprinted in Hugo Reid, *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1968), 25.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

²¹² Lowell John Bean, *Mukat's People: The Cahuilla Indians of Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 91; also see Hugo Reid's section on Marriage rituals in, *The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1968), 25-27.

²¹³ For a detailed description of Spanish courtship and marriage practices, see Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

²¹⁴ Boscana. *Chinigchinich*, 89.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

forward in front of them, with her arms folded upon her breast, and danced up and down the file with the many graceful turns, and movements, which were several times repeated.....they had another dance, very similar, with this exception—that the female was entirely exposed, and whilst she was singing and displaying her person in many disgusting attitudes, the spectators, men, women, and children, all formed a circle around her. This immodest exhibition was also one of the teachings of Chinigchinich...²¹⁶

Boscana's observation reflected Spanish Christian attitudes towards indigenous sexual and religious practices; his sarcastic and judgmental language illustrates the intensity with which Franciscans undertook the project of eradicating indigenous culture. However, his description also indicates the complex relationship between religion and the indigenous body.

Indigenous use of the body in rituals and in everyday day life contrasted with Spanish Catholic ideas pertaining to the control of the body thorough modesty, and its connections to the virtues of honor and shame. Pre-contact sexuality outside of ritual expression proved even more bothersome to Franciscans because religious ceremonies occurred at specific times throughout the year.²¹⁷ Franciscans were concerned with pre-contact behaviors such as premarital and extramarital sex, frequent and casual divorces, polygamy, and lax attitudes about sex.²¹⁸ The existence of homosexuality amongst the indigenous population greatly dismayed the Spanish. The observation of the berdache, “a permanently transvested male, who when sexually involved, always assumed the passive role in homosexual relations,”²¹⁹ fell far outside established notions of Spanish masculinity. Upon encountering berdaches in several villages near Monterey in 1775, Military Governor Pedro Fages stated that they [berdaches] “pass as sodomites by profession (it being confirmed that all Indians are much addicted to this abominable vice) and permit the

²¹⁶ Ibid., 87.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 87.

²¹⁸ Sandos, *Converting California*, 22-23.

²¹⁹ Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 6.

heathen to practice the execrable, unnatural abuse of their bodies.”²²⁰ The apparent gender malleability amongst indigenous societies indicated to the Spanish the great challenge they faced in attempt to eradicate Tongva culture.²²¹

Coming of age rituals, marriage, and religious dances indicate a well-established gender identity structure; existence of these systems contradicted Spanish claims that the Tongvas lacked a civilized society. Despite the different worldviews regarding sex and sexuality, in the important practices of betrothal and the institution of marriage we see the similarities between Spanish Europeans and Indians. The similarities in these cultural practices indicate that each group’s core values centered on the political, social and cultural survival of its people. Colonization implemented power dynamics which refused to recognize similarities between colonized and colonizer; rather, religious and cultural arrogance emphasized differences, resulting in the exertion of power through multiple institutions and people. The goal of eradicating indigenous culture and making Indians into cultural Spaniards permeated the contextual relationship among Indians, missionaries, soldiers, and citizens, all of whom negotiated for survival on the fringes of the unstable Spanish frontier.

San Gabriel: Replicating Spanish Society on the Frontier

Franciscan missionaries, the military, and the government entered San Gabriel with the tripartite goals of conversion, creating loyal citizens, and extracting indigenous labor to sustain settlements and trade. The use of social control at all levels of society helped establish Spanish culture.²²² As the first settlement of the frontier, the mission institution was charged with creating the foundation for other Spanish institutions and settlements. The extraction of

²²⁰ Pedro Fages, quoted in Sandos, *Converting California*, 24.

²²¹ Ibid., 24.

²²² Ibid., 3.

indigenous labor was as the center of missions' success. To this end, the most important step towards achieving settlement was the *reducción* or reduction of Indians into Christian settlements. Once semi-sedentary hunters and gatherers were collected from their *rancherías* or villages, the work of appropriating their labor for the mission began. Obtaining indigenous labor rested on the successful conversion of the colonized population. In order to make Indians into workers, the Franciscans had to make them Christians first.

Religion and Regimentation

Religious conversion was central to the appropriation of indigenous labor and changed indigenous peoples' ways of life. Additionally it imposed the binary of neophyte / gentile on the region. Franciscans believed that once an Indian converted to Catholicism, he or she became a ward of the mission and its priests, giving up his or her autonomy for life as a mission Indian.²²³ Indigenous practices and worldviews regarding religion, work, gender practices, and land use, fell under the auspices and strict regulation of mission priests. Franciscans questioned whether they would be able to convert people whom they viewed as rude, ignorant and prone to vices such as promiscuity, drunkenness and idleness.²²⁴ Despite their disillusionment with the indigenous population, missionaries continued their conversion project while maintaining their beliefs in the holiness of their mission.

Baptism was the first step in conversion. As was the Spanish practice amongst different indigenous populations, baptismal instruction was often superficial and did not require any real indigenous understanding of the tenets of Catholicism. Mission priests and leaders disagreed

²²³ Ibid., 8.

²²⁴ Junípero Serra, March 15, 1769. "Diary of Expedition from Loreto to San Diego, Mar. 28 – July 1, 1769," in *Writings of Serra I*, ed. and trans. Antoníne Tibesar (Baltimore: J.H Furst Company, 1955) 62. Cited in Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 132.

regarding how much knowledge an Indian convert should have before being baptized. Lasuén wanted Indians to have a good understanding of Catholic teachings, while others, such as Father José Francisco de Paula Señán, felt that only knowledge of the main Catholic prayers and the Ten Commandments was necessary.²²⁵ What both Lasuén and Señán cited as necessary to conversion was the heartfelt engagement of the articles of faith; in other words, they both seem to agree that Indians had to whole-heartedly commit to Catholicism.²²⁶ Although Franciscans desired more assurance of Indians' acceptance of Christianity, most missionaries settled for Indians' renouncing of their lifestyles, beliefs, customs, and behaviors as sufficient evidence that they were prepared for baptism and for Christian life in the missions.²²⁷

Franciscans attempted to implement a daily routine steeped in religious instruction and reinforcement of Spanish cultural practices as part of converting and molding model Christian citizens. A strict regimentation program cued by bells controlled every aspect of Indians' lives in the mission.²²⁸ Mission neophytes began each day with prayers and daily mass. Religious activity was followed by breakfast. After breakfast, men left to undertake their labors while women stayed behind and worked on their daily tasks. Indians worked 30 - 40 hour weeks 5 - 6 days a week. Dinner was at noon, followed by a rest period until one or two-three o'clock; work then resumed until five o'clock. At six o'clock supper was served. After the meal, neophytes had two hours to do as they pleased until bedtime at eight o'clock.²²⁹

The regimentation program described above and the idea that Franciscans took complete control of Indians upon their conversion is framed within a Boltonian understanding of

²²⁵ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 140.

²²⁶ Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. Volume I. The History of Creeds* (New York: Harper, 1877), 12-42.

²²⁷ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 141.

²²⁸ Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*, 94.

²²⁹ Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Fernando Rey: The Mission of the Valley* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1927), 88-89.

missionaries' aims amongst California's indigenous populations. As Sweet pointed out in his critique of Bolton's narrative, often missionaries are the subject of mission history and historians marginalize Indians' agency in their relationship to the mission institution.²³⁰ Decentering missionaries as the subject of mission relations helps to demonstrate Indian agency in and negotiation of the mission system. Despite the missionaries attempts to exert complete dominance over Indians' time, as illustrated through imposed daily routines, Indians were able to maintain a great deal of cultural autonomy and control over their daily activities.²³¹ Maintenance of indigenous elements of pre-mission autonomy is present throughout the writings of Lusieño Indian covert Pablo Tac. Penned in 1835, Tac's writing is one of the best examples of the conditions Indians faced at the mission. In part of his account, Tac detailed the morning routine leading through the workday:

When the sun rises and the stars and moon go down, then the old man of the house wakens everyone and begins with the breakfast. This done he takes his bow and arrows and leaves the house with vigorous quickstep. He goes off to the distant woods, which are full of bears and hares, deer and thousands of birds. He is here all day, killing as many as he can, following them, hiding himself behind tree, climbing them and then loaded with hares he return homes happy. But when he needs woods, then he leaves the house in the morning with his tumpline on his shoulders and his ax, with companions who can help him when the load is very heavy, and in the afternoon her returns home. His old woman staying at home makes the meal. The son, if he is a man works with the men. His daughter stays with the women making shirts, and if these also have sons and daughters, they stay in the mission, the sons at school to learn the alphabet, and if they already know it, to learn the catechism, and if this also, to the choir of singers work the day of work and Sunday to the choir to sing, but without a book, because the teacher teaches them by memory, holding the book. At twelve o'clock, they eat together and leave the old man his share.....The meal finished they return to their work. The father leaves his son, the son leaves his sister, the sister the brother, the brother the mother, the mother her husband with cheer until the afternoon. Before going to bed again,

²³⁰ David Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History", in *The New Latin American Mission History*, eds. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 8.

²³¹ For works that best reflect the maintenance of indigenous culture, see Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, and Lisbeth Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*.

they eat what the old woman and old man have made in that time, and then they sleep.²³²

Tac's first-hand account of daily activities illustrates the effects of the Franciscans' regimentation program. Clearly, religious activity played a central role in Indian's daily activities, but the attempt to eradicate and regulate gender and sexuality shines through in this account as well. Franciscans often premised conversion efforts on perceived perversion of indigenous gender roles and sexuality. Description of daily activities reflects the sexual division of labor as well as gender roles within the mission structure. As clearly noted by Tac, men participated in activities that took them outside the mission walls, while women remained cloistered within them. Boys stayed at the mission to learn letters and catechism while girls worked with mothers weaving shirts. Through these duties and activities, we see the implementation of Spanish gender roles and expectations. Tac's description indicates a level of Indian agency because it is evident that pre-contact indigenous labor structures did not undergo tremendous change after contact. Mission Indians continued to come and go from the mission while completing their daily labor activities, illustrating that they returned to the mission of their own volition and for their own specific purposes. Although Indian agency is readily visible through their activities, Franciscans' implementation of a gendered division of labor changed indigenous worldviews about the meaning behind the different work that men and women did. When the activities were made compulsory, the eradication of indigenous notions of gender and sexuality became the foundation through which colonial power was articulated. Looking at gender as a reflection of social and cultural power dynamics allows for a clear understanding of

²³² Pablo Tac, "Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life Written by Pablo Tac, An Indian Neophyte" (Rome, 1835), eds. Minna and Gordon Hewes, *The Americas* 9, No. 1 (Jul., 1952): 100-101.

the politics of Spanish conversion; furthermore, it provides a gauge with which to measure Franciscans' thoroughness in establishing Spanish culture amongst native populations.

Labor - Land Use and Regimentation 1771-1834

Labor was crucial to the development of social identity at the San Gabriel Mission. As exemplified through Pablo Tac's account, daily mission life revolved around religion and work. In the interest of increasing the mission's self-sufficiency, Franciscans focused on making their religious charges into a reliable, disciplined labor force. Labor, however, spelled more than successful economics to the Franciscans. To the missionaries, indigenous labor represented the fulfillment of a moral duty because it indicated that Indians had shunned traditional, indigenous ways and embraced Christianity. From this perspective, labor, religion, food production and distribution were part of a larger colonial project of conversion; vigilance and constant surveillance proved crucial in implementing social control.

Franciscans divided work along gender lines, often inverting indigenous task divisions in which men and women performed jobs that challenged their traditional work patterns. Men did jobs related to gathering piñones and acorns, traditionally considered women's work; women worked inside in the domestic realm. Franciscans, concerned with eradicating Indian indolence, closely supervised their charges to insure that they completed their daily assigned tasks. Reorganizing the Tongvas' gender structures and social behavior meant taking complete control of Indians during the day and at night. While divergent labor duties separated men and women during the day, at night, Franciscans, concerned with instilling gender propriety amongst missionized men and women, used physical separation to insure young women's virtue. Franciscans placed single girls into a *monjerío*, a sex-segregated living quarter where they were

isolated from all male contact. Young neophyte women lived at the *monjerío* until they married. One of the most famous keepers of the San Gabriel *monjerío* was an indigenous woman named Eulalia Pérez, the widow of a Spanish soldier named Miguel Antonio Guillén. In her *testimonio* Pérez gives her description of these quarters:

En la misión de San Gabriel los neófitos eran un gran número, los casados vivían en sus rancherías con sus hijos mientras eran chicos. Había dos divisiones para los solteros. Una para las mujeres que se llamaba el monjerío, y otro para los varones. Al monjerío traían las mujercitas desde que tenían 7,8 o nueve años, y allí se criaban y salían para casarse. En el monjerío estaban al cuidado de una madre, India; mientras yo estuve en la misión esa matrona se llamaba Polonia, le llamaban Madre Abadesa. El departamento de varones solteros estaba a cargo del alcalde. Todas las noches se cerraban los dos departamentos, y me entregaban las llaves, y yo las entregaba a los Padres.²³³

Young women remained in their separate quarters until the morning, when they were taken to mass and to breakfast, and then proceeded to their daily work of weaving.²³⁴ Indian women worked in a variety of capacities; they “ground corn, prepared meals, supervised children, wove woolen thread on looms, helped with grain threshing, and hauled food and water.”²³⁵ Regardless of the work they did, the day ended with prayer. Both Pérez’s *testimonio* and Tac’s account reflect Franciscan missionaries’ daily routine of work and prayer, a regimentation program for a diligent labor force.

The need for a disciplined labor force came out of missionaries’ specific land use patterns and the presidio’s growing dependence on the mission for survival. Franciscans sectioned off

²³³ Eulalia Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos dictados ... a la edad avanzada de 139 años, 1877*, BANC MSS C-D 116, From the Collection of The Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley. “In the San Gabriel Mission, the neophytes population was large, married neophytes lived in their rancherías with their young children. There were two dormitories for unmarried neophytes. The women’s dormitory was called the *monjerío* or convent, and the other dormitory was for men. They brought girls ages seven, eight, and nine to the *monjerío* and they were raised there until they married. The *monjerío* was guarded by a matron, while I was at the mission that matron’s name was Poloina, they called her Madre Abadesa. The single men’s dormitory was under the direction of the alcalde. Every night both dormitories were locked and I was given the keys, I then turned them over to the priests.” Author’s translation.

²³⁴ Ibid., 116.

²³⁵ Sandos, *Converting California*, 8.

former Indian lands for specific purposes. They designated lands closest to the mission for the cultivation of corn, beans, and wheat. Lands further away from the main mission buildings formed the mission ranchos, where cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, and mules grazed. Due to San Gabriel's importance in the regional economy, there were numerous ranchos attached to the mission. According to Hugo Reid, San Gabriel's vast land holdings included ranchos San Pascual, Santa Anita, Asuza, Los Coyotes, Los Alamitos, and Los Cerritos, to name a few.²³⁶ All of these ranchos made up the thousands of acres belonging to the mission. Land was an important element in establishing stability on the Alta California frontier. Throughout California, missionaries received massive amounts of land, about 100,000 acres, as part of Spanish colonization efforts. Each mission received land to hold in trust for its Indian charges during the conversion process, estimated to end in ten years. At the end of the mission project, the government determined that Franciscans would distribute these lands to mission Indians and only keep enough land for the mission parish.²³⁷ Missionaries believed that their goal was to teach neophytes how to work and maintain land that eventually would be theirs. Before the land proved fruitful and the calls for secularization came, Indians worked on these mission lands and produced the food necessary to feed regional soldiers and themselves. Steven Hackel notes that by 1790, Indians had mastered new trades and could supply the presidios with a virtual general store of items.²³⁸ The production of surplus goods to trade with nearby presidios and settlers indicated that the mission's move toward self-sufficiency incorporated them into regional trade markets. Emergence of the mission as the center of the regional economy prompted Franciscans to continue their exploitative labor practices toward mission Indians. From the beginning, Indians trained as an exploitable labor source occupied the lowest rung in regional society;

²³⁶ Hugo Reid, *The Indians of Los Angeles County*, 84.

²³⁷ Sandos, *Converting California*, 12.

²³⁸ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 276.

accordingly, their social status in nearby pueblos was also at the bottom of the *casta* system. Conflicting views between missionaries and secular settlers regarding land use marred the mission process from the beginning. As the land became more productive, secular desires for land grew. Rationalization of secular land desires would be rooted in settlers' and Indians' racial and labor identities, a hierarchal system that produced a racialized elite and laboring class.

Racial Borders: Identity at the Fringes of Empire

During the early colonial period, the Spanish *casta* system attempted to provide order for New Spain by creating a hierarchy that reflected the relationship between social status, economics and racial identity. Social identity and social differentiation stemmed from the tripartite system that placed Spaniards or white Europeans at the top, castas in the middle, and Africans and Indians at the bottom. Although the racial *casta* system attempted to define one's role and place in society, the system was not as rigid or as simple as it seemed and was often influenced by social context. During the maturation of the *casta* system in the early to mid-colonial period, a person's occupation influenced his or her designation into one of the three main categories.²³⁹ As the colonial era progressed, the three-race system expanded to include social designations numbering upwards of forty different classifications.²⁴⁰ By the late colonial period, the *casta* system began to break down throughout New Spain because the racial and economic aspects of the Spanish-*casta* divisions were inconsistent.²⁴¹ Increasingly mestizos and mulattos entered into diverse occupations that allowed them to negotiate the racial hierarchy and

²³⁹ Patricia Seed, "Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 62(4), 1982, 569.

²⁴⁰ Barbara L. Voss, "A Land of Ethnogenesis: Material Culture, Power, and Identity," in *Contemporary Issues in California Archaeology*, ed. Terry L. Jones, et al. (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2012), 306.

²⁴¹ Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 19.

changed their racial classifications.²⁴² As the colonial project expanded northward the social realities of the frontier, including California, made racial identity something that could no longer be determined primarily through labor because all mission inhabitants needed to perform intense labor to establish colonial society.²⁴³ In California, “the casta system collapsed into a small handful of designations most commonly mestizo, mulatto, indio, and español.”²⁴⁴ The designation of español took on a broader meaning that allowed mixed race populations to define themselves in comparison to frontier Indians. Throughout New Spain, people who claimed Spanish ancestry designated themselves españoles. A racial designation of español provided access to a variety social and economic privileges as well as a position at the top of the colonial hierarchy.²⁴⁵ Self-designation alone did not suffice to provide access to the privileges that came with European identity. A classification of español had several social and cultural meanings tied to it. Social perception played a key role in legitimizing a person’s claim as an español. As Cheryl Martin showed in her study on colonial Chihuahua, “many españoles were likely mestizos or other racial mixtures whose physiognomies favored their European ancestors and whose prestige allowed them to ‘pass,’ especially in a new environment where few of their neighbors might know their true antecedents.” This implies that aside from skin color, how the community classified a person determined his or her place in the casta system. In this context, the social designation of español moved away from birth or ancestry and linked itself more closely to cultural practice.²⁴⁶ Culture, defined as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by

²⁴² Cheryl E. Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico: Chihuahua in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 44.

²⁴³ Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 25.

²⁴⁴ Voss, “A Land of Ethnogenesis,” 306.

²⁴⁵ Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico*, 39.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 306.

man as a member of society” combined with specific societal perceptions about race to define one’s racial identity within the community.²⁴⁷ Culture, societal perception, social behavior, and practice determined a person’s racial designation and allowed for social mobility.²⁴⁸

In Alta California, the opportunity afforded by the accelerated breakdown of the *casta* system allowed mestizo and mulato soldiers and settlers to define themselves as Spanish, *gente de razón* (people of reason), *hijos and hijas del país* (sons and daughters of the land) and *Californios/as*.²⁴⁹ The San Gabriel Mission’s matrimonial investigations indicate that people at this colonial mission used these signifiers to indicate their identities as well as their socio-cultural values.²⁵⁰ Matrimonial investigations, designed to uncover immoral behaviors such as bigamy and familial desertion and to prohibit marriage between partners who shared very close consanguine relations, reflected the interplay between the larger colonial ideas about race, culture and status as well as community definitions of these categories. These reports, recorded by a scribe, usually a mission priest, are replete with applicants referred to as *vecinos*, *naturales*, or *existentes* of a particular region, presidio, or mission. Although these terms are not explicitly indicative of a racial / ethnic identity, they are imbued with racial meaning. The term *vecino*, used throughout the Spanish empire, indicated one was a non-Indian, Spanish-speaking colonist, permanently settled in a region.²⁵¹ *Naturales* was a Spanish term for Indians, people who were natural or indigenous to the land. *Existentes* referred to where a person lived but also implied a transient status. Each term reflected the applicant’s, and his or her family’s, status in the society

²⁴⁷ Seed, “Social Dimensions of Race,” 569.

²⁴⁸ Voss, “A Land of Ethnogenesis,” 306.

²⁴⁹ Voss, *The Archeology of Ethnogenesis*, 2.

²⁵⁰ San Gabriel Mission Matrimonial Investigation Records, McPherson Collection, Special Collections, Honnold Mudd Library, Claremont University Consortium (Claremont, CA).

²⁵¹ For a discussion of the development of *vecino* identity and society see Ross Frank, *From Settler to Citizen: New Mexico Development and the Creation of the Vecino Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

and marked them culturally. For example, the November 11, 1798 marriage investigation of Juan José Duarte and María Gertrudis Moreno reads as follows:

Juan José Duarte, soltero, hijo de José Duarte y Juana Gertrudis originantes del Real de Los Alamos y dijo que de su propio voluntad quería contraer matrimonio según el orden de Nuestra Iglesia....con una Gertrudis Moreno, hija de José Moreno y María Guadalupe vecinos del Pueblo de la Reyna de Los Angeles.²⁵²

This investigation, one of the earliest taken at San Gabriel, implied that Duarte's parents were not from the area. When Juan José, most likely a soldier, evoked his familial lineage, he did so to provide legitimacy of birth because as a foreigner his family did not have status in the community. On the other hand, the fact that Gertrudis Moreno's parents are referred to as *vecinos del pueblo*, indicated their higher status as settlers in the community. The investigation included witness testimony by a soldier named José Felix on behalf of Juan José, stating that he had known him for thirteen years and could vouch for his character. What is at play here are the dynamics reflective of social and cultural identity formation. Through the terms used, each person staked a claim to his or her place in society. We can surmise that both Juan José and María Gertrudis were "Spaniards" because one is most likely a soldier and the other is a daughter of *vecinos*. Although there was no direct mention about their racial/ethnic identity in this document, we are fairly certain of two things; they were not Indians and, in all likelihood they were racially mixed *mestizos*. While the racial identity of Juan José might elude us, there is evidence that his bride-to-be was of mixed racial ancestry, yet culturally Spanish. In the

²⁵²Matrimonial Investigation of Juan José Duarte and María Gertrudis Moreno, November 11, 1798, San Gabriel Mission Matrimonial Investigation Records, McPherson Collection, Special Collections, Honnold Mudd Library, Claremont University Consortium (Claremont, CA). "Juan José Durate, unmarried son of José Duarte y Juana Gertrudis from Real de Los Alamos, stated of his own volition he wishes to enter into the contract of marriage according to the order of the our Church with Gertrudis Moreno, daughter of José Moreno and María Guadalupe, *vecinos*, permanent settlers and Spanish citizens, of Los Angeles. " Author's translation.

investigation, María Gertrudis's parents were referred to as *vecinos*; they were not, however, referred to in this manner in other documents tying them to the community. The 1781 Padrón of El Pueblo de Los Angeles' founding families listed José Moreno as a mulato from Sinaloa and María Guadalupe Pérez as a mulata, aged 22 and 19 respectively.²⁵³ The 1790 Los Angeles Census contains an entry for Gertrudis Moreno, the mestiza daughter of José Moreno, a mestizo farm worker and his wife María Gertrudis Pérez, a coyota, both from Rosario, Sinaloa.²⁵⁴ What explains the Moreno – Pérez household's ascent in the community from mulatos to vecinos is the shift in the meaning of Spanish identity. In the Alta California borderlands, as in other areas of the empire, the casta system crumbled and racial boundaries blurred, leaving culture as the basis for social identity. In a society where the indigenous population was the racial and cultural other, mulatos and mestizos became part of the dominant colonial system through their relation to land. José Moreno and María Guadalupe Pérez, a farm worker and his wife, became less African as the colonial period went on and ultimately their daughter became a *mestiza*; despite their ethnic mixture, they all were defined as Spanish *vecinos*, clearly a cultural designation.

Commoners such as María Guadalupe Moreno were not the only ones whose ethnic racial status reflected changes in the construction of Spanish identity. Tracing the origins of one of California's most famous Spanish Californio families, the Picos, we see that as the region grew, the ethnic boundaries blurred.²⁵⁵ On October 31, 1794, priests at the Santa Barbara and San Gabriel Missions began the matrimonial investigation for José Miguel Pico and María Casilda de la Cruz Sinoba:

²⁵³ Padrón de 1781 cited in Antonio Ríos-Bustmante, *Mexican Los Angeles* (California: Floricanto Press, 1992), 42-43.

²⁵⁴ As cited in the Los Angeles Census of 1790 contained in William M. Mason's *The Census of 1790: A Demographic History of Colonial California* (California: Ballena Press, 1998), 84; the term coyote(a), in the Spanish colonial casta system, usually indicated a mixture of *mestizo* and Indian.

²⁵⁵ The Picos were one of the most prominent families in California. Different branches of the family intermarried with other well-known families such as the Alvarado and Avila clans. See the Pio Pico Genealogy, Pio Pico Inc., http://www.piopico.org/The_Family_Genealogy_of_Pio_Pico.htm (accessed March 30, 2011).

Se presento a fin de contarer matrimonio según el orden de nuestra iglesia José Miguel Pico, soltero, originario de la villa de Sinaloa, hijo de Santiago Pico de la Cruz, y de María Jacinta Bastidos, y soldado de Santa Barbara; y dijo que de su libre espontánea voluntad quería casarse con María Casilda de la Cruz, soltera, habitante de el Pueblo de los Angeles, originantes de la Mission de Santa Clara de esta N. [Nueva] California, hija de [José] Francisco Sinoba, y de María Gertrudis Bojoya, vecinos del mensionado pueblo.²⁵⁶

José Miguel, one of the elder Pico brothers, was born in Sonora and lived at the Santa Barbara Presidio. Although the investigation omitted José Miguel's and his parents' racial identity, other colonial documents clearly list their racial designations. The 1790 Census for El Pueblo de Los Angeles listed the Pico patriarch, Santiago, as a mestizo, and the matriarch, Jacinta, as a mulata. Miguel's older brothers Xavier and Patricio were also listed as mulatos;²⁵⁷ similarly, Miguel was classified as a mulato in the Santa Barbara census.²⁵⁸ In this case, these family members' racial classifications had not changed, but were merely absent from the investigation. We can infer from this omission that José Miguel Pico had a good reputation and belonged to those of high *calidad*. *Calidad* referred to the combination of characteristics such as "birthplace, wealth, occupation, acculturation, legitimacy, conduct, and personal honor."²⁵⁹ Although as a soldier he did not claim wealth or economic status, his other aspects of *calidad*, his legitimacy of birth, occupation, and more importantly his cultural identity as Spanish, kept him in good standing in the community.

²⁵⁶ Matrimonial Investigation of José Miguel Pico and María Casilda de la Cruz Sinova, October 31, 1794, San Gabriel Mission Matrimonial Investigation Records. "José Miguel Pico, single man from Sinaloa, son of Santiago Pico de la Cruz, and María Jacinta Bastidos, and soldier from Santa Barbara presented himself for the purpose of contracting marriage following the order of our Church; he stated that of his free and spontaneous volition he wished to marry María Casilda de la Cruz, single woman, inhabitant of Los Angeles, originally from the Santa Clara Mission in New California, daughter of José Francisco Sinoba, y de María Gertrudis Bojoya, permanent, Spanish citizens of said pueblo." Author's translation.

²⁵⁷ William Mason's *The Census of 1790*, 85.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 90; the record shows another Pico brother at Santa Barbara in 1790; [José] Dolores Pico, 26 was also listed as a mulato.

²⁵⁹ Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico*, 128.

While the Pico clan in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara was classified as part of the lower castas, further south at San Diego, another of the Pico brothers, José María Pico, a presidial soldier, was classified as an español.²⁶⁰ Historian William Mason speculated that “the Pico at San Diego was an apt soldier who may well have been considered for promotion by his superiors, and might have been given a caste more in keeping with increased rank.”²⁶¹ Although this is a viable explanation because there were racial requirements for military careers, Mason’s suggestion emphasized the masculine elements present in colonial California; it failed to account for the important role that gender dynamics, women, and marriage played in the establishment of racial identity and culture. A closer look at the women the Pico brothers married reveals the confluence of racial and cultural identity, as argued above.

The 1794 investigation identified Miguel’s future bride, María Casilda de la Cruz, as the daughter of José Francisco Sinob[v]a and María Gertrudis Bojoya, “vecinos del mencionado pueblo [Pueblo de Los Angeles].” In the 1790 census, José Francisco was listed as an español from Mexico City, while María Gertrudis, from Villa Sinaloa in northern New Spain, was identified as a mestiza. The couple’s four children, including nine-year-old María Casilda, were listed as españoles. The structure of the casta system would lead one to deduce that these children were mestizos, the outcome of a racially mixed relationship between a Spaniard and a mestiza; however, the document shows that in el Pueblo de Los Angeles they were designated as Spaniards. Following the logic posited by Patricia Seed, José Francisco could have been a Spaniard because of his skilled occupation as a blacksmith, and his origin in Mexico City. Seed argued that in Mexico City, labor and occupation contributed to one’s social and cultural

²⁶⁰ “The Census of 1790” as cited in William Mason’s *The Census of 1790*, 80; José María Pico and his wife María Eustaquia Gutiérrez were the parents of the last Mexican Governor of nineteenth-century California, Pío de Jesús Pico.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

identity. While this is a viable possibility, one can also argue that the frontier's great distance from the colonial society in Mexico City may have accelerated José Francisco's change of his racial designation; regardless, he ably crossed the castas' racial borders.

María Gertrudis' birth on the fringes of empire may have contributed to her social distinction as a mestiza; she may have been an indigenous woman reclassified through her marriage to an español. This relationship sets up many suppositions, yet what is most important here is her daughter María Casilda's racial designation; she was a Spanish woman intent on marrying a man descended from a mestizo father and a mulata mother. The marriage investigation does not indicate any conflict over the union, suggesting that racial designations were not of great importance because both the bride and groom were from respected families with similar cultural status.

Moving southward to San Diego, in May of 1789, José María Pico, a well-respected soldier, married María Eustaquia Gutiérrez, a Spanish woman. Here, a situation similar to Miguel's and Casilda's existed; the difference was that José María was racially designated an español, something that was not present in his brother's case. María Eustaquia, racially designated as an española, was born in 1773 to María Feliciano Arballo and Juan Gutiérrez in San Miguel de Horcesitas, Sonora.²⁶² María Eustaquia came to the California borderland as a young child; her mother, María Feliciano, one of the first settlers to arrive with the 1776 Juan Bautista de Anza expedition, became a well-known figure in Alta California history. María Feliciano, born in Sinaloa of Spanish birth in 1750, challenged societal norms when she married Juan Gutiérrez, a mestizo soldier.²⁶³ María Feliciano's marriage to Gutiérrez was a source of

²⁶² Pio Pico Inc., Pio Pico Genealogy Database, http://www.piopico.org/data_base/pafg01.htm#4; accessed April 5, 2011.

²⁶³ Virginia M. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California: Codes of Silence* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 61.

contention with her parents. Despite the fact that his military rank as a lieutenant uplifted his social classification to Spanish, María Feliciano's parents disapproved of her marrying a man of mestizo birth. In spite of their disapproval, the couple had two daughters, María Tomasa and María Eustaquia.²⁶⁴ In 1775, the family signed on to the De Anza expedition. A few days before its set departure, Juan Gutiérrez fell ill and died. Without her husband, the expedition priest Pedro Font recommended that María Feliciano and her two daughters stay behind. Despite Font's objections, the newly widowed María Feliciano committed to undertaking the journey and left with the expedition.

The decision to join the expedition brought with it many opportunities for the young single mother to challenge Spanish patriarchal norms. Having continued the journey alone, María Feliciano and her daughters were listed on the Anza roster as part of Agustín de Valenzuela's and Petra Ignacia de Ochoa's family, most likely to show that she was not traveling without male supervision and to retain her honor.²⁶⁵ Described as "bold" and "merry" María Feliciano faced verbal and physical reprimands because of her behavior.²⁶⁶ For example, during a communal celebration Fr. Font described her as having imbibed too much and singing inappropriate songs. Because of her behavior, her male escort to the celebration physically punished her.²⁶⁷ Later, in 1776, when the expedition arrived at San Gabriel, María met and married a soldier named Juan Francisco López; their quick marriage did not adhere to usual marriage / courtship protocol. Despite the impetuosity of their coupling, they were married at San Gabriel on April 7, with mission records describing both as españoles. Her bold behavior notwithstanding, María

²⁶⁴ María Casas, "María Feliciano Arballo," in *Latinas in the United States, Volume I*, eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 55-56

²⁶⁵ "1775 De Anza Expedition List, April 6, 1775" as cited in William Mason, *The Census of 1790*, 32. See also, Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California*, 61.

²⁶⁶ Antonia Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey, Alta California, 1770-1821" (Ph.D diss., Stanford University, 1990), 266-274.

²⁶⁷ Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California*, 66.

Feliciano never lost her status; she successfully negotiated patriarchal norms by transgressing expectations and quickly validating patriarchal norms by supporting the transference of gender cultural norms to Indians. For example, María served as the overseer for the San Gabriel Mission's girls' dormitory, and she and her husband were godparents for neophyte children.²⁶⁸ Her work as a purveyor of Spanish culture and an agent of colonization helped establish social and gender norms amongst the Tongva people of the San Gabriel region, while simultaneously maintaining her status as an española.

María Feliciano's maintenance of her honor and reputation facilitated her daughters' continued status as españolas. When María Eustaquia married José María Pico in 1789, she reinforced the elevation in status given by his military career, much the same as her mother had uplifted her father Juan Gutiérrez many years earlier. In the case of both Pico brothers, José María and José Miguel, their wives' status most likely helped them shed their casta designations and create their identities, and that of their future children, as honorable Spanish soldiers and settlers. As indicated by the settlers' racial designations discussed above, those living in the borderlands participated in creating a racial identity in which they and others designated themselves Spanish; it is however highly unlikely that any of these early settlers, with the exception of governors and Franciscan missionaries, were indeed of pure Spanish blood. Studies indicate that most of these early settlers were Indians, Africans, and mestizos from Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya's castas.²⁶⁹ Their classifications as Spanish reflected a cultural rather than a racial designation.

Alta California's mission and early colonization period allowed transgression of racial boundaries during a time rife with uncertainty. During Mexico's late colonial period, the casta

²⁶⁸ San Gabriel Mission, Book of Baptisms, entry 297, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA).

²⁶⁹ For a description of settlers' physical features and list of castas see Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol.34: *California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1888), 612-613.

system, although imperfect, provided a semblance of social order through racial / ethnic distinction. New Spain's inhabitants correlated ethnicity and superiority; one's position in the hierarchy provided those classified as Spanish with concrete advantages. In her study of eighteenth-century Chihuahua, Martin found that individuals able to prove their claims to be españoles were given more credibility in courts, escaped public punishment if found guilty of crimes, and received better treatment at the hands of employers.²⁷⁰ Martin postulates that Chihuahua's colonial society was very diverse and racial designation often rested on how an individual was socially perceived.²⁷¹ In Alta California's borderlands, as in Northern Mexico, many who did not fit the neat boundaries of each racial grouping negotiated the casta system in order to create a preferred position with the emerging social order.²⁷²

Colonial records indicate that both Spaniards (castas) and Indians lived at the San Gabriel Mission. These records also illustrate the malleability of racial and cultural designations. For example, an 1813 governmental inquiry into the missions shows that at San Gabriel mixed race settlers were able to transcend racial/ethnic boundaries and call themselves *de razón*, literally people of reason or Spanish Christians; Indians remained as the lowest rung of Spanish colonial society. In the larger society, the designations *de razón* or *sin razón* served to distinguish between Spaniards and Indians. In his response to the questionnaire regarding San Gabriel, Fr. José María de Zalvidea wrote that Indians comprised the majority of the mission population and that the people from various castas made up the remaining population.²⁷³ The latter group referred to themselves as *de razón* and despite settlers' mixed racial origins they were socially

²⁷⁰ Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico*, 131.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 129-130.

²⁷² Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 68.

²⁷³ Maynard Geiger and José Ma. De Zalvidea, "Reply of Mission San Gabriel to the Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812 concerning the Native Culture of the California Mission Indians," in *The Americas* 12, no. 1, (Jul., 1959): 77-84.

and culturally perceived as Spaniards. The negotiation and blurring of the casta designations provided the foundation for Alta California's nascent social system in which mixed race Africans and mestizos became Spanish, and Tongva Indians remained the racial and cultural other. Culture and practice thereby made Spanish elites out of castas and kept Indians as the racialized laboring force within the mission system.

Racialized Labor Force

As seen above, labor was crucial in determining a person's societal and cultural standing. Mission studies have shown that early on Spanish soldiers did much of the necessary work in building the presidios and settlements, doing work that Indians would later do.²⁷⁴ Soldiers later felt that they were above manual labor, thus utilizing racial and cultural standards to assign menial, distasteful work to Indians, as was the practice in New Spain.²⁷⁵ According to the 1790 census, Alta California soldiers were mixed race mestizos and Africans who often considered themselves españoles.²⁷⁶ On the frontier, these men created new identities that countered New Spain's labor demands and placed them on a higher social level than in the Mexican interior. Soldiers' reconceptualization and racialized ideas about labor in the colonial context allowed them to redefine race within the contours of this new social order.²⁷⁷

The colonial process and labor brought a racial order that racialized castas as white and Indians at the bottom of the socio-cultural ladder. In this new hierarchy, the Tongva at San Gabriel became the main example of a racialized labor force for the mission and secular

²⁷⁴ The soldiers were responsible for manual labor in the presidios. Much to missionaries' chagrin, soldiers' dislike of this work prompted them to obtain Indian labor, both neophyte and gentile. See Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 287.

²⁷⁵ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 290.

²⁷⁶ "The Census of 1790" as cited in William Mason, *The Census of 1790*, 77-105.

²⁷⁷ In the colonial context of New Spain, these soldiers' ancestry/origin made them part of the racialized other, lower on the hierarchy, but on the frontier, in a new colonial context they were at the top. This shows that each colonial context engenders a new socio-cultural reality.

settlements.²⁷⁸ Spanish attitudes about labor racialized Indians as backward and culturally deficient because they did not labor in acceptable Spanish manner. In his study on missionary preachers in Spain, historian Charles C. Noel argued that priestly attitudes towards Indian labor stemmed from ideas about laziness and idleness about Spaniards in eighteenth-century Spain. In their teachings “the missionaries condemned idleness and a had a repugnance toward idleness among both the rich and poor....preachers wanted to discourage the spiritual decay and temptations to sin they associated with idleness....idleness not only contributed to vice and disorder but also injured agriculture and trade.”²⁷⁹ To the Franciscans, Indians’ reluctance to labor in the intense manner desired for the establishment of mission self-sufficiency indicated Indian rejection of basic tenets of spiritual salvation. In Spain, mission preachers used sermons to modify behavior amongst the Spanish Christian population;²⁸⁰ in New Spain, with native heathen people they used intimidation, violence, and coercion to conquer the soul and compel the body to work.

As seen in the previous chapter, Franciscans and governmental authorities wanted Alta California missions to be self-sustaining as well as have the ability to provide for military and secular settlers. In 1781, the mission provided assistance to el Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles. By 1790, the San Gabriel Mission’s economic success quickly induced Los Angeles’ settlers and military alike to rely on the mission for many supplies. As related in Eulalia Pérez’s testimonio, the San Gabriel Mission provided:

²⁷⁸ The term “racialization” signifies the extension of racial meaning to previously unclassified relationship, social practices or groups. As argued by Michael Omi and Howard Winant, racialization is part of a larger process of racial formation in which “social, economic, and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped into racial meaning.” See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York Routledge Press, 1994), 55-56.

²⁷⁹ Charles C. Noel, “Missionary Preachers in Spain: Teaching Social Virtue in the Eighteenth Century,” *American Historical Review* 90, no.4 (Oct. 1985): 877.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 877.

En la misión se tejía jerga, sarapes y frazadas. Se hacían sillas de montar, frenos, botas, zapatos y demás aviós de ese ramo. Había jabonería, carpintería grande, y carpintería chica. Se hacía vino y aceite, ladrillos, adobes. Se fabricaba chocolate con cacao que se traía de fuera. Se hacían dulces, y muchos de los que hice con mis manos pasaron para España mandados por el Padre Sánchez. En cada departamento había un maestro que era indio ya de razón e instruído. El chocolate, el aceite, los dulces, limonadas y otras cosas las hacía yo misma en compañía con mis hijas. Bastante limonada hice, que se embotelló y se mandó para España.²⁸¹

From Pérez's *testimonio*, we see the array of items made by missionized Indians, but more importantly, her account reflects her ideas about Indians' racial identity. Eulalia Pérez was the culturally Spanish, mestiza llavera at the San Gabriel Mission from 1821 to 1833.²⁸² Her responsibilities at the mission included monitoring the girls' dormitory, cooking, distributing food rations, and supervising mission Indians in their daily tasks. Pérez, who racially identified herself as "blanca pura" or pure white, referred to skilled Indian workers as "indios ya de razón e instruído."²⁸³ Pérez's use of racial and cultural designations when describing Indians points to two elements of mission society: first, Indians were part of a larger complex hierarchy that divided them based on occupation, and secondly, labor and skill ascribed a certain amount of cultural credibility. Labor's racial implications kept order in mission society. As seen through Pérez's account, Indians lived within a racial and cultural hierarchy; Indians who engaged in

²⁸¹ Pérez, "Una vieja y sus recuerdos dictados." In reference to items produced at the mission, Pérez stated: "the mission [Indians] weave coarse cloth [used for sacks], sarapes [Mexican blankets], and heavy blankets. The mission also produced saddles, horse bridles, boots, shoes, and other similar items. There was a soap making workshop, and both a large and small carpentry workshop. The mission produced wine, adobe blocks, and produced chocolate using cacao brought in from other places. The mission made candies, many of which I made with my own hands were sent to Spain by Father Sánchez. In every department there was a teacher who was a neophyte. The chocolate, oil, candies, lemonades, and other things I made at the mission with the help of my daughters. Much of the lemonade I made was bottled and sent to Spain." Author's translation.

²⁸² Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 26.

²⁸³ The phrase, "indios ya de razón" literally translated means, Indians already of reason; the phrase indicated that these Indians referenced by Pérez had already converted to Christianity. In her *testimonio* Pérez stated, "Yo, Eulalia Pérez, nací en el presidio de Loreto en la Baja California. Mi padre se llamaba Diego Pérez....; mi madre se llamaba Antonia Rosalía Cota; ambos eran blancos puros. Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos dictados*. "I Eulalia Pérez, was born at the presidio of Loreto in Baja California. My father was named Diego Pérez...., my mother was named Antonia Rosalía Cota, both were pure whites." Author's translation.

certain occupations, or reflected Spanish dress, speech, or mannerisms could become defined as *de razón*. Mission Indians' negotiation of Spanish cultural tenets helped them gain recognition as being closer to "civilized" Spaniards. Indians who did not have the social status as *de razón* were not considered at the same level of those who did. *Indios sin razón* lived outside the missions and outside the control of Spanish missionaries.²⁸⁴

In the missions, labor served as a main indicator of Indians' adherence to Spanish cultural norms and assimilation. Franciscans placed Indians into four different laboring categories: skilled artisans, semi-skilled laborers, horticulturalists, and general laborers / field hands. Skilled artisans, at the top of the labor hierarchy, were knowledgeable masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, and tanners.²⁸⁵ Below them were the semi-skilled workers such as herdsmen, tallow workers, butchers, *vaqueros*, and hide cleaners.²⁸⁶ Horticultural workers comprised the third level of labor; they tended vineyards and gardens, kept pigeons and poultry.²⁸⁷ General laborers and field hands, who performed work referred to as *labores mecánicas*, comprised the lowest level on the hierarchy. These workers plowed and cleared fields, worked with crops, and made adobe bricks for mission buildings.²⁸⁸ Despite their specialized training, most Indians knew how to do a variety of jobs if compelled by the Franciscans. This aforementioned labor structure replicated Spanish society's racial structure amongst the indigenous population; it reflected the ideas of cultural progress and corresponded with Spanish ideals of race.

²⁸⁴ For a discussion of the different terms used to describe Indians' various level of assimilation throughout New Spain, see David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

²⁸⁵ Sandos, *Converting California*, 9.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 9; although Sandos lists several other occupations I have only mentioned jobs related to the activities at the San Gabriel Mission. Occupations at San Gabriel were connected to the cattle industry – primarily the tallow and hide trade.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

Looking at Indian labor through a racial lens necessitates using a flexible framework, one which recognizes labor's fluctuating meanings according to specific social and cultural contexts. Understanding labor as practice is central to studying labor's social and cultural impact. Anthropologist Stephen Silliman argues that the colonial labor as practice framework is an "attempt by administrators to control and bodily discipline indigenous or other workers *and* as a venue for native labor to assert autonomy, and resist colonial subjugation."²⁸⁹ In other words, labor as practice ascribes agency and accounts for the experiences of those involved in the system --the colonized as well as the colonizer. This framework placed Indians at the level of the colonizers and made them social actors with "some degree of penetration of the social forms which oppress them."²⁹⁰ New Mission History scholarship looked at Indian agency within the mission, basing it on two propositions: firstly, though the mission(aries) constrained Indians, they were never fully governed by the Franciscans. Secondly, "Adult Indians were never the children the missionaries imagined them to be, never clay in the missionary's hands."²⁹¹ Therefore, day-to-day activities in the missions were not a display of one-way power relations, but rather, ongoing interactions and negotiations. Conceptualizing mission culture and society in such a way provides the framework of opportunities and constraints, an analytical category that accounts for the interplay of power, domination, and resistance amongst/within the mission community and colonial systems such as labor and regimentation.

Missionaries' appropriation of Indian labor thorough discipline and regimentation served the purpose of making Indians produce for the mission and region. Missionaries' power and

²⁸⁹ Stephen Silliman, "Theoretical Perspectives on Labor and Colonialism: Reconsidering the California Missions," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 20 (2001): 382.

²⁹⁰ For a discussion of action, social actors and agency see Chapter 2 in Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 49-96.

²⁹¹ Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," 9.

forceful implementation of labor regiments reflected Spanish ideals about land use, property, and cultural authority. As historian David Sweet argued, Indian labor was important to region's economic well-being and part of the Europeans' sense of superiority. Spaniards claimed the land as theirs and believed themselves powerful enough to defend that claim; therefore Indians existed to work on it in a disciplined fashion, so as to produce wealth for the Spanish."²⁹² As early as 1782, the Spanish were well aware of the benefits gained through Indian labor. In a 1787 report about the missions, Military Governor Pedro Fages discussed San Gabriel's Indians' role in creating a self-sustainable mission and region:

A correspondencia de estas buenas calidades han sido las cosechas de todos los granos y no puede negarse que la actividad y empeño de sus Misiones se ha igualado con la fertilidad del campo que les ha cabido, con esto han podido extinguirse en la abundante y aún regalada manutención de sus Indios, han socorrido las mayores necesidades que se han experimentado en el país alcanzando sus socorros aún hasta la Antigua California, ha facilitado expediciones y empresas muy precisas que hubieran sido casi impracticables sin su abasto, es de mucha parte verdad que han sostenido la conquista.²⁹³

Indian labor performed by the Tongva, as described above through Eulalia Perez's *testimonio* and Fages's reply, brought immense wealth to the San Gabriel Mission. Indian labor benefited missionaries and military society. This view, however, does not account for the tremendous changes that mission life brought the Tongva people. Using a framework that recognizes that the mission offered Indians opportunities such as food and shelter within the constraints of discipline

²⁹² Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," 17.

²⁹³ Fages Report on the California Missions, 1787, California Mission Documents, Folder 44, 132, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA). "In relation to these good qualities have been the cultivation of grain crops and it cannot be denied that the activity and determination of the missions have equaled the land's fertility, with this they have achieved abundance and have supported their Indians, they have provided the major necessities and their charity has extended to Antigua California, it [the mission] has facilitated expeditions and companies that would have been impractical without its provisions, it is very true that they have sustained the conquest." Author's translation.

and punishment allows us to see the complexities that existed in the relationship between Indians and missionaries.²⁹⁴

Because Franciscans regarded work as vital to human society and essential to creating good Christians, mission Indians could not refuse to participate in the work. At San Gabriel, similar to other regional missions, Indians labored for eight to ten hours every day except Sundays. Missionaries commonly hired out neophytes when work was slow, or when requested by another mission or presidio; often any wages / items earned from the labor went directly to the missionaries. Franciscans rationalized Indian work regimens by utilizing colonialism's fundamental idea that a region's conquered people were a natural workforce readily available for exploitation. At the mission, labor was a means of obtaining material wealth for the mission, but in the larger colonial system it was an example of social control and domination.²⁹⁵ The bodies of Native Americans bore the brunt of the labor regimen and the power of colonialism.

Mission priests kept a watchful eye over neophytes to insure that they completed their daily tasks and lived their lives in accordance with Spanish cultural norms. Failing to follow Christian tenets or complete assigned tasks often resulted in physical punishment at the hands of the missionaries. Physical discipline took many shapes; floggings and incarceration in shackles were common methods of social control in the missions. Father Lasuén believed that physical punishment was necessary to eradicate the behaviors of "a people without education, without government, religion, or respect for authority.....such is the character of the men we are to correct and whose crimes we must punish."²⁹⁶ When verbal scolding failed to change Indian behavior, which seemed to be quite often, Franciscans resorted to flogging. Missionaries, who often participated in self-flagellation as penance and punishment, regarded whipping of Indian

²⁹⁴ Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," 1-48.

²⁹⁵ Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," 20.

²⁹⁶ Kenneally, ed. and trans., *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, II*, 220.

charges as a normal part of a “properly administered Christian society.”²⁹⁷ Missionaries were not the lone enforcers of these punishments. Neophyte *alcaldes* often helped Franciscans punish mission Indians. Indian *alcaldes* were also responsible for distributing work assignments and ensuring that Indians did what they were supposed to do. *Alcalde* responsibilities, with the exception of corporal punishment, resembled pre-contact actions; they were responsible for doling out village responsibilities and food distribution amongst the larger population.²⁹⁸

Regardless of who was doing the whipping, each mission had a whipping post, jail, shackles, and stocks.²⁹⁹ These methods of social control and domination represented the physical embodiments of new Spanish cultural expectations; unfortunately, newly Christianized Indians became very familiar with the bodily violence of the whipping post and the mental abuse of intimidation. Despite the mission’s negative effects, Indians negotiated their cultural identity and maintained some autonomy within the colonial structure.³⁰⁰ Through acquisition of knowledge and techniques of Spanish culture and active and passive resistance, Indians were able to contest their imposed place in the mission social hierarchy, challenge absolute missionary control, and negotiate their survival on their terms.

Resistance and Rebellion

Indians utilized different means for contesting and negotiating their position and power in mission society. Regardless of the form their resistance took, Indians found methods to contest

²⁹⁷ Sweet, “The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History,” 22.

²⁹⁸ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 244. For a more thorough discussion of Indian leadership within the missions see Steven Hackel, “The Staff of Leadership: Indian Authority in the Missions of Alta California,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (Apr., 1997): 347-376.

²⁹⁹ Sweet, “The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History,” 22.

³⁰⁰ New mission history scholarship identifies the negative changes or constraints as disease, malnutrition, regimentation, discipline and punishment, deculturation, infantilization, and alienation from nature. For the purpose of this paper, I will focus specifically on regimentation, discipline, punishment and its relationship with indigenous resistance. For example of New Mission History scholarship refer to *The New Latin American Mission History* eds. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

missionaries' power and maintain an element of self-identity.³⁰¹ They used both passive and active forms of resistance. In many cases, Indians maintained their traditional customs and practices despite their indoctrination into Catholic Christianity. Many maintained their practices of shaman rituals and the use of *curandería*. Often Franciscans considered Indians' continued beliefs in folk/traditional rituals as remnants of well-entrenched superstition.³⁰² This form of resistance troubled missionaries; however, what proved to be more upsetting to the evangelical process was Indian refusal to accept holy communion. Steven Hackel has documented the numbers of Indians rejecting communion at Alta California missions. For the San Gabriel Mission from 1814-1819, Hackell estimates that of 1,656 mission Indians only 45 adults received the sacrament of communion at death.³⁰³ Hackel argues that Indian refusal to take final communion reflects a rejection of Catholicism; in preparation for death, when their soul and spiritual afterlife was of utmost importance, they challenged the entire Franciscan project.³⁰⁴ Hackel's insight further figures with the framework of opportunities and constraints; the fact that there were mission Indians who lived Catholic lives in the mission and rejected the final sacrament indicates that neophytes did negotiate Catholicism to their benefit. In other words, one needed to accept Catholicism in order to live at the mission, obtain food, and procure the protection of the mission walls; the extent of this conversion is questionable considering refusal of an essential Christian ceremony at death.

In addition to the refusal of Catholic rituals, Indian resistance manifested itself through physical challenges to Spanish religious authority. There were many times in which Indians

³⁰¹ Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission in Native American History," 41.

³⁰² Ibid., 41-42.

³⁰³ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 180.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 178.

launched rebellions toward the Franciscans in their midst.³⁰⁵ In 1775, Alta California, missionaries witnessed the devastation of the full-scale rebellion at the San Diego Mission when approximately sixty-five Indians, led by neophyte brothers Francisco and Carlos, burned the mission to the ground. The rebellion included both neophyte and non-Christian Indians. In Fages's 1787 report on the mission, the governor tried to play down the revolt and focus on the quick reestablishment of Spanish control in the region. Fages wrote in his section on San Diego:

Como al año y medio de trasladada a este paraje fue enteramente destruida por los Neófitos y Gentiles con la muerte de un Misionero y dos Artesanos y volvió a incorporarse con el Presidio por espacio de un año entero; al cumplirse este se reedifico sobre sus mismas ruinas y se conserva en el modo de hoy.³⁰⁶

Despite the rebellion's devastating effect on the mission project it, is clear from Fages's statement many years later that the expansion project regained its strength and had quickly overtaken the region. Regardless of how Fages viewed the revolt in hindsight, the immediate perspective was one of anxiety and fear. As news of the successful San Diego rebellion spread northward, it placed Franciscans and soldiers on the defensive, watching and listening for stirrings of Indian uprising.

³⁰⁵There are many times in which Indians launched rebellions toward the Franciscans in their midst. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, one of the most well-known indigenous rebellions, successfully rid the Pueblo of the Spanish for a number of years. For discussions of the Pueblo Revolt see Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth Century New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); John L. Kessel, *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008). For causes leading up to the rebellion see Chapter 2 in Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1848* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). Similarly, throughout the eighteenth century, indigenous groups throughout the Sonoran region rebelled against the Spanish presence in their homelands. The Pima Revolt in 1751 and the Yuma Revolt of 1781 greatly disrupted the Spanish settlement of present day Sonora / Arizona region and California by jeopardizing Spanish supply lines into the regions. See Mark Santiago *Massacre at the Yuma Crossing: Spanish Relations with the Quechans, 1789-1782* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010).

³⁰⁶Fages Report on the California Missions, 1787, California Mission Documents, Folder 44, 125-126, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA). "About a year and a half year after our move this place it was entirely destroyed by the neophytes and gentiles with the death of one missionary and two artisans and it was reestablished within the presidio for space of an entire year; after [the year] it was rebuilt on top of its very ruins and it survives preserved in the same way today." Author's translation.

In October 1785, military diligence paid off when soldiers stationed at the San Gabriel Mission received word of a planned rebellion. The planned revolt resulted from the cooperation between neophyte and non-mission Indians from eight nearby *rancherías*. At trial, four ringleaders were identified and credited with planning the revolt, “neófitos Carlos de la misión San Diego y María Regina alias Toypurina [a powerful shaman from the Jachiivit village] de la Misión San Gabriel,” an unnamed Indian male, and neófito Nicolás José of San Gabriel.³⁰⁷ Scholarship on the Toypurina Revolt often reflects a romantic element in which Indians attempted to challenge Spanish hegemony. Although Toypurina’s leadership of the failed rebellion is often used as a way to show women’s power in the Tongva community, emphasizing her role to the exclusion of everyone else involved fails to grasp the complex power dynamics that led to the rebellion.³⁰⁸ Looking at the role of Nicolás José, the neophyte most associated with the rebellion, provides a more detailed understanding about the rebels’ motives.³⁰⁹ Nicolás was a prominent Indian at the San Gabriel Mission. Regarded by the Franciscans as a model neophyte, he was baptized and married at the mission. Despite the priests’ positive perceptions of Nicolás, his participation in a rebellion against a mission that he served for many years spoke volumes about the level of autonomy mission Indians expected and the manner in which they negotiated living in two worlds. In testimony given after his arrest, it becomes clear that his resentment stemmed from Franciscans’ banning of the Tongva rituals and dances.³¹⁰ Nicolás was a Christian, but his discontent with the ban on indigenous ritual shows his continued connection to

³⁰⁷ Fages to Lasuén on Criminal Indians, June 10, 1788, California Mission Documents, Folder 79, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA). This document refers to Toypurina and her male accomplices, with the exception of Nicolás, as belonging to the San Diego and San Gabriel Missions. Toypurina, referred to as María Regina, her baptismal name, and Carlos were not mission Indians. References to the mission and use of a Christian name for a Tongva Shaman indicate that by 1788 the ringleaders had been baptized.

³⁰⁸ Steven W. Hackel, “Sources of Rebellion: Indian Testimony and the Mission San Gabriel Uprising of 1785,” *Ethnohistory* 50 no. 4 (Fall 2003), 643-669.

³⁰⁹ Hackel challenges the myth of the rebellion and uses trial testimony to present a less romanticized rebellion. See Hackel, “Sources of Rebellion, 643-669.

³¹⁰ Testimony of Nicolás José, AGN PI vol. 120, exp.2, 36a. Cited in Hackel, “Sources of Rebellion,” 651.

the non-Christian Indian world. His resentment was not unlike the anger felt by other Indians when Franciscans moved to fully solidify their power over indigenous spirituality. Attempts to control Indian spirituality inside and outside the mission had contributed to previous rebellions, including the one in San Diego. At San Gabriel, Nicolás worked to get outside support for his planned rebellion by calling on Toypurina, an influential female shaman and a sister of a village leader, to aid him in his endeavor. At her trial Toypurina stated that her motives stemmed from her discontent with the Spanish. She was recorded as saying “[que] estaba enojada con los Padres y con todos los de esta misión porque estamos viviendo aquí en su tierra.”³¹¹ The testimony of failed rebellion illustrates that although the mission served as a site of social control and domination, it was also a place for compromise where missionaries did not hold absolute authority over their Indian charges. Mission Indians contested their existence; when Indians’ costs outweighed the benefits they received from mission life, they rebelled. The plot at San Gabriel was an example of Indians’ mobilized active resistance. Aside from planned violence, Indians also successfully utilized other passive methods to retain some autonomy.

As an important part of Indians’ oppressive regimentation, labor also provided a chance for resisting and destabilizing colonial power. Desire to create a neophyte population that would help establish a self-sustaining mission demonstrates the role that religious conversion and cultural persistence played in the unspoken compromise between missionaries and Indians. The missionaries’ reliance on Indian labor to supply mission inhabitants and regional needs required flexibility in the conversion process. In order to attract and keep new converts / laborers, missionaries ignored neophytes’ continued contact with non-Christian Indians and their

³¹¹ Testimony of Toypurina, *ibid.*, 34a-35b. Cited in Hackel, “Sources of Rebellion,” 655, 668. She was recorded as saying that “she was angry with the priests and with all those of the mission because we were living here on her land.” Author’s translation.

practicing of indigenous rituals and customs. Franciscans knowingly allowed for Indian appropriation of Christianity or rather, their religious acculturation, by connecting elements of Tongva spirituality / religion to those of Catholic Christianity. As time went on, Indians grew more familiar with Christianity and selectively adopted beliefs, customs, and practices that made sense to them. Despite the burgeoning religious syncretism, many mission Indians never fully gave up their cultural traditions and ritual dances, as exemplified through the behavior of neophyte Nicolás José. Franciscans, wanting to keep valuable Indian labor at the mission, allowed a space for the negotiation of Christianity and Tongva beliefs, contributing to high levels of cultural persistence, especially during the first decades of the mission. Franciscans' desires to attract Indians to the mission allowed for cultural persistence. Later, as mission production increased, the desire for workers and profit became the motivating factor behind Franciscans' tolerance of cultural syncretism.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, as production and economic stability increased, and Mission San Gabriel entered its golden age, missionaries focused more on obtaining the most from Indian labor and less on the conversion project. Looking at the number of adults who took communion at San Gabriel from 1814 -1819, Hackel found that only an average of 11% of 1,325 adult Indians received the sacrament annually.³¹² This low number of Indians receiving sacraments coincides with periods of heavy regional reliance on mission supplies, mainly from 1810-1832.³¹³ Similarly, in their study of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, historians Paul Farnsworth and Robert H. Jackson found that “missionaries diverted labor from surplus food production to diversified agricultural production, craft

³¹² Table 19. Annual Indian Adult Communions, Alta California Missions, 1814-1819. Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 176.

³¹³ For San Gabriel Mission productions for these years refer to Annual Mission Report, San Gabriel Mission, 1824, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library (Santa Barbara, CA).

specialization, and the specialized production of livestock.”³¹⁴ Furthermore, they found that “archeological records show that between 1800 and 1810 the missions changed their emphasis from attracting, controlling and changing the culture of California Indians to exploiting their labor for economic production.”³¹⁵ By the end of the 1820s, the desire for labor rather than for conversion had made the mission into a lucrative business venture.

Indian Labor and the Economy of Alta California

The benefits that missionaries and settlers garnered from Indian labor are indisputable. The reliance on their labor for mission production allowed Indian workers to negotiate their space within the mission. In addition to their labor responsibilities at the mission, Indians still maintained their traditional subsistence activities. Mission neophytes followed a strict schedule, part of the larger process of regimentation. As mission production increased, mission Indians found themselves giving more of their time to working at mission tasks. Giving more time to the mission tasks had long-term, lasting effects on the Indian community outside the mission because they could not reach their necessary subsistence levels, resulting in an increased reliance on the mission for food. Changes in subsistence methods required indigenous groups to adopt Spanish labor forms and acquire Spanish knowledge and techniques.

The growing diversity of the mission economy required Indians work in a variety of capacities including agricultural, manufacturing, and skilled work. The mission’s economic success relied on the knowledge and work of these laborers. Increasingly, neophytes found themselves in a position to negotiate for better treatment. Often Indians resisted the long hours

³¹⁴ Paul Farnsworth and Robert H. Jackson, “Cultural, Economic, and Demographic Change in the Missions of Alta California: the Case of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad,” in *The New Latin American Mission History*, eds. Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 118.

³¹⁵ Farnsworth and Jackson, “Cultural, Economic, and Demographic Change in the Missions of Alta California,” 118.

and labor regimentation by feigning illness or resorting to absenteeism; both methods proved to be successful in depriving the mission of their productive labor.³¹⁶

In spite of the demanding and oppressive labor conditions faced by mission Indians, they gained valuable skills that enabled them to resist missionaries' control through work outside the mission walls. The availability of the work in secular society created competition for Indian labor between missionaries, military personnel and settlers. Soldiers, deeply dissatisfied with the backbreaking *trabajos mecánicos* and exigent demands of military commanders, complained to military leadership. A prompt, albeit temporary, answer called for providing extra compensation for soldiers doing manual labor; this solution worked for a while but soon gave way to multiple forms of Indian labor in the presidios.³¹⁷ Convict labor was one of the ways in which the presidio obtained Indian labor. Using labor as a punishment for a crime was widely practiced in colonial New Spain. Many of the soldiers on the frontier had been assigned there as a form of punishment. Presidial authorities utilized this method to bring mission and non-mission Indian labor into the presidio. If an Indian was accused or found guilty of minor crimes, he was forced to perform unpaid, heavy labor as punishment. Franciscans did not agree with convict labor and believed that soldiers often wrongly accused Indians of committing crimes simply to exploit their labor.

In spite of Franciscans' displeasure with presidios' use of Indian labor, they contracted neophyte workers directly to the military. Contracts ranged from a few days to month-long agreements. Indians performed jobs ranging from manual labor to domestic work. Unlike convict laborers, these workers received compensation that went directly into mission coffers. Presidial demand for Indian labor soon increased and when mission production expanded missionaries

³¹⁶ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 286.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 295.

grew increasingly reluctant to provide mission workers, citing labor shortages. Contracted Indian labor occurred most often between missions that had accompanying presidios. Although San Gabriel did not have an accompanying presidio, it did provide labor to the Santa Barbara and San Diego Presidios.³¹⁸

Most of the labor contracts between mission and military sent workers to labor on larger, institutional projects. As time went on, individual soldiers and officers began to contract Indian workers to complete personal everyday tasks. This semi-informal arrangement gave way to a larger informal labor market that greatly concerned missionaries because it took Indians away from their work at the mission site. Indians covertly labored for military personnel in an attempt to supplement their mission rations. Often the lure was too great and mission Indians shunned their assigned tasks and opted to spend more time at the presidios. The availability of jobs outside the mission gave Indians a means to contest their oppressive labor regiment at the mission, and while the work at the presidio was backbreaking and the pay meager, they kept what they earned.

While the presidio presented a threat to Franciscan missionaries' control over neophyte laborers, the greatest threat came from the establishment of secular communities. For San Gabriel, the settlement of El Pueblo de Los Angeles presented mission Indians with opportunities to labor and subsist without the mission. Los Angeles's inhabitants, many whom disliked farming and land cultivation, focused instead on pastoral pursuits, and needed Indian labor to work the land.³¹⁹ By 1790 Los Angeles had become a bustling community, quickly expanding its land holdings, fields and livestock. As the pueblo expanded in size and its population grew, it infringed on surrounding native lands and restricted the Tongvas' traditional subsistence

³¹⁸ For a detailed account of Indian labor outside of missions, see Chapter 7 in Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 274-320.

³¹⁹ Michael J. González, "Searching for the Feathered Serpent: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1830-1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 35.

practices. Increasingly, Indians worked at the pueblo as *vaqueros*, cooks, domestics, muleteers, water carriers and other occupations. Lieutenant Francisco Ortega from Santa Barabra wrote Military Governor Pedro Fages about the importance of Indian labor in building the pueblo:

I feel that only with the aid of the gentiles have they been able to plant the above crops [35 fanegas] of wheat and twelve of corn but as these [Indians] are at present busy harvesting their abundant wild seeds, they justly refuse with this good reason to lend a hand in digging and weeding. Because they [the settlers] are few, and some are useless to attend to irrigation and so forth [it is a problem] for the advancement of the settlement.³²⁰

Here Ortega credits Indians with the growth of the pueblo but also chastises its settlers for relying on the native population to doing settlers' work. As El Pueblo de Los Angeles grew after mission secularization, this situation would continue.

While the majority of those who came to work in the pueblo were non-mission Indians, their work at the pueblo indicates Indian resistance because it allowed indigenous people the ability to determine where and for whom they labored. Indians' use of labor to resist complete control allowed them to negotiate their quickly changing homeland, economy, and culture. Their adaptation to the changes brought by the Spanish mission prepared them to adapt when the colonial system changed and evolved. As mission Indians learned Spanish labor skills in the missions, they recognized their important role in the changing colonial economy and soon used the competition between the military officials, priests and settlers to play the Spanish against each other. This allowed Indians to create a malleable, hybrid identity as well as to control their own labor. Maintenance of labor and cultural persistence did not keep the Tongva from becoming the racialized laboring class in a society in which labor determined societal position;

³²⁰ Lieutenant Francisco Ortega to Governor Pedro Fages, letter, April 1784, California Archive, folder 176, box 22 cited in William M. Mason, "*Fages' Code of Conduct Toward Indians, 1787*," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 1, vol. 2, no. 1 (Summer 1975): 95.

however, similar to the mulattos and mestizos that became Spanish, some Indians would become españoles.

Acculturation and Racial Identity

Despite the labor exploitation they faced in the pueblo, Indians were afforded a much higher level of autonomy and independence than in other frontier institutions. Vecinos and settlers did not care to change Indians' cultural and religious behaviors and looked more towards getting their labor. Ironically, it was at the pueblo, not the mission, where one clearly sees Indian acculturation to Spanish culture. Indians at Los Angeles spoke Spanish, wore Spanish settler-style clothing, and in some cases intermarried with the population. After his 1787 visit to Los Angeles, Military Governor Pedro Fages, troubled by the increased presence of Indians in the pueblo and hoping to address any situation that might arise between the two, issued laws regulating Spanish / Indian behavior.³²¹ Fages's regulations dealt with defining the "familiar behavior" between settlers and Indian workers and attempted to define how Indians should behave while in the pueblo. For example, settlers could not allow Indians inside their houses. Any work had to be done outside in corridors or patios, even if the workers were women. Additionally, Indians could not sleep in settlers' houses and were required to sleep in the fields near the guardhouse.³²² These guidelines represented official laws concerning Indians in the pueblo, but Indians' increased presence and their continued interaction with settlers created a new cultural identity that was "subject to the continuous [inter]play of history, culture and

³²¹ William M. Mason, "Fages' Code of Conduct Toward Indians, 1787," *Journal of California Anthropology* 1, no.2 (Summer 1975): 90-100.

³²² *Ibid.*, 97.

power.”³²³ As the colonial system and its institutions gave way to independence and secularization, economic changes and land policy resulted in shifts in socio-cultural dynamics.

Conclusion

Upon their entrance into the Arroyo Seco, the Spanish encountered a complex, well-established society. As the colonial project grew and profits increased, missionaries tethered Indian converts to the land, resulting in immense wealth for Mission San Gabriel. Franciscans’ desires for conversion gave way to the regional economic interests, leading to greater demands on Indian labor. The San Gabriel Mission’s wealth and importance to the regional economy is evident in mission ledgers. Mission profit and regional stability were the economic goals of the mission and the crown alike. As the economy grew on the backs of Indian labor, the ideas of optimal land use changed with it, creating a ruling, landed class.³²⁴

Frontier conditions and the need for labor resulted in the creation of a racialized Indian labor force. Although Indians were defined as an inferior social group throughout New Spain since the mid-sixteenth century, the dynamics of the frontier resulted in racializing Indians according the conditions that existed on the fringes of the empire.³²⁵ Increasingly frontier settlers used the terms “gente de razón” and “gente sin razón” to distinguish between españoles and indios. Although emerging from theological differences between Christian and heathen, these terms evolved into cultural designations that “implied an insurmountable divide between civilization and savagery.”³²⁶ These socio-cultural classifications reflected the decline of the casta system, and allowed mestizos, mulatos, and other racially mixed groups to designate

³²³ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 9.

³²⁴ The following chapter will look at this in greater detail.

³²⁵ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 31.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

themselves within the broader category of Spanish or *de razón*. Indians, as perpetual cultural others, became laborers tethered to the land and subjected exclusionary policies and societal marginalization. The reconceptualization of cultural codes and legal classification within a framework of *de razón* or *sin razón* displaced the *casta* system but helped construct a regional and ethnic identity on California's frontier. These new classifications would manifest themselves through California's land policies and visions of land use during the Mexican independence period. The confluence of indigenous and "Spanish" cultures during the colonial period helped form the new Californio class that controlled ex-mission lands after secularization.

The use of social behavior, ritual, and the utilization of space differentiated Spaniard from Indian and created cultural markers that reconceptualized inhabitants' cultural identities according to the economic and social fluctuations of the frontier. Mission Indians' position within the mission and Spanish settler society hinged on their acceptance of cultural behavioral norms and the larger society's perception of them as being *de razón*. This is not unlike the process that allowed Africans and Mestizos to become Spaniards, but it took Indians a longer time to become Spanish because the ethnocultural binary had defined them as an inferior other. Mestizos and Africans' role in the colonial setting, mainly helping to pacify this remote frontier, allowed them to claim the privileges of "Spanish" birth more quickly than in other areas. As we will see, it was during Mexican Independence, imbued with the spirit of liberalism, and Euro American colonization that these new Spaniards reestablished divisions that kept Indians on the margins of Californio society.

Chapter 3

San Pascual: Secularization and Land Policy at El Rancho San Pascual before 1846

Divided thematically into two sections, this chapter examines the effects of Mexican liberalism, secularization, and land distribution on Rancho San Pascual between 1810 and 1846. The first section looks at the development of Mexican liberalism and increasing desires for regional autonomy amongst California's aspiring oligarchs and their connection to the secularization of the California Missions, specifically the San Gabriel Mission. This provides the foundation for the second thematic section, which focuses on the distribution of Rancho San Pascual after mission secularization. The section studies how the distribution of the San Pascual's land fit into a larger system rooted in racial and gender ideologies that privileged landed Californio oligarchs. Specifically, I examine how Rancho San Pascual's changing ownership embodied racialized ideas about landownership and visions about land use.

Mexican Independence and the Collapse of the Mission

Mexico's declaration of independence in September 1810 triggered a wave of social and political change that reached the farthest regions of Spain's northwestern territories. Frontier borderlands experienced this tidal wave of change in profoundly different ways. Texas, the region closest to the Mexican interior, directly experienced the violent turmoil of revolution in the form of a popular resistance inspired by Father Miguel Hidalgo's *Grito de Dolores*.³²⁷ In Alta California, the war for independence manifested itself in the form of economic neglect of

³²⁷ In January of 1811 Juan Bautista de Las Casas launched a revolt against Spaniards and Mexican born *criollos* in the area around San Antonio. He ordered Spaniards arrested and seized their property. The revolt was short lived. Royalist forces defeated las Casas' forces, and he was captured, tried and executed for treason. Although the Las Casas' revolt was not successful, it indicates the Texas climate as it pertains to Mexican Independence. For more on the Las Casas Revolt and the role of Texas in Mexican Impendence see David Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 1-14; Jesús F. De la Teja, ed., *Tejano Leadership in Mexican and Revolutionary Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2010).

regional institutions. The war left missionaries, pobladores, and soldiers further disconnected and isolated from the Mexican core and disrupted missionary and military supply lines as well as governmental stipends and salaries. Consumed by the attack on its colonial power and its declining position in the European theater, the Spanish Crown left Alta California's inhabitants without governmental support. Because of this increased neglect, frontier garrisons and missions became the core of support for regional survival. Accustomed to limited access to supplies from the Mexican interior before the war, frontier inhabitants' reliance on the local missions was not new, but the volume of these demands imposed a new stress on the missions, which sought to meet the ever-growing regional needs.³²⁸ Faced with incessant requirements for mission produced supplies and foodstuffs, Franciscans often complained that the missions could not meet the increasing demands from local military garrisons and still support their neophytes and themselves. Despite their amassing of wealth during the early part of the nineteenth century, including the early years of the revolution, Franciscans quickly found themselves at odds with secular authorities over the control of the mission lands, Indian labor and the regional economy. Later, when ideas of secularization stirred, Fray José Señan, Father President of the Missions, referenced the region's dependence on the missions during the war:

Words are hardly adequate to describe the sacrifices of the mission since the year 1810. I have also heard a former high official in the Province say very truly that the missions, throughout these turbulent times, have been the support and pillar of the Province.³²⁹

Señan's words indicate his awareness of the mission system's vital role in the region. Citing a high-ranking provincial leader's recognition of that fact was a form of secular legitimation, and recognition of the mission's worth as a frontier institution. Despite their important contributions

³²⁸ For discussion of how missions became central to the regional economy, refer to Chapter 1.

³²⁹ Fray Señan to Fray Baldomero López, Mission San Buenaventura, September 4, 1819, in Lesley Byrd Simpson, ed., Paul D. Nathan, trans., *The Letters of José Señan, O.F.M Mission San Buenaventura, 1796-1823* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1962), 129.

to regional survival, missionaries and neophytes bore the brunt of Spain's colonial collapse on the frontier. The long fight for independence, increased imperial neglect, and the accompanying economic devastation, contributed to the decline of the mission system and created the socio-economic power vacuum that allowed for the rise of landed oligarchs throughout Alta California.

The post-independence period prompted calls for secularization that resulted in the parceling out of mission lands and created a landed class in San Gabriel. The majority of the San Gabriel Mission's lands, approximately 14,403 acres, was designated El Rancho del Rincón de San Pascual.³³⁰ The secular land grab continued throughout the Mexican period because conditions set for the attaining and maintaining of land grants reflected racially imbued visions of optimal land use. Steeped in the ideology of early nineteenth-century Mexican liberalism, land policies set in motion a racial project that determined land ownership, labor status, and social / cultural identities in Mexican San Pascual.

Liberalism, Regional Autonomy and Land

An independent Mexico did nothing to improve the missions' situation. The political chaos in Mexico City and the continued bankruptcy of the national treasury further exacerbated an already dire situation. Missionaries no longer received *sínodos*, government aid stipends, to help with the cost of running the mission. Growing economic neglect prompted missionaries, as well secular citizens, to engage in trade with Russian, American, and South American traders, a fateful decision that opened the door to Anglo Americans' presence in California. Foreign trade greatly expanded the regional economy's trade in tallow and hides and contributed to increased competition between individual missions and aspiring oligarchs' desires for land. To the chagrin

³³⁰ Additional mission lands, granted later in 1841 and 1845, made up the surrounding ranchos of Azusa de Dalton, Azusa de Duarte, and Santa Anita; these lands comprise the present day cities of Azusa, Duarte, and Arcadia, California, respectively.

of local aspiring landowners, missionaries often held the region's premium land for grazing cattle and growing crops; the San Gabriel Mission was no different. In 1846 American businessman Alfred Robinson published his account of an 1829 trip to the San Gabriel Mission. Robinson's account vividly describes the fields and extensive land belonging to the mission:

There are several extensive gardens attached to the mission, where may be found oranges, citron, limes, apples, pears, peaches, pomegranates, figs and grapes in abundance. From which the latter they make yearly from four to six hundred barrels of wine and two hundred of brandy, the sale of which produces an income of more than twelve thousand dollars. The storehouses and granaries are kept well supplied, and the corridor in the square is usually heaped up with piles of hides and tallow. The two ranchos of San Bernardino and Santa Anita are included in the possession of the mission; the former of these has been assigned by the padres for the sole purpose of domesticating cattle and is located some leagues distant, in a secluded valley among the mountains; the latter is for cultivation, and is one of the fairy spots to be met with so often in California. The Mission of San Gabriel was founded in 1771....it was thought at one time to possess from eighty to over a hundred head of cattle, besides horses, mules, and sheep, and countless number which run large. No advantage is derived from them beyond the value of their hides and tallow, and thus thousands of dollars are yearly left to perish on the field.³³¹

Robinson's description of the mission's holdings illustrates the richness of the San Gabriel Mission lands. His attention to the income and potential income derived from mission production seems a simple observation of an interested businessman, but Robinson's last statement foreshadows the critique that fueled calls for Mexican secularization, and later rationalized Anglo-American ideals of Manifest Destiny. Implicit in Robinson's statement is a racialized, value-laden judgment that faulted Franciscans for not realizing the thousands of dollars of potential income that grazed their lands. Robinson's statement reflects his idea that Spanish missionaries, and later Mexican ranchers, did not realize the land's optimal use by

³³¹ Alfred Robinson and Gerónimo Boscana, *Life in California: During a Residence of Several Years in that Territory: Comprising a Description of the Country and the Missionary Establishments, with Incidents, Observations, etc.* (New York: H.G. Collins, 1851), 38-39.

failing to exploit their cattle and simply continuing their anachronistic trade in tallow and hide. While Robinson's statement was published in the 1840s, a time in which U.S aspirations for Mexican land grew, it also reflects Anglo-American racist and capitalist ideals. His words resonated with the beliefs of aspiring Californio oligarchs calling for secularization in the period following Mexican Independence.

Mexican Independence resulted from early nineteenth-century Mexican Liberalism centered on "the free individual, unrestrained by government or corporate body."³³² Liberalism professed equitable social relations and envisioned a society in which *casta* and birth did not determine one's opportunities and chances. Attainment of individual freedom and equality necessitated the dismantling of institutions seen as obstacles to the growth of society and the economy. After independence, early attempts to limit individual clerics' power and church offices resulted in the Church using the rhetoric of liberal republicanism to defend its rights to due process under a liberal system. This illustrates scholar Brian Connaughton's argument that the Church and secular government were not immediately at odds after independence.³³³ After 1830, as liberal constitutionalism gave way to a liberal anti-corporatism that focused on the secular state's supremacy,³³⁴ the Church, with its vast wealth, property holdings, and social power, became a target of liberalism's anticlerical efforts.³³⁵

On the Alta California frontier, direct attacks against the Church manifested themselves through Californios' calls for mission secularization. For many aspiring oligarchs, the mission institution represented a repressive system that inhibited liberal visions of social progress and

³³² Charles Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 4.

³³³ Brian Connaughton, "The Enemy Within: Catholics and Liberalism in Independent Mexico, 1821-1860," in *The Divine Charter: Constitutionalism and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico*, ed. Jaime E. Rodríguez (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 183-202.

³³⁴ Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism*, 4.

³³⁵ Connaughton, "The Enemy Within," 184-185.

economic development. Those wishing to obtain mission lands could not separate the material reality of land ownership and personal property from the ideas of individual freedom, social progress, and economic development. To many liberals the right to own property represented the individual's right to life itself.³³⁶ Denying them access to property in a region where mission priests held vast acreage of land translated into the denial of opportunity, happiness, and individual wealth. Californios, similar to liberals in the Mexican interior, believed that secularization would end monopolistic land practices, encourage individual initiative, engender trade, and create a naturally stratified labor system that encouraged general wealth.³³⁷ Many aspiring Californios, such as liberal-minded Juan Bandini, believed that missionaries unnecessarily and selfishly held onto the region's premium lands and controlled regional trade. Bandini, a politician and landowner, related his liberal ideals in an 1830 report to the Mexican assembly:

The possessions of the missions extend from one end of the territory to the other. Their borders come right up to each other. Even though they might not need all the land they appear to have for the care of the crops and the maintenance of their herds, they have insensitively appropriated all the area. They [Franciscans] have constantly been opposed to any private person becoming involved in the affairs of the missions. With that sinister notion, they occupy the best lands and water sources. With but a small flock of sheep they rejoice at having come into possession of everything. They desire exclusive control over the productions of the country, whose bad condition stems from that deeply rooted source.³³⁸

³³⁶Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism*, 4.

³³⁷*Ibid.*, 4.

³³⁸ Juan Bandini owned a tremendous amount of land including but not limited to the following ranchos: Under Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado, who served as governor from 1836-1842, Bandini received Rancho Jurupa, consisting of 40,569 acres, granted in 1838 and Rancho El Rincón comprised of 4431 acres, granted in 1839. See Juan Bandini, "A Statistical Description of Alta California," in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, ed., *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846* (Santa Clara: Santa Clara University: 2001), 380. Both these land case files can be found at Bancroft Library, BANC MSS C-R 17 v.1 -v.3; Ex.213SD, 263SD and 297SD respectively. From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, Index of the Spanish-Mexican Private Land Records and Cases of California, University of California Berkeley.

Bandini's critiques of Franciscans' selfish and monopolistic practices reflect early nineteenth-century liberal ideals of private property. His denunciation of the mission institution cited the Franciscans' monopoly over regional trade:

Generally speaking, the production of all the missions is the raising of cattle, sheep, horses, wheat, corn, beans, and other vegetables. The more southern missions are extensively engaged in vineyards and olives. However, the most lucrative production is that of cattle, for there is an active, high demand on the part of ships engaged in the coastal trade for their hides and crops. Indeed, these articles are the only items in demand, which both the missions and private persons have in order to meet their needs. This is why we are all anxious to stimulate this branch of trade as much as possible and why it receives the attention of everyone.³³⁹

Interestingly, Bandini's statement implicitly recognized the mission institutions' crucial role in providing supplies for the region, an acknowledgement that stemmed from a desire to engage and profit from regional trade. Basing his call for secularization on the idea that the missions alone could not meet growing regional and foreign demand, Bandini argued for the decentralization of commerce and the expansion of production through private traders. Bandini's calls for privatization and his recognition of the mission institutions as the sole producers / suppliers of foodstuffs and products suggest that his vision of a successful and thriving California rested on the growth of private land ownership and free trade.

Bandini and his fellow Californios were pleased by territorial Governor José Figueroa's arrival in 1833. To the delight of aspiring landowners, Figueroa quickly enforced the secularization order in Alta California. Many viewed Figueroa's governorship as the necessary step to liberate precious mission lands from the hands of avaricious Franciscans. In his 1876 *testimonio*, Juan Bautista Alvarado, prominent politician, landowner, and former governor of California, spoke very highly of Figueroa and his initiation of mission secularization:

³³⁹ Bandini, "A Statistical Description of Alta California," 380.

El envío del general Figueroa a California es la única cosa que los hijos de este país tenemos que agradecer al partido centralista, pues la llegada entre nosotros de ese militar valiente y ponderoso, en cuyo pecho ardían en toda su fuerza las virtudes que ennoblecen al ciudadano, resulta en beneficio de todos los habitantes que incontinente se pusieron unánimes a su lado.³⁴⁰

Alvarado, son of a general, indicated an admiration for the new governor and implied that many Californios supported him because of his land policies. His words indicate Figueroa's belief that the missions were obstacles to regional development.³⁴¹ In his *testimonio*, Alvarado stated that rancheros found Figueroa's policies very agreeable because they limited the Franciscans' ability to control the mission lands. Citing the examples of his grandfather, Don Ignacio Vallejo, Alvarado recounted how the mission priests did not permit neighboring rancheros to graze horses and livestock on mission lands, even though they were not actively in use by the mission. Alvarado believed that the missionaries held the land captive and slowed the growth of the region. For these reasons, the landowner recalled his support for Governor Figueroa's policies, which he believed would free up land for the quickly growing population.³⁴² Both Bandini's report and Alvarado's *testimonio* reflect a sense of resentment over missionaries' control of mission lands as well as their wielding of authority over settlers. These men's words provide a glimpse of the immense dislike felt toward Alta California's missionaries and speak volumes about Californios' hopes and visions for the region.

³⁴⁰ Juan Bautista Alvarado was a prominent politician and landowner. Under Governor José Figueroa Alvarado received Rancho El Sur measuring approximately 8,949 acres. This expediente can be found at the Bancroft Library, BANC MSS C-R 17 v.1 –v.3, Ex.34 1SD. See Juan Bautista Alvarado, *Historia de California*, 1876, BANC MSS C-D 2: 1824-1834, 206-207). From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, Index of the Spanish-Mexican Private Land Records and Cases of California, University of California, Berkeley. "Sending General Figueroa to California is the only thing for which the "hijos de este pais," can be grateful to the centralist government. The arrival of this brave and powerful military officer, in whose heart burns the strength and virtue that ennoble the citizen, resulted beneficial to all of the inhabitants who unanimously supported him." Author's translation.

³⁴¹ Alvarado, *Historia de California*, 196.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 207-208.

Mission San Gabriel, with its vast acreage of land, its high levels of production, and wealth, was one of the first missions secularized. Governor Figueroa's successful implementation of secularization dispossessed missionaries of their lands and their Indian charges; it marked the beginning of a societal, cultural, and economic whirlwind that forever changed San Pascual and its people. As Mexico's colonization efforts succeeded and the Northwest's population grew after secularization, governmental territorial leadership implemented protocols that slowly eroded the liberalist foundation of what prompted secularization in the first place. Chaotic reorganization of the post-independence government consisted of a back and forth between liberals and conservatives, both of whom had very different ideas for the frontier. By the middle of the 1830s, the time of secularization, the liberal Mexican government was a shambles and a stronger conservative-centralist ideology had emerged within the tattered republic.³⁴³ While the political divisions between liberalism and conservatism grew in Mexico, Antonio López de Santa Anna implemented a new conservative government. A centralized conservative congress reorganized governmental structure by doing away with much of what constituted a representative government. The shift from a liberal federalist government to a conservative central government had direct consequences on Alta California's development in the post-secularization period. Although the contours of nineteenth-century politics are outside of the scope of this work, it was important to the development of a Californio oligarchy or propertied class because the governmental restructuring influenced who would gain power and control of secularized mission lands.

³⁴³ Although a clear, consistent definition of conservative ideology is not present in Mexico until the late 1840s conservative ideals are visible during the 1830s. See Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora*, 15; 145-147.

In 1835, the Mexican government, in an attempt to centralize governmental power, converted states and territories into departamentos or departments.³⁴⁴ Alta and Baja California were designated as the single departamento de California, or the Department of California. Each department was comprised of smaller districts that were then subdivided into partidos, or sections. The new centralized bureaucratic order installed a governor who oversaw the entire department, a prefect who headed an individual district, and a subprefect who regulated the partido in each district. Below the partido was the town government, which in most places, under the older system, was comprised of an ayuntamiento or town council. In this new order, only towns identified as departmental capitals, towns having more than 8,000 inhabitants, or places having ayuntamientos before 1808 could have this form of representative government.³⁴⁵ In Alta California, no towns were large enough to qualify for an ayuntamiento based on population, but Los Angeles, San José, and Santa Cruz qualified because they had established ayuntamientos before 1808.³⁴⁶

After Mexican Independence, conservatives throughout Mexico hoped to give governmental control to those whom they believed capable of governing effectively. In an 1834 statement discussing the liberalist reform government, conservative leader Lucas Alamán referred to the reform government as the “self-designated party of the people.” Alamán, a staunch supporter of centralized government who served as secretary of state, and held several positions within the new Mexican Republic, was very suspicious of liberalism.³⁴⁷ Alamán believed that these men [reformers] who created their identity in contrast to aristocratic “men of

³⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion of the shift from liberalism to conservatism and its effect on the Mexican frontier, see Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, pp. 15-42

³⁴⁵ Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 33.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 33.

³⁴⁷ Israel Arroyo García, “Lucas Alamán,” in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Mexico*, ed. Michael Werner (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Press, 2001), 5-7.

religion, of honor, of property of education, and of virtue,” attempted to destroy aristocratic privilege and “deprive [them] of all influence in public affairs.”³⁴⁸ Alamán’s statement can be read as a critique of the liberals’ hypocrisy, because many liberals were educated men of status who sought to better their public conditions. In the end, the governmental change created during the conflict between liberals and conservatives only benefited the wealthier classes and dispossessed the poor of land, rights, and political participation. Increasingly, those who ran the government and created policy were the same individuals who owned land and easily exercised social and political rights. Although the 1836 Mexican Constitution contained several key liberal guarantees, such as citizenship and voting rights, policies limited these rights to those who had an annual income of 100 pesos a year; only those meeting this requirement were insured full citizenship. Economic prerequisites also set restrictions on who could hold office; every level of government ranging from participation in the local *ayuntamiento* to state governorship had minimum annual income requirements.³⁴⁹

In California, the growth of a conservative government and the political turmoil in Mexico during the 1830s led most Californios to challenge the central government’s attempts to implement tighter control over the distant frontier province. Californios’ regional identity and growing resentment towards the national government’s centralist control over departmental politics gave rise to opposition. Many Californios, such as Pío Pico, from his early days as a liberal politico believed “en [su] espíritu que los ciudadanos éramos la nación y que ningún militar era superior a nosotros.”³⁵⁰ The liberal and later federalist belief in citizens’ control of

³⁴⁸ Lucas Alamán, “Defensa del ex-ministro de relaciones,” *Documentos*, 3, 41-16, cited in Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora*, 146-147.

³⁴⁹ Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 34.

³⁵⁰ Pío Pico, *Narración Histórica, 1877* (BANC MSS C-D 13, 16). From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley. Many Californios believed in liberalism’s “spirit that as citizens they were the nation and that no military authority was superior to them.” Author’s translation.

government and land resulted in a continuous conflict between Californios and governmental authorities. Increasingly los hijos del país, native Californios, felt rightful ownership over the land and its politics; they resented the Mexican government's appointment of leaders who did not reflect the values and morality of the local populace. The appointment of Colonel Mariano Chico as governor in April of 1836 illustrates Californios' dislike for the appointment of outsiders to governmental positions.

Many Californios with political and economic aspirations shared Alvarado's dislike for Governor Chico and his centralist administration.³⁵¹ Chico, aware of his unpopularity, anguished over the possibility of revolt. Pío Pico, who often participated in this unrest, related in his testimonio the brief term and hasty departure of Governor Chico and the subsequent revolution overthrowing his successor, Lieutenant Colonel Nicolás Gutiérrez. Pico recalled that Governor Chico remained in power just a few months after arriving in California in 1836. Pico further related that despite his position as a regional administrator, he never personally met the governor but had heard many negative things about his character.³⁵²

Pico regarded Chico as a coarse, unpolished man with an extravagant character, who hastily left his post because he could not command respect and authority.³⁵³ Similarly, Alvarado had a very low opinion of Chico. Alvarado, like Pico, believed Chico to be a bad leader, whose policies were divisive rather than conciliatory. Pico described Chico as having a pompous and arrogant attitude because of his military rank, his title as a statesman, and his education as a pharmacist.³⁵⁴ Alvarado's testimonio indicates that Chico was devoid of the tenets of a proper

³⁵¹ Alvarado, *Historia de California*, v.3, 45.

³⁵² Pico, *Narración Histórica*, 57-58.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 57-58

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 57-58

upbringing, stubborn as a schoolboy, a coward, and corruptor of public morality.³⁵⁵ The revolutionary's description of Chico's carácter or character as a malcriado³⁵⁶ and stubborn schoolboy called into question the governor's masculinity. Describing his behavior as childlike, emphasizing his lack of propriety, his arrogance and extravagance, and his impotence as a leader and corruptor of public morality, they questioned his identity as real man, or macho. Tenets of masculinity called for men to be of upstanding character, strong, religious, moral, and proper. Chico's inability to lead and command respect, his blatant flaunting of an extramarital affair and his relationship with a known adulteress led to questions of whether he was a proper man.³⁵⁷ Alvarado's judgmental depiction of Chico creates an image of man unfit to command; in his statement, he presents this description as an illustration of the Mexican government's incompetence in appointing regional leadership:

tal era el carácter del titulado coronel Chico, a quién el president de Méjico envió á gobernar las Californias investido con los mandos civiles é militares (qué sarcasmo dar ese título a un hombre tan animal) se hizo cargo del mando militar el día dos de mayo y del mando civil el día cuatro del mismo mes.³⁵⁸

The statement above indicts the centralists for their lack of judgment and their giving the title of governor to an ignorant man blatantly unqualified to govern civil and military matters.³⁵⁹ Chico's ineffectiveness as a leader, his failure to assert control over the region, and Californios' lack of respect for an outsider's gubernatorial authority forced the governor to abandon his post and flee the region. After Chico's departure, Nicolás Gutiérrez, a high-ranking career officer

³⁵⁵ Alvarado, *Historia de California*, v.3, 45.

³⁵⁶ The term *malcriado* translates in English to 'spoiled'; in Spanish colloquialism, the phrase has a deeper significance. It signifies that the person was brought up badly thereby questions his or her behavior and propriety.

³⁵⁷ Weber mentions Chico's mistress and his improper behavior in his text. See Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 256.

³⁵⁸ Alvarado, *Historia de California*, v.3, 45. Such was the character of Coronel Chico whom the president of Mexico invested with civil and military authority and sent to govern California, (what sarcasm to give such a title [governor] to such a crude and ignorant man). He took military authority on the second day of May and civil authority on the fourth day of the same month. Author's translation.

³⁵⁹ The term *animal* literally translates into animal; however, in Spanish colloquialism it is a severe indictment of one's intelligence and persona. It is similar to calling someone a brute.

who had served as interim governor prior to Chico, took over the governorship. Shortly after Gutiérrez became governor in 1836, Juan Bautista Alvarado and José Castro launched a successful coup that toppled the Gutiérrez administration and placed California under the command of a *hijo del país*. With native son Juan Bautista Alvarado as governor, Californios interested in localized self-government had placed control of California into the hands of a propertied class. As Governor Alvarado distributed land grants throughout California, economic restrictions and political maneuvering facilitated the rise of a landed oligarchy. Californio oligarchs solidified their ownership of the physical land through land grants conferred by their new Governor. As the elite increased their land holdings, they took control of the political landscape by occupying important political and juridical offices in the region. Once in power, Californios such as Alvarado, Pico, and countless others, contradicted the liberal ideals of access to land and opportunity that they used to press for the secularization of mission land a few years earlier and established a land system in which land was unavailable to those outside of elite circles.

The 1836 revolt had major consequences for land distribution in California. Alvarado, although well liked in the areas surrounding Monterey, was not very popular in southern parts of the region, mainly Los Angeles and San Diego. Despite their desire for self-rule and independence from a centralist government, Californios divided along regional lines. Many aspiring oligarchs in Los Angeles and San Diego were wary of a northern-run government. They believed that Alvarado and his cohort of liberal-minded reformists sought to place economic and political power solely into hands of *norteros*. Fearing northern domination more than they feared centralism, and believing that their loyalty to centralist authority might provide them with economic and political power, southern Californios refused to recognize Alvarado as

governor.³⁶⁰ Leaders of the 1836 coup sought to establish a local government friendly to the emerging propertied class; however, despite their successful implementation of local Californio rule, regional differences between sureños and norteños pitted the elites against each other. While at first glance it seems that elites' disunity stemmed from political disagreements, a closer look indicates that the debate was rooted in the politics of land ownership, political power, and economic markets. The first part of the nineteenth century ushered in a period of regional economic wealth based on expanding trade markets. After secularization, regional markets came under the control of the individual landowners who built their wealth and land holdings by controlling local politics, land and labor. Scholarship on Mexican California has shown that the landed elites in both the southern and northern regions held tremendous political and economic power during the first half of the nineteenth century and slowly lost that power in the late 1800s because of changing ideas regarding race, land ownership, and the political landscape.³⁶¹ After secularization and the distribution of the first large land grants had occurred, the debate over whether locals or outsiders ran the regional government gave way to regional elite's economic self-interest. In both northern and southern California, actual and aspiring oligarchs sided with leadership that guaranteed them more economic stability and continued profit in the growing tallow and hide trade. Often economic interests transcended racial and national identity.

During the 1830s and 1840s, Euro-Americans joined the Mexican Californios in the ranks of the elites and were involved in the expanding regional economy. In the areas around San Pascual during the 1840s, many of the wealthy landowners were Euro-American men. For example, wealthy cattlemen Abel Stearns and Jonathan Temple owned thousands of acres and

³⁶⁰ Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 258.

³⁶¹ For examples of Californios' loss of political and economic power see Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Weber, *Mexican Frontier*; Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1995); Linda Heidenreich, *"This Land was Mexican Once": Histories of Resistance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

ran large-scale cattle operations.³⁶² Stearns, the region's wealthiest man, supported whichever government provided economic stability and supported the continued profit of his many business ventures. Stearns and Temple were actively involved in politics after the U.S.-Mexican War; both served in various local government capacities. Although men such as Stearns, Temple, and countless others acculturated into Mexican society through their naturalization as Mexican citizens and marriage into prominent "old" Californio families, their presence in the years leading up to the war and their emergence as socially and economically powerful men would eventually translate into the decline of the Californios' power in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁶³ Early on, Euro-Americans' presence did not trouble prominent Californios because their numbers were so few that they did not pose an economic and political challenge to Californio authority. Often, because economic gain was their common goal, Euro Americans and Californios shared similar perspectives regarding regional autonomy and social stratification. Furthermore, because the wealth made from their shared business ventures often enriched established the families' wealth, Euro Americans and Mexican Californios frequently found themselves on common ground.³⁶⁴ As the economic and familial ties between regional oligarchs and Euro-American businessmen strengthened, and regional markets expanded, Californios became more autonomous. In the same manner in which the missions became self-sufficient

³⁶² For Stearns see Doris M. Wright, *A Yankee in Mexican California: Abel Stearns, 1798-1848* (Santa Barbara: W. Heberd, 1977); for Jonathan Temple see Paul R. Spitzzeri, *The Workman and Temple Families of Southern California, 1830-1930* (Dallas: Seligson Publishing Company, 2008).

³⁶³ William Hartnell, discussed in Chapter 1, also reflects Americans' use of the acculturation as a means of gaining social and economic power in California. His influence grew out of his connection with his father in law José de la Guerra, a prominent landowner in Santa Barbara. The cases of Stearns, Temple, and Hartnell show that Americans integrated themselves into Californio society in both the north and south.

³⁶⁴ The meaning and purpose of interethnic marriages depended on the social context in which they took place. Prior to the U.S period, Euro Americans' marriages to daughters of Californio elites brought them into a powerful social and economic network; they subsequently became prominent members in Californio society. For Californios these marriages helped expand their oligarchies, leaving land for subsequent generations of their families. In other words, marriage helped oligarchs expand their power. After the U.S-Mexico War, the politics of conquest redefined the meaning of these unions for Californios by helping them hold onto their lands as well as their political and social power.

during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, rancheros came to rely less on the economic power of the central government and more on their localized leadership. Californios' calls for political autonomy arose from their desire to gain control of premium mission lands, not out of a desire for complete dissolution of the relationship with Mexico. Despite the conflict and distrust between landed elites in northern and southern California, the landowning class benefited from Alvarado's regional administration because they gained control of the region's best lands through a vast number of land grants. Although the relationship between northern and southern Californio elites was tenuous at best, the fact that those involved formed part of a larger, regional oligarchy indicates that they negotiated a profitable middle ground. As naturalized Euro-Americans gained positions in Californio society and controlled large portions of land, wealthy Californios, such as Alvarado and Pico, soon recognized the danger posed by an increasing Euro-American population. Californios' anticipation and fear of growing American interest in the region led them to differentiate between their desire for a locally run government and their desire to remain part of the larger Mexican nation as a means of protecting themselves against foreign encroachment. Californios' response to the appointment of Brigadier General Manuel Micheltorena as California governor in 1842 exemplified their pragmatic national loyalty. In his 1877 *testimonio* Pico recalled Californios' suspicions about the newly appointed Micheltorena's political alliances and national loyalty:

En esta visita hizo el General varias observaciones que me hicieron sospechar de que tenía intención de hacer la independencia de este país en unión de Señor Sutter, con la mira de labrar así la felicidad de los habitantes. No pasó esto de ser una mera sospecha, pero que en aquel momento se apoderó de mi mismo, y me causó mucho desagrado, porque yo siempre había sostenido la integridad del territorio Mexicano. Además, estaba convencido que el país no poseía los elementos necesarios para ser independiente, y no tardaría mucho, si se separaba de México, en caer en manos de otra nación.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵Pico, *Narración Histórica*, 103-104. "During this visit the general made various observations that made me suspect that he had the intention to achieve the independence of this country [California] in union with Mr. Sutter,

In the passage above, Pico relates his suspicions regarding the new governor and his collaboration with American settler John Sutter. In 1841, then Governor Alvarado awarded Sutter, a naturalized Mexican citizen, a large land grant near present day Sacramento. Sutter took the 48,840 acre Nueva Helvecia grant and established a rest station and trading post he called Sutter's Fort.³⁶⁶ Reading Pico's statement, we can appreciate the ominous result of his suspicion; Pico worried of the inevitability of war with the U.S. and with the acceleration of the process if California separated from Mexico.³⁶⁷ Aside from illustrating prominent Californios' distrust of Micheltorena, Pico's statement speaks to the tenuousness of Californio identity during the 1840s. As argued by historian Douglas Monroy, these liberals and later federalists who emphasized their regional identity as hijos del país, in contrast to mexicanos, wanted to run their own *patria* without influence from the central government.³⁶⁸ They spoke of liberty and republicanism and yearned for their economic independence from the yoke of the archaic mission system. Their hopes were realized under Echeandía's secularization in the 1830s, but in the 1840s an outsider, suspected of not having the best interest of Mexico in mind, threatened their socio-political and

with the purpose of achieving the happiness of the inhabitants. This did not extend past a suspicion, but at that moment it took hold of me and caused me much displeasure, because I always had sustained the integrity of the Mexican territory. Besides, I was convinced that the country [California] did not possess the necessary elements to be independent, and it would not be long if separated from Mexico, that it would fall in the hands of another nation." Author's translation.

³⁶⁶ BANC MSS Land Case Files 319 ND, 34 ND, 416 ND, 417 ND. The name of the grant, Nueva Helvecia, or New Switzerland, reflects the origins its founder. Sutter, whose birth name was Johann Suter, was a Swiss immigrant who migrated to America in 1834 and California in 1839. Sutter became a Mexican citizen in 1841 and received his land grant that same year. For more on Sutter see Albert Hurtado, *John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

³⁶⁷ In recalling the story, Pico emphasized his suspicions about Micheltorena. It is difficult to tell whether his suspicion arose at the meeting of the two in Monterey in 1842 or if he aggrandized his suspicion later as he recalled the events in 1877 after seeing the results. Events that might have influenced Pico's recalled suspicion might have been Sutter's cooperation with Micheltorena against Alvarado's and Pico's forces in the rebellion of 1844-1845, or the outbreak of the U.S Mexico War and the discovery of Gold at Sutter Fort in the late 1840s. Both of these events prompted increased Euro-American migration and eventual takeover of Mexican territory.

³⁶⁸ Douglas Monroy, "The Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society," Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Richard J. Orsi eds. *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 180-181.

economic power. As seen in Pico's statement, his concern quickly changed from maintaining the integrity of the California territory to maintaining that of Mexican territory.

Similar to Pico, Alvarado, in his narrative detailing his turning over of power to Micheltorena, addressed the fear of imminent attack by the United States and the continued concern over regional control:

Yo bien veía que de un momento a otro los norte Americanos iban a atacarnos por mar y tierra, yo sabía cuales eran los recursos con que contaba el departamento y en vista de carecer nosotros de embarcaciones me consideré demasiado débil para competir contra cualquiera potencia marítima que deseara atacarnos...sin duda las autoridades mejicanas cuando nombraron al general Micheltorena gobernador de las Californias fué con la intención de humillar y lastimar nuestro amor propio, y, muy especialmente el mío.³⁶⁹

It is clear that although Alvarado worried about a possible U.S attack, he still resented the Mexican government's appointment of an outsider, and considered it a personal affront. Yet, in spite of his desires for regional autonomy, his concern for the integrity of Mexico's territorial borders was still present.

Despite landed elites' emphasis on a regional identity and their yearning for independence, most Californios knew that complete separation from Mexico meant imminent conquest by the United States and the decline of their political and social power. This knowledge, reflected in Pico's and Alvarado's narratives, indicate that notwithstanding Californios' emphasis on region, *patria chica*, and resentment of centralist attempt to control them, they still relied on *la patria grande* for a sense of regional security, national identity and wealth. Regardless of concerns over losing their regional security, Californios endured the

³⁶⁹ Alvarado, *Historia de California*, v.5, 17. "I saw well that from one moment to the next, the North Americans were going to attack us by sea and land, I knew what resources our department (region) could count on and in seeing what we lacked in ships I considered myself too weak to compete against any other naval force who sought to attack us... without a doubt that when the Mexican authorities named General Micheltorena governor of California it was with the intention to humiliate and hurt our love [for our country], and, especially mine." Author's translation.

political chaos of the late 1830s and 1840s to ensure that control and ownership of the land went to aspiring elites. Control of private property, trade with regional and foreign merchants, and political power assured these elites their optimal vision of land use and social status. Californios emphasized their regional identity and firmly rooted it in their vision of land use and its control. Secularization served as the vehicle for this vision, facilitating a process through which governors appointed “hijos del país as commissioners and mayordomos of the ex-mission lands to the great advantage of the Californios.”³⁷⁰ Alvarado’s gubernatorial term illustrates how this system functioned. Under his tenure, many Californios received generous land grants. Fears of the possibility that governors who were not Californios could potentially inhibit access to highly desired lands prompted many aspiring oligarchs’ continued resistance to appointed leadership. As seen above, although Micheltorena’s appointment met with some reservations, as governor he distributed a great deal of land to the very men who challenged his appointment. For instance, Micheltorena granted Juan Alvarado two significantly sized tracts of land: Rincón del Diablo in San Diego, estimated at 12,653 acres, and Mariposa in northern California, comprised of 44,387 acres.³⁷¹ This was a great deal of land for a man who questioned Micheltorena’s qualifications to deal with the military realities of the department.³⁷² Regardless of his personal feelings, the governor granted Alvarado the land.

Alvarado was amongst countless other hijos del país who despite their opposition to Micheltorena received access to land. Take for instance José Castro, a fervent regionalist who stood against outsiders’ appointment as regional leaders and supported California’s independence and autonomy. Castro, who despite his involvement in a revolt against Governor

³⁷⁰ Monroy, “The Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society,” 181.

³⁷¹ Rincón del Diablo and Mariposas respectively; BANC MSS Land Case Files 312SD; BANC MSS Land Case Files 1ND. From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, Index of the Spanish-Mexican Private Land Records and Cases of California, University of California Berkeley.

³⁷² Alvarado, *Historia de California*. v.5, 17.

Gutiérrez and having held a variety of political offices, received a grant for the 48,887-acre Del Rio Estanislao from Micheltorena in 1843.³⁷³ In spite of Micheltorena's grant, Castro stood by his political beliefs and participated in the move against the incumbent governor's leadership in 1844-1845. The distinguished Pico family, despite their dislike and suspicion of the governor, also benefitted from Micheltorena's land disbursement in a variety of ways. In 1843, Antonio María Pico, cousin of Pío Pico, received the 35,546-acre Pescador grant, located on the site of present-day Tracy, California.³⁷⁴ That same year, Micheltorena granted Californio José Antonio Carrillo an area totaling 62,696 acres on the Channel Islands off the coast of Santa Barbara.³⁷⁵ Carrillo, a one-time alcalde of Los Angeles, was a well-respected part of the Californio class through marriage and blood relations.³⁷⁶ Carrillo married two daughters of the prominent Pico family, first marrying Estefana Pico in 1823 and, after her death, marrying her sister Jacinta Pico in 1842.³⁷⁷ Carrillo's land grant supports my contention that land distributions were made despite political divisions. This regional outsider governor did not inhibit hijos del país from owning land, as they had feared. On the contrary, Micheltorena was the governor most identified with privatizing the majority of California's land during the 1840s. From these cases, we see that political disagreement did not survive the distribution of land. Under Micheltorena's administration, oligarchs such as the Picos, De la Guerras, Lugos, Carrillos, Castros, and Alvarados continued to gain land for themselves and their families, much as they had under the

³⁷³BANC MSS Land Case Files 413ND.

³⁷⁴BANC MSS Land Case Files 170ND.

³⁷⁵BANC MSS Land Case Files 56SD.

³⁷⁶ Pío Pico Inc. Pío Pico Genealogy Database. Accessed on November 20, 2011.

http://www.piopico.org/data_base/pafg13.htm#370; Carrillo's older sister married José de la Guerra y Noriega in 1804.

³⁷⁷ Carrillo married María Estefana Pico in June 1823. After her death, he married her younger sister Maria Jacinta Pico in February 1842. Pío Pico Inc. Pío Pico Genealogy Database. Accessed on November 20, 2011.

http://www.piopico.org/data_base/pafg05.htm#128 and http://www.piopico.org/data_base/pafg02.htm#11

regionally controlled leadership of Pío Pico in the 1830s and during Alvarado's tenure from 1836 to 1842.

In spite of California's tumultuous political environment during the 1830 and 1840s, political corruption, by outsiders and insiders alike, kept land in the hands of influential men, loyal ex-soldiers, politicians, and landed families. What kept these men tethered together was their desire for land and wealth. Increasingly, Californios interested in maximizing their socio-economic status in a growing merchant capitalist system sidelined their beliefs about regional leadership and autonomy. Suspicions about an impending American invasion, Euro-American landowners, or outside political leaders did not triumph over the desire for land and distinction within the California's rancho society.

During the 1830 and 1840s, prior to the U.S – Mexico War, Californios' desires for land ownership reflected visions of pastoral land use, a rancho society where wealth was not necessarily monetary wealth but represented through a racialized honor and material displays of affluence. It is within this context that El Rincón de San Pascual, carved out of Misión San Gabriel's premier lands, changed hands and its people negotiated their place and status within continuously changing social, economic, and cultural systems.

Mexican Land Policy, Secularization and San Pascual

At the time of secularization, the San Gabriel Mission lands consisted of twenty-four individual ranchos stretching from present-day Los Angeles to San Bernardino.³⁷⁸ After secularization, San Gabriel's lands were broken up into numerous, privately held ranchos, the main one being Rancho San Pascual, the focus of this study. Over the course of about 20 years,

³⁷⁸ James Miller Guinn, *A History of California and an Extended History of Los Angeles and its Environs* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1915), 460.

the initial San Pascual land grant to Juan Mariné changed hands numerous times, with the majority of it ending up in the control of Manuel Garfías. Garfías, along with other large landowners such as Abel Stearns and John Temple, held large portions of former mission lands and developed them into thriving centers of regional production. Prior to Mexico's enforcement of secularization, Congress passed the Colonization Acts of 1824 and the Supplemental Regulations of 1828, two laws defining the process and requirements for the issuance of private land grants. Together these laws, combined with the Secularization Act of 1833, formed the legal basis for the private rancho system, the former allowing for land grants and the latter opening the way to their full implementation.³⁷⁹ These laws required citizens awarded land grants to maintain and improve the land in order to preserve their title. Core requirements of cultivation and occupation were crucial to the retention of land grants and insured regional development and expansion of economic markets. Rancheros interested in meeting the requirements worked hard to develop their property.

Throughout the Mexican Northwest, Californios defended their land grants against claims of abandonment and neglect from other aspiring landowners interested in dispossessing landholders of their premium lands. Charges of neglect stemmed from a variety of reasons, but most commonly consisted of either physical neglect of the land or juridical neglect in the land grant process. Commonly, petitioners alleging physical neglect cited that a plot of land was in a state of deterioration (i.e. lack of cultivation or development) because of negligence. If upon review authorities verified these accusations petitioners received title to the land. In the case of judicial negligence, a grantee failed to follow the protocol set up to formally solidify the land

³⁷⁹ The Colonization Act and Supplemental Act, while allowing for issuing of private land grants did not allow for colonization of mission lands. The Secularization Act of 1833 removed mission lands from under the control of the missionaries and opened up the millions of acres land throughout Alta California.

grant.³⁸⁰ Failures to follow procedure often resulted from territorial governors' very irregular bureaucratic processes. These arbitrarily defined and implemented processes repeatedly opened grantees up to possible denunciation by a better-prepared petitioner. While land denunciations were common throughout the Mexican Northwest, records located for San Pascual pertaining to the 1830s indicate that petitioners' based their denouncements of San Pascual's lands on physical neglect. In the period from 1833 to 1846, there were two denunciations lodged against owners of San Pascual; both claimed abandonment and failure to develop the land.³⁸¹ These denouncements came from parties wishing to dispossess the original grantees, Juan Mariné and Eulalia Pérez, of their premium lands and place them in the hands of a well-established network of landed oligarchs. As we will see, the process of secularization kept San Pascual in the hands of landed men. Those who stood in the way of economic progress and the optimal vision of land use were usually defined as cultural outsiders and kept from reaping the benefits of a civilized society. The Tongva Indians whose labor built the mission and sustained the regional economy would be left landless and alienated from this new vision; they would be relegated to the lowest levels of California society.

As San Gabriel Mission's priests realized that secularization was imminent, they moved to secure land for their neophyte Indians. From their earliest establishment, missionaries were intended to hold the land in trust for their Indian wards. The triumph of liberalist politics that viewed the missions as archaic colonial institutions threatened missionaries with the loss of their vast land holdings. Throughout California, missionaries challenged secularization on the basis that they wanted to ensure that land went to mission Indians, not to Californios. Missionaries

³⁸⁰ A detailed discussion of land grant procedures can be found in David Hornbeck, "Land Tenure and Rancho Expansion in Alta California, 1784-1846," *Journal of Historical Geography* 4, no. 4 (Oct., 1978): 371-390.

³⁸¹ Documents can be found in the Spanish Mexican Land Grants Index, California State Archives. File number are as follows: Pérez and Enrique Sépulveda and Garfías, V3 326 Exp211, V7 321 unclass Exp 77, V7 369 unclass Exp 77, v3 20 Exp. 157. V3 20 Exp. 157; Gallardo and Villa, V3 596 Exp 258.

believed that giving land to neophytes allowed the priests to continue grazing mission cattle and to establish villages on mission lands. Mission priests' maneuverings against secularization illustrate their vision of land use and reflect their continued socio-cultural aim for the region. While the Franciscans' protests against private land distribution may very well have reflected their sincere attempts to help and protect their charges after secularization, their intentions had tremendous political implications. By insisting on the distribution of lands to mission Indians, mission priests attempted to maintain an indirect hold on their lands and the regional economy, because they knew that whoever controlled Indian labor controlled the economy. Although the growth of liberalism had imbued many Indians with a sense of independence, individuality, and autonomy, missionaries believed that neophytes would remain loyal to them. Within this context, Franciscans found themselves in a political and social climate that embraced land privatization and secular authority, an atmosphere that severely obstructed missionaries' attempts to preserve their role in Alta California.

In her testimonio, Eulalia Pérez, San Gabriel's llavera, recounted the day Captain Barroso arrived at the mission and roused the Indians to revolt by telling them that they were no longer mission neophytes but free men and women. San Gabriel's Indians reacted to Barrosa's news with disloyalty and violence against head priest, Father Sánchez. The Indians surrounded the mission and established a mission guard. When Father Sánchez attempted to leave the mission to administer mass in Los Angeles, the Indian guard confronted him and promptly cut the reins on his horses. In response to the attack, Sánchez jumped off the coach, and the Indians violently dragged him to his quarters.³⁸² The neophytes' response illustrated missionaries' tenuous control

³⁸² [José María] Claudio López, was the mayordomo at San Gabriel from 1803 to 1833. López was well known for his harsh treatment of Indian labor. It is believed that his mistreatment often contributed to increased escapism and Indian hostilities. López, was born to españoles Jose Ignacio López and Maria Facunda de Mora in 1767 Real de San Antonio in Baja California. In 1789, at the age of twenty-one, he married eleven year old Luisa María Cota at

over their indigenous charges; their quick embracing of emancipation points to their dissatisfaction with missionaries as well as their awareness of liberalist ideas permeating Californio society. Aside from providing a valuable recounting of la indiada's response to emancipation, Pérez's narrative also conveys a symbolic ending to mechanisms and institutions of the mission era. Pérez described the deaths of Padre José Sánchez and that of Claudio López, mayordomo of Misión San Gabriel:

He [Sánchez] full of despair and sadness over what the Indians had done recused himself to his room for eight days. He fell ill and he was never again the man he once was. His ears exploded with blood- the pain in his head did not cease until he died; after the incident with the Indians, he lived less than one month, and died in January of 1833.in that same year, a few days after *el padre* [Sánchez], Claudio López, who had been the mayordomo of the mission for about thirty years, also died.³⁸³

The deaths of these two men, both of whom held tremendous power and control over mission neophytes at the time of secularization, reveal much about the changing dynamics of power. The deaths of Sánchez and López symbolized the death of mission's old guard, the Franciscan Order in Alta California and their self-appointed civilian leadership. Ironically, the deaths of these men coincided with the triumph of liberalism, secularization, and the growing power of aspiring oligarchs in the region.

the San Gabriel Mission. The 1790 census has López and his wife listed as españoles at San Diego, although their matrimonial investigation lists them as *naturals* de California, from San Diego and Los Angeles, respectively. He and his wife are mentioned in Eulalia Pérez's *testimonio* on several occasions. For Matrimonial Investigation see, *José María Claudio López and Luisa María Cota*, Matrimonial Investigation Records of the San Gabriel Mission, Claremont Colleges Digital Library, accessed on December 28, 2011.

<http://ccdlib.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/mir&CISOPTR=53&REC=4>

For the 1790 Census see William Mason's *The Census of 1790, A Demographic History of California* (Novato, California: Ballena Press, 1998), 75-105. For Pérez's *testimonio* see Eulalia Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos dictados ... a la edad avanzada de 139 años* (San Gabriel, California). Ms. (BANC MSS C-D 116, 14-18). From the Collection of The Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

³⁸³ Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos*, 15. Author's translation.

In order to realize their vision of land use, Californios needed to appropriate Indian labor and loyalty. Recognizing the connection between labor and economic stability, they strove for a secularization policy that ended missionaries' control over Indians and optimized commercial trade. In her discussion of land distribution policy and former mission neophytes, historian Lisbeth Haas found tremendous differences between federal and California secularization policy. Haas states that according to federal secularization and emancipation law, which was devised to encourage colonization of the California territory, "mission lands were to be divided amongst the following groups: former neophytes and other Indians; soldiers in the garrisons of California to whom the federal government owed pay; Mexican residents of California who owned less than the minimum acreage allotted under the secularization plan; Mexican and foreign families who emigrated to California; entrepreneurs who brought people into the territory; and convicts who completed their terms of imprisonment in California and wished to stay."³⁸⁴ It is evident from this law, although it never passed, that the federal government intended former mission lands to be distributed to a variety of people, not solely placed into the hands of a few landed men. This, however, did not sit well with Californios who resented centralized government and wanted to ensure that land distribution would benefit local men and not immigrants.³⁸⁵

In opposition to the federal law, Haas found that the California territorial deputation "enabled only Indians, rather than the region's soldiers, settlers, or recent immigrants, to receive mission lands and goods."³⁸⁶ Only Indians could live in mission pueblos, and to meet this end, the deputation distributed two plots of land to heads of households and all adult neophyte men over age twenty-one; additionally they were given a portion of mission cattle, other livestock and

³⁸⁴ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 35.

³⁸⁵ The concern over Mexican immigrant settlers stemmed from the Hajar –Padres Colony planned for 1834. Californios feared losing lands to these settlers.

³⁸⁶ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 35.

tools. This land was not to be sold and upon the neophyte's death, it was to revert to the public domain.³⁸⁷ The deputation's actions allowed Californios to direct neophytes' access to land and controlled their labor by ensuring Indians worked their land allotments. Californios solidified their claims to mission lands and rationalized calls for secularization by linking land ownership and freedom to the mission Indian population.

In the mission period, the Indian population built the wealth of the missions but did not enjoy the fruits of their labor due to the archaic mission system. Similarly, Californios, the *hijos / naturales de país*, saw their own freedom limited by the same archaic system. Aspiring oligarchs and politicians created a free identity for neophytes in order to challenge the mission system and shift Indian loyalties to the state rather than the mission. Eulalia Pérez's testimonio indicates that this was somewhat successful. Despite Californios' promises of land and a political voice for mission neophytes, as secularization continued and a solid Californio identity emerged they increasingly re-articulated Franciscans' paternalistic attitudes and a racially based hierarchy. As a means of placing themselves at the top of cultural hierarchy, which denied newly freed neophytes land and solidified their social inferiority through their relationship to the land, prominent Californios repeatedly traced their familial roots in the region to mission itself. Placing their origins within the San Gabriel Mission walls helped define them as natives or *naturales* of the land and legitimated their claims to the secularized mission lands.

For Indians, implementation of secularization and emancipation policy often resulted in landlessness, poverty, and coerced labor. Although some Indians who petitioned for ex-mission lands did receive plots, most Indian requests for land were denied. Anthropologist Martha Menchaca found that out of forty-one rancho patents issued to Indians only twenty-nine of them

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 35.

were comprised of mission lands.³⁸⁸ Most Indian-owned ranches founded on mission lands were located in the areas between San Diego and San Luis Obispo. In addition to ranches, Christian Indians established thirteen villages in southern California. Only four of these villages, located on secularized lands of the San Juan Capistrano Mission, received patents.³⁸⁹ Despite liberal claims of Indian emancipation and equality, only small numbers of native people received the land allotments promised by secularization. Due to governmental restrictions set forth in the Secularization Act that forbade Indians from selling or transferring their lands, Indians were very rarely able to obtain titles and clear ownership of their allotments.³⁹⁰ After emancipation, the majority of Indians often found themselves without land and forced to negotiate their survival in the quickly emerging rancho system. Similar to the role they served in the missions, Indians comprised the work force for the rancho economy.

During the period between secularization and the advent of the U.S-Mexico War, recognized as the height of the rancho era, several well-respected, prominent *Californio* families divided millions of acres of ex-mission lands amongst themselves. Some of the largest land grants went to men from families such as the Picos, Yorbas, De La Guerras, Lugos, Bandinis, and Sepúlvedas;³⁹¹ most of whom had long social, political, economic, and historical roots in the region. By the coming of the U.S – Mexico War in 1846, these and other well-known families controlled most of California’s land. According to Hackell, “overall, some ten million acres of land, or 10 percent of the surface area of present-day California had passed into private hands.”³⁹² The general pattern of land distribution in California did not differ in the San Gabriel

³⁸⁸ Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 206.

³⁸⁹ Menchaca, *Recovering History*, 206-207; Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 39.

³⁹⁰ Hackell, *Children of Coyote*, 398.

³⁹¹ Monroy, “The Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society,” 182.

³⁹² Hackell, *Children of Coyote*, 389.

region; premium ex-mission land in the San Gabriel region often went to prominent Californios in the region. Looking at the way in which Rancho San Pascual changed hands during the Mexican era illustrates how land ownership in California was part of a larger oligarchic system, a system founded on socio-cultural and economic hierarchies that kept the land in the hands of deserving gente de razón. Land ownership, one of the liberal tenets supporting secularization, was synonymous with freedom; in California's emerging merchant capitalist environment this translated into economic power and freedom for aspiring Californio elites, not Indians. Distribution of San Gabriel's lands reflected racialized visions of land use and maintained the racial hierarchy by keeping undeserving parties from benefiting from land privatization.

Pérez and Mariné and El Rincón de San Pascual

Rancho San Pascual, comprised of approximately 14,000 acres of premier lands surrounding Mission San Gabriel, was one of the largest land allotments resulting from secularization. The rancho's vast acreage and its accompanying livestock and vineyards were some of the mission's most productive and profitable possessions. Mission secularization in 1833 was supposed to make these highly coveted mission lands available to secular parties; following the order, petitions for mission lands increased throughout Alta California. The land craze engendered through secularization did not occur in San Gabriel the same way it did in other mission areas. At secularization, mission priests distributed San Gabriel's mission lands to Spanish Army Lieutenant Juan Mariné, an allotment whose origins and details, as we will see later in this chapter, are still widely debated.³⁹³ Similar to the way missionaries' control of the land kept local settlers from gaining access to it during the mission era, Mariné's ownership posed an obstacle to local settlers' opportunities to develop the land. In San Gabriel, requests for

³⁹³Historical records contain several variations of Juan Mariné's last name, for example, Mariné, Marin, and Mariner.

land parcels did not begin in earnest until after Mariné died and his heirs sold San Pascual in 1836. The sale of the land completed what secularization had started. By giving land to this loyal former soldier in gratitude for his service, missionaries attempted to control what happened to their lands after secularization. Although missionaries had no direct say in how Mariné used the land, the fact that they gave it to him indicates their last challenge to secularization. In other words, giving the land to a person they had hand-picked allowed missionaries to keep the land, at least for the time being, out of the hands of those who wanted it the most. Pasadena historians such as J.W. Wood understated the importance of Mariné's land grant because he did not develop the land in any significant way and it was sold after his death.³⁹⁴ Despite the outcome of the land grant, this land allotment speaks to the contestation of power over secularization and provides a glimpse into the dynamics present in society during that historical moment.

Local folklorists such as J.W. Wood state that Rancho San Pascual took its name from the fact that mission priests made the grant on Easter Sunday in 1833.³⁹⁵ Historian James Guinn argues that the Rancho's name gains its significance from the baptismal name of Chief Hahamov, the Indian leader of the Hahamog'na band of the Tongva who encountered Portolá's expedition in the Arroyo Seco.³⁹⁶ Regardless of the origin and significance of the name, both stories utilize religion, mainly the rebirth of Christ on Easter or the spiritual rebirth of Hahamov as a Christian, to name the site. The vision of land here is quite clear; both naming stories solidify the fact that this land was now Christian. The presence of both the past conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity through the work of the missions, and the observance of the Easter holiday at the time of the allotment, symbolically represent the successful

³⁹⁴ J.W. Wood, *Pasadena, California, Historical and Personal* (Pasadena: J.W. Wood, 1917), 30.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁹⁶ J.M Guinn, *A History of California and an Extended History of its Southern Coast Counties* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1907), 384.

establishment of Christianity in the region. This bridges the missionaries' historical presence in the region and the results of their work. Despite the fact that the San Gabriel Mission was secularized and religious missionaries relieved of their duties and land, their impact was still recognized and the historical narrative acknowledged the socio-cultural importance of Christianity to regional settlement.³⁹⁷

Officially, the Mexican Governor of California deeded this fruitful and highly coveted land to Juan Mariné in August of 1835.³⁹⁸ While this is not in dispute, as there are plenty of governmental documents to support the award, the assumption that Mariné was the intended grantee does remain in question. Popular Pasadena history and local folklore show that in 1827, years before the implementation of the Secularization Order, mission priests designated *llavera* Eulalia Pérez as the grantee of El Rincón de Rancho San Pascual.³⁹⁹ Local folk historians such as Hiram Reid and J.W. Wood contend that mission priests gave the land to Pérez as a way of thanking her for her many years of devoted service to the mission.⁴⁰⁰ Despite the story's popularity, this claim is a point of contention because there are no governmental documents, aside from Pérez's will, that substantiate it. In 1907, Guinn dismissed this narrative as Reid's romanticization of the story and argued that many simply believed it based on "Dr. Reid's say so," without any real proof.⁴⁰¹ Guinn argues that because mission lands belonged to the government, mission priests did not have the authority to deed it to anyone. Although Guinn makes a valid point, the fact that missionaries believed that they could give away the land, officially or unofficially, to Pérez, illustrates their perceived ownership and control of the land.

³⁹⁷ This connection to the mission was not uncommon; various Californios' testimonios discuss the importance of the Mission and its work.

³⁹⁸ Juan Mariner, Expediente Sobre el paraje nombrado Rincon de San Pascual, Solicitado por Don Juan Mariner, V2 236 Exp 237. California State Archives, Spanish Mexican Land Grants.

³⁹⁹ Wood, *Pasadena*, 31.

⁴⁰⁰ Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena* (Pasadena: Pasadena History Co., 1895), 62; Wood, *Pasadena*, 30-31.

⁴⁰¹ Guinn, *A History of California*, 384.

Wood argues that as mission secularization approached and mission priests foresaw their loss of land, they encouraged Pérez to marry Mariné because they believed that her being a widow lessened her ability to own land.⁴⁰² In her testimonio Pérez relates Father Sánchez's insistence that she marry Lieutenant Juan Mariné. Sánchez insisted that Mariné, a widower with a family, was a man of good character. Despite his Mariné's positive qualities, Pérez did not want to marry, "no quería casarme," she stated. Ultimately, because of Pérez's deep-rooted feelings of loyalty, respect, and appreciation for the priest whom she regarded as "padre y madre," she acquiesced to his demands and married Mariné.⁴⁰³

Popular retellings of the story state that marriage between Pérez and Mariné allowed her to receive title to San Pascual.⁴⁰⁴ The basis for these stories is the belief that Pérez could not own land because she was a woman; however, the accuracy of these claims is debatable. Historians Deena J. González and Miroslava Chávez-García have shown, in their work on Mexican women's wills and marriage rights, that after marriage Spanish and Mexican law allowed women to keep their family names and to own land under their names, even though their husbands often administered it.⁴⁰⁵ Keeping within the law, Pérez directly referenced the San Pascual allotment in her testimonio and indicated that although the priests gave it to her, it was Mariné who administered it.

El Padre Sánchez, además de haberme mantenido a mi y a todas mis hijas hasta que se casaron, me dió dos ranchos- mas bien, tierra para un rancho y para una huerta...Cuando me entregó la tierra ya estaba yo casada con Juan Mariné. Después el no me entregó mas que la mitad de la tierra y se quedó con la otra mitad.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Wood, *Pasadena*, 30-32.

⁴⁰³ Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos*, 13).

⁴⁰⁴ William Wilcox Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 82.

⁴⁰⁵ Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Miroslava Chávez- García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770-1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006).

⁴⁰⁶ Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos*, 128). "Aside from having supported me and all of my daughters until they were married, Father Sánchez gave me two ranchos, better yet, land for a ranch and one for an orchard....when he

This testimonio clearly illustrates that Pérez was married when she received the land. Because her marriage to Mariné occurred before she received the land, the argument that her marriage to Mariné was a stipulation in obtaining the land is not tenable, but it may explain why there is no governmental record of her ownership. As González found in her study of New Mexico, “women did not surrender their property in marriage; property was defined and protected in the context of a relationship sanctioned by the church and the state, a relationship, in other words, that served men.”⁴⁰⁷ This means that mission priests might have encouraged Pérez’s marriage to Mariné as a way of protecting the property and not necessarily as a condition of her acquiring the land. If this is the case, Pérez’s marriage to Mariné allowed him access to her land. Despite women’s ability to own land, Pérez seems to have never officially petitioned for San Pascual in her own right, as the custom was that legal documents and proceedings were men’s arenas.⁴⁰⁸ Mariné’s public title to the land allowed him complete control of it. Although Pérez was entitled, both legally and culturally, to all of the land, Mariné only gave her half and kept the rest for himself. Mariné’s action was well within the law because Pérez did not have official claim to the land; by giving Pérez only half of San Pascual’s lands, Mariné essentially dispossessed her of the rest. In her testimonio, Pérez did not explicitly indict Mariné for his unjust actions, but did imply that she regarded him as an avaricious man. Pérez related that Mariné “tenía alguna fortuna en dinero, pero nunca me dio posesión de la caja,”⁴⁰⁹ indicating that Mariné was a man of means but never shared his wealth with her. Pérez’s testimonio reflects the gendered dynamics present

gave me the land, I was already married to Juan Mariné. After [getting married] he [Mariné] only gave me half of the lands and kept the other half.” Author’s translation.

⁴⁰⁷ González, *Refusing the Favor*, 22.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 22, 93. González argues that the Laws of Toro of 1369 gave women the right to defend their inheritances, property, and goods brought into or acquired during their marriage. Husbands were to keep protect and preserve women’s estates.

⁴⁰⁹ Pérez, *Una vieja y sus recuerdos*, 13. “Pérez related that Mariné had some money, but never gave me possession of the [cash] box.” Author’s translation.

in land ownership and marriage by showing that, although women did hold certain rights within the society, they could only exercise those rights at the discretion of their husbands. Using patriarchal control to restrict Pérez's command of the land and limiting her economic means allowed Mariné to build his social status as an honorable, landed man.

In 1833, Juan Mariné solicited the regional government for official title to San Pascual. The solicitation did not contain any reference to Pérez or her allotment by the mission priests, but instead named him as the sole interested party. By claiming San Pascual for himself, Mariné exerted patriarchal control over the land and rendered Pérez invisible, removing any legal claim she may have had to the land. At the time, because legal documents and proceedings were men's domain, Pérez was officially separated from her land in the governmental records, but her testimonio detailed how mission priests awarded her San Pascual. A comparison of Pérez's testimonio and Mariné's solicitation provide a glimpse at the role gender dynamics played in nineteenth-century California land claims. Below are passages from Pérez's testimonio and Mariné's solicitation from the expediente for San Pascual. Pérez asserted:

para darmelos [tierra para un rancho y para una huerta], juntó toda la indiada en el Colegio- el Padre Zalvidea les habló en su lengua, y les preguntó si quisiéran darme ese terreno para huerta y para rancho, por que yo los habia cuidado y atendido siempre- que los que querian levantaran la mano. Toda la indiada a una levantó las manos, diciendo que sí querían.⁴¹⁰

Mariné's solicitation stated:

Juan Mariner teniente retirado de artillería de Departamento de Mejico en la Alta California, y avecindado en la Misión de San Gabriel y por haber tenido la desgracia de averme llevado la inundación que hubo en el año de 1831 una huerta que tenia en el pueblo de Los Angeles, pase a la Mision de San Gabriel con el Reverendo Padre Sánchez, para que me hiciera favor de darme un

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 28. "To grant them [land for a ranch and a huerta] to me, Father Zalvidea gathered all the mission Indians and addressing them in their language he asked them if they wanted to give me the land for an orchard and a rancho, because I had always cared for and attended them- he directed those who did to raise their hands. All of the neophytes raised their hands at once, indicating that they did." Author's translation.

pedas[z]o de tierra, para sembrar, y fabricar casa y un sitio, para tener, mi ganado. Lo cual se hizo una junta de los alcaldes...[en] la junta dijieron los alcaldes, que estaba bueno [y] que si me lo darían, y les dijo el padre que no era para un año o dos, sinó que para siempre, pues todos respondieron, que estaba bueno, pués luego tomaron providencia de medir las tierras y darme el sitio, para tener el ganado llamandose el Rincón de San Pascual, con tres leguas en contorno.⁴¹¹

In his solicitation, Mariné set himself up as a deserving member of the community, qualified for the land as a citizen of the territory, a distinguished soldier, and a person of good character.

Together these attributes embodied Californio masculinity and qualified him for land. After citing the loss of his land in El Pueblo de Los Angeles, because of a flood, Mariné explained that he had asked Father Sánchez for land. Both the Pérez testimonio and the Mariné statement describe Sanchez's congregation of Indians to ask permission to distribute the land to them. The fact that both mention the meeting indicates that it did happen. The question that arises from this commonality is whether it happened to Pérez or to Mariné. It is easy to dismiss Pérez's discussion of the meeting in her testimonio because historians often rely on official documents to determine accuracy and credibility. The fact that Mariné's claim is part of official record and not personal memoir validates his relation of the story. It is possible that Mariné co-opted the story from Pérez and used it to legitimize his claim for the land. The fact that Mariné's version is present in the expedientes helps to erase Pérez from the historical record pertaining to ownership

⁴¹¹ Juan Mariner, Expediente Sobre el paraje nombrado Rincón de San Pascual, Solicitado por Don Juan Mariner, V2 236. Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. "Juan Mariner retired lieutenant of the Mexican artillery in Alta California, and resident of the San Gabriel Mission and having had the misfortune of losing my orchard in Los Angeles during the flood of 1831, I went to the San Gabriel Mission and spoke with Reverend Father Sánchez, so he could do me a favor and give me a piece of land to cultivate, construct a house, and graze livestock. Upon this request he organized a group of [Indian] alcaldes...the alcaldes stated that it would be done and they would give it [land] to me, Father Sánchez told them that it was not for one or two years but forever; they all responded, that it was good, later they took to measuring the lands and gave me the site measuring three leagues, called el Rincon San Pascual on which to graze livestock." Author's translation.

of San Pascual. Pérez did not appear in the public records relating to San Pascual until Mariné's death in 1836 made her a widow for a second time and she lost claim to his land.

The gender dynamics described above present only part of how Mariné successfully received the land allotment. In keeping with the established racialized vision of land use, it is clear through the expedientes that ethnic, cultural and social identities were also major factors in qualifying Mariné for the land. In the original solicitation for the land, dated July 15, 1833, Mariné defined himself as a “teniente retirado de artillería del Departamento de Méjico en Alta California y avecindado en la Misión de San Gabriel.”⁴¹² By defining himself as a former military officer and vecino, he situated himself within the socio-cultural hierarchy. As discussed earlier in this work in reference to the Pico brothers, commission as a military officer often served as a means to gain social and cultural status as an Español. Although Mariné does not explicitly identify his racial classification, his status as a teniente, or lieutenant, implied that he was an Español. Witness testimony provided on his behalf explicitly identified him as an Español. On January 8, 1834 at the direction of the Jefe Político, Mariné produced two witnesses, Máximo Alamos and José Manuel Silva, who attested to his social and racial status. Both witnesses were identified as Mexican citizens and vecinos del Pueblo de Los Angeles. The two witnesses attested that Juan Mariné was an Español from Catalunya [Catalonia], who was married to an hija del país, with whom he had a large family. They stated that they had met Mariné while they served in the military.⁴¹³

⁴¹² Juan Mariner, 15 de Julio de 1833, Expediente Sobre el paraje nombrado Rincón de San Pascual, Solicitado por Don Juan Mariner, V2 236, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. “Retired artillery lieutenant of the Department of Mexico in Alta California and resident of the San Gabriel Mission.” Author’s translation.

⁴¹³ Juan Mariner, Diciembre 28 de 1833, Expediente Sobre el paraje nombrado Rincón de San Pascual, Solicitado por Don Juan Mariner, V2 236, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

This testimony contains several important points that helped Mariné obtain San Pascual but also provides a view of politics and culture in the land grant process and Alta California society. Mariné is first identified as an Español by birth; then a statement that connects him to an hija del país, a daughter of the land, immediately follows. Although this seems to be routine information one would provide in testimony attesting to a person's character, the language used to describe Mariné holds tremendous significance. As an Español by birth, Mariné held a high social status during the colonial period. In post-independence Alta California, when aspiring oligarchs claimed land as part of their birthright as naturales and hijos de país, a Spanish nationality did not hold the same significance it once had. By immediately connecting Mariné to an hija del país and mentioning his establishment of a family with her, witness testimony solidified his deep roots in Alta California. It must be noted that although it was Mariné's marriage to Pérez that gave him claim to the land, the testimony emphasized his first marriage to Maria Antonia Sepúlveda, not his subsequent marriage to Pérez. Mariné's marriage to the daughter of distinguished Californio Francisco Xavier Sepúlveda linked him to the regional elite and gave him cultural legitimacy.

In their testimony, Alamos and Silva discussed Mariné's loyal military service. Emphasis on military service in land solicitation was common because it supplemented their claims to land. Secularization policy stipulated that ex-military were to be awarded land allotments, and as a result, many ex-military men received land grants throughout Alta California. While common practice in many expedientes, discussion of Mariné's military career served the purpose of presenting him as a loyal Mexican committed to the republic and to Alta California. With these words, witnesses helped remove the stigma connected to Mariné's nationality and better qualified him to obtain land. On May 6, 1834, the regional governor granted Mariné Rancho San Pascual.

In accordance with secularization policy, Mariné's land grant came with several provisions specifying his rights and responsibilities pertaining to the land. The provisions called for the productive development of the 2,214 acres of land. Within one year, Mariné was to establish a homestead, maintain a mill, and plant fruit trees and other useful plants. The provisions recognized Mariné as the sole owner of the land and stated that he could enjoy and develop it without any impediment. Despite incorporation of the notion of private ownership, a tenet of liberalism, we see that Mariné and his heirs were restricted from dividing the land from its original form, mortgaging the land, and using it as part of legal or financial proceeding regardless of the situation. The government used these provisions to ensure that San Pascual's owner developed the land in a timely manner. Stipulations in the San Pascual land grant, as in others, stated that if the land owner violated any of these clauses another more suitable petitioner could denounce the land.⁴¹⁴

This provisional grant, not unlike others comprised of ex-mission lands, reflects larger societal ideals and values for land use. Although the development of viable crops and the establishment of a private homestead demarcated by fences and boundaries were part of broader, federal land requirements, the manifestation of these requirements in Alta California reflect post-secularization Californios' racialized visions of land use. A private homestead, set up by a vecino, a term reflective of a racial, ethnic and class status, was to many the foundation of a civilized society. This was not unlike the visions held by missionaries and early pobladores during the early mission era. Early on, because many did not want to settle in such a distant region, missionaries attempted to establish a civilized Spanish society amongst the region's indigenous population. Missionaries attempted to impress Spanish cultural identity onto mission neophytes through religion, discipline, and labor that tied them to the land; to the Franciscans, this assimilation meant

⁴¹⁴ Juan Mariner, Diciembre 28 de 1833, Expediente Sobre el paraje nombrado Rincón de San Pascual, Solicitado por Don Juan Mariner, V2 236, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

civilization and a move towards establishing Spanish society on the fringes of New Spain's frontier. In the post-secularization period, Californios, through racialized, classed, and regionally based land requirements, attempted to establish their view of a civilized society in the outskirts of the Mexican Republic. The difference lay in the political, social, and economic factors of each of the periods. By the 1830s, pobladores had become Californios, determined to implement their vision of society. As exemplified in land allotments after 1836, *vecinos* applied for land grants around in the San Gabriel region, including San Pascual, citing it as crucial for their "mantenimiento personal y de su[s] familia[s]." ⁴¹⁵ This phrase emphasizes the cultural importance of establishing permanent homesteads in San Gabriel--homesteads belonging to *vecinos* and *hijos del país* who had the wealth to develop the land.

By requiring original grantees or denouncing parties to show their economic potential to develop awarded plots into productive acreage, land grant requirements tied economic wealth and stability to land distribution. Increasingly, grant denouncements cited landowners' "lack of means to cultivate land" or a "petitioner's sufficient means to do so [cultivate land]," indicating, indirectly at least, the importance wealth played in land ownership. ⁴¹⁶ The strategy of basing land challenges on neglect prompted many *rancheros* to funnel money into their properties, lest they be accused of abandonment or worse, of poverty. Landowners such as Manuel Garfias built elaborate ranch houses and estates in order to maintain appearances of wealth and luxury. ⁴¹⁷ This maintenance requirement was at the core of Californios' visions of land use. Requiring that land grantees maintain and improve the land created a thriving rancho economy, but it also had

⁴¹⁵ This phrase was part of the official / formal format of petitions for land allotments. It is present at the beginning of Mexican expediente files relating to San Pascual. "For their personal maintenance and that of their family." Author's translation.

⁴¹⁶ Many of the land case files discussed in this chapter utilize this language in either contesting or responding to a land claim.

⁴¹⁷ This was the basis of Californio material culture and was inextricably linked with land ownership and labor. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

broader social and cultural implications. In attempts to uphold their land grants, rancheros created and emphasized a socio-cultural identity based on land ownership, labor designation, and whiteness. The convergence of these factors worked together to create San Pascual's societal boundaries. Californios, through social ritual and symbolism, mainly the display of material wealth, subordinated the lower classes in an attempt to exert and maintain an outward appearance of power and control. Grantees who failed to upkeep the land, or at least outwardly reflect their good fortune and ability to maintain the land, found themselves giving up their titles; San Pascual's story follows this common trajectory. Visions of land use premised on creating and developing productive land eventually dispossessed the original grantee of land, placing it into the avaricious hands of aspiring elites.

San Pascual Changes Hands: Sale of Rancho San Pascual

Two years after Mariné received the grant for San Pascual's vast acreage, the land stood vacant and abandoned, boasting nothing but a run-down shack and some livestock. Mariné's failure to develop the land violated his provisional land grant and left him open to denouncement, but he died before that could happen. Upon Mariné's death in 1836, his heirs, the five children from his marriage to María Sepúlveda (Fruto, Filomeno, Rafaela, Candelaria, y María Antonia), held legal title to San Pascual.⁴¹⁸ In April 1836, Fruto, Mariné's eldest son, sold half of San Pascual to José Pérez on the premise that because he was an active soldier he did not have the time to maintain the land. Included in the sale were:

Pastures, watering places, lumber, streams; uses, privileges and rights or any other appendages there unto belonging; four brindle horses, two double rein horses, ten heads of cattle.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Eulalia Pérez requested a portion of the land in 1840 after the land was granted to José Pérez.

⁴¹⁹ Fruto Mariner, Vol:A-1053-1058 Los Angeles County Prefecture Records, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California; English Translation

Having no desire to keep any portion of San Pascual, his siblings acquiesced to the sale and Fruto relinquished their ownership and control of the land:

From today [April 3, 1836], forever, relinquishes, desists, acquits, and withdraws, himself, his heirs, and successors from the domain, ownership, title; possession, right, recourse or other interests to the said property [San Pascual].⁴²⁰

Fruto Mariné's sale of San Pascual allowed the family to maintain its social status by avoiding a denouncement of the title, and opened up San Pascual's remaining acreage for settlement. Over the course of the next few years, men connected to some of the most prominent Californio families worked to get their hands on this premium land.

As Alta California's hierarchal land-based economy grew, the San Gabriel and Los Angeles region witnessed the growth of a rancho society where men sought to gain control of vast tracts of land and the honor that came with being a large landholder. During the twelve years before the American conquest, José Pérez, Enrique Sepúlveda, and Manuel Garfias vied for ownership and control of Rancho San Pascual's rich lands. San Pascual's change of ownership over the course of these years revealed two things about the men and the society to which they belonged. First, land documents pertaining to San Pascual reflect that Californios' status and eligibility for land stemmed from their wealth, or their perceived wealth. This meant that landowners constructed, maintained, or lost their social distinction through their livestock, vineyards and the land itself. Secondly, we see how racialized gender and masculinity affected men's attempts to gain access to San Pascual. Throughout the documents, we see that for Californio men, dominant masculinity required them to provide for their families, control their women, and be "hombres de bien," or honorable men of means. Both show that in Alta

⁴²⁰ Mariner, Vol: A-1053-1058, Los Angeles County Prefecture Records.

California's land-based economy, ethnicity, masculinity, class, and land ownership were linked to societal honor, distinction, and status.

A Californio's masculinity and honor depended on his ability to successfully claim and hold his land, fending off potential interlopers. Juan Mariné's death and the subsequent sale of Rancho San Pascual brought José Pérez, Enrique Sepúlveda, and Manuel Garfias into a competition in which each man attempted to distinguish himself through this one parcel of land. Each man, socially and politically respected in his own right, experienced land politics in similar ways; each gained title to San Pascual thorough denunciation and each lost the land because of economic denunciation / mismanagement. Although economic denouncements were common in Alta California during the 1840s, the story told through these documents indicates how a person's status could quickly change and how one's honor was easily questioned.

Owners of highly desired lands such as San Pascual needed to be wary of people who established themselves near their ranchos' boundaries only to then attempt to claim a portion of the land for themselves. José Pérez, who purchased a portion of San Pascual from Fruto Mariné, found keeping the land more difficult than obtaining it. In 1838, Pérez faced a small-scale challenge from vecino Francisco Villa's petition for 1,000 varas at the northwestern point of Pérez's San Pascual.⁴²¹ Villa, a retired soldier who had served at Santa Barbara and San Gabriel, premised his appeal to the governor on his years of service and sacrifice to the missions. Furthermore, Villa contended that Pérez had given him permission to develop the land as his own and establish "a ranchito," and that he had since cultivated the land and established a

⁴²¹ Francisco Villa, V3 596- 59, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. The Spanish vara, literally meaning rod, was the most commonly used lineal measurement in Alta California. Cordeleros, land surveyors, used it to determine the length of the cordel or land surveyor's chain when measuring land. In Alta California, the standard measurement for the vara was approximately thirty-three inches; one vara totaled 4,340.28 acres. For more on the vara and other Spanish measurements see J.N. Bowman, "Weights and Measures of Provincial California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 30, no .4 (Dec., 1951): 315-338.

“provincial house made of adobe.”⁴²² To further support his claim, Villa pointed out that because he had placed all his efforts into developing said land, he had abandoned his home and crops in Los Angeles,⁴²³ and wanted title to the portion of San Pascual that he had made fruitful. Interestingly, although Pérez did not officially respond to this petition, his statement made it clear that he was not giving up his claim to the land. Villa stated that Pérez did not object to his working the land until he saw that it was fruitful and that out of envy and greed decided to deny him any official claim to the land.⁴²⁴ Villa ended his petition by asking for help with the situation and stated that he was not acting out of malice towards Pérez.

The official response to Villa’s claim came in July of 1838. First, Juan Bandini, administrator of the San Gabriel Mission, responded that the land, located on the boundary between San Pascual and San Gabriel, could not be conceded to Villa because it was still utilized by the mission to pasture domesticated horses.⁴²⁵ Although Bandini’s recommendation did not support giving Villa title, it did state that he should be allowed to continue working and developing the land. Governor Alvarado, heeding Bandini’s recommendation, responded that because “es el objeto del Gobierno propocionar el cultivo de todos los [terrenos] baldíos para el engrandecimiento de la agricultura,” and granted Villa permission to use the land under the condition that he could never own it as long as it belonged to Mission San Gabriel.⁴²⁶

From this response, it is evident that although the land sat on the boundary between ex-mission lands and San Pascual, José Pérez did not respond to this claim and deferred to the

⁴²² Francisco Villa to Governor Alvarado, July 11, 1838, V3, 596, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author’s translation.

⁴²³ Ibid., 596.

⁴²⁴ Francisco Villa to Governor Alvarado, July 11, 1838, V3 596, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴²⁵ Bandini to Governor Alvarado, July 20, 1838, V3 597, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives..

⁴²⁶ Alvarado to Bandini, July 27, 1838, V3 597, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. “It is the objective of the government to partition all vacant lands for cultivation for the growth of agriculture.” Author’s translation.

mission's right to contest it. The reason for this may stem from the fact that secularization policy had attempted to control the distribution of mission lands in the interests of reserving it for ex-neophytes; therefore, in this case, mission administrators had more of a claim over the land than a private landholder did. Bandini's response to Villa's claim all but ensured that the land would be kept out of private hands because it represented the mission's interest. Although Bandini responded on behalf of the mission, it must still be considered that he was one of the largest landowners in the Los Angeles and San Diego areas. Bandini, as was the case for Pérez, was part of the political and land-owning class; therefore, class interests may have informed his recommendation. The resolution given to Villa's claim allowed him to stay on and develop the land, something beneficial to whoever claimed it later on, while reserving it for settlement by better-qualified parties. In this instance, the complex alliances between the Californio oligarchy, as well as their regional interpretation and implementation of secularization and land distribution, kept San Pascual from falling into the hands of an outsider. The next claim, based on a denunciation by a member of the prominent Sepúlveda clan, would end very differently.

After Mariné's death, José Pérez took control of the land and became San Pascual's apoderado or official representative. In 1839, Enrique Sepúlveda submitted a claim for land on San Pascual. Sepúlveda stated that he needed land on which to place horses and livestock in order to make a better living for himself and his family.⁴²⁷ Sepúlveda's claim was not unlike other petitions of the time because he emphasized his role as a family patriarch. Although standard, Sepúlveda's claim was unique because his attempt to obtain San Pascual did not only require that he support economic denouncement, but it also hinged on his usurpation of José Pérez's position as apoderado, which required questioning Pérez's honor and social position.

⁴²⁷ Enrique Sepúlveda to Prefect, August 3, 1839, V7 321, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author's translation.

In his original claim, Enrique Sepúlveda, described as a native and vecino de Los Angeles, asserted that Mariné had failed to develop the land and that his heirs did not have the means to develop it.⁴²⁸ He contended that the land should be awarded to him because he could make it productive. Although Sepúlveda's claim directly ignored José Pérez's ownership, the Commission of Vacant Lands did not, quickly responding to the claim by stating that San Pascual was occupied by Pérez's livestock and horses.⁴²⁹ Determined to obtain the land, Sepúlveda took another avenue to contest Pérez's ownership instead of claiming that the land had not been developed. Sepúlveda claimed that he, not Pérez, was the rightful apoderado of Juan Mariné and by extension of San Pascual.⁴³⁰

Sepúlveda's claim of apoderado speaks to the manner in which marriage was used to keep land in elites' hands. Intermarriage connected many of the wealthy, landed families throughout California. This was not only the case with families such as the Vallejos, De La Guerras, and Yorbas, who collectively held a large percentage of California land, but was a prominent practice amongst most landed families. Dating back to the original grantee, Juan Mariné, those involved in San Pascual were also part of this complex web of social relations. Mariné, who had been married to María Antonia Sepúlveda, was related to the Sepúlveda family.⁴³¹ This relationship gave Sepúlveda a basis on which to contest José Pérez's ownership of San Pascual. Sepúlveda claimed that Pérez's purchase from Mariné's heirs had not given him title to the entire rancho, but only the portion sold to him by Fruto and his siblings. He argued that Pérez had taken over only a portion of the land and was wrongfully acting as representative

⁴²⁸ Sepúlveda to Prefect, August 3, 1839, V7 322, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author's translation.

⁴²⁹ Comisión de terrenos válidos a Ayuntamiento, August 24, 1839, V7 322-323, Spanish Mexican Land Grants California State Archives. Author's translation.

⁴³⁰ Sepúlveda to Governor, February 10, 1840, V7 369-370, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author's translation.

⁴³¹ Mariné was widowed and later married Eulalia Pérez.

as a means of obtaining all of San Pascual.⁴³² In his attempt to remove Pérez, Sepúlveda did not level charges of economic denouncement, but rather focused on marring his character and, by extension, questioning his honor.

In his letter to the Governor, Sepúlveda stated that Pérez had no real interest in developing San Pascual but simply wanted to control it in order to distribute it to his numerous brothers-in-law. The two men Sepúlveda names in the document are Antonio María Silvas and Desidero Ververde, Pérez's cuñados or brother-in-laws. Sepúlveda claimed that Antonio María Silvas lived on the rancho and was the caretaker of two "güilos dementes, un hombre y otra mujer."⁴³³ From the documents, it seems that the güila, or mentally incapacitated woman, was Silvas' sister-in-law, yet it is not clear who she was. In his claim, Sepúlveda alleged that Silvas had taken sexual advantage of his sister-in-law's mental incapacitation and violated the sacred family bond; acts that resulted in the birth of a child.⁴³⁴ Sepúlveda cited this supposed sexual abuse as an example of the type of dishonorable persons that Pérez and his family were. He stated that because these men acted in their own interest and were capable of devaluing the sanctity of family to such an extreme, they should not be entitled hold San Pascual, nor even have a say in what happens to the land. The issue of honor is important in this case because Pérez also had connections to the landed elite. Pérez, nephew of Eulalia Pérez, was married to María Merced Lugo, daughter of Californio Antonio María Lugo. This familial connection made

⁴³² Sepúlveda to Governor, February 10, 1840, V7 370, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author's translation.

⁴³³ Sepúlveda to Governor, February 10, 1840, V7 370, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. The term *güilos* does not appear in contemporary Spanish dictionaries. The *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* relates the word to the term "tullida" which means "a person who has lost all bodily movement or of one of his/her body parts." The meaning seems to indicate someone who is fully or partially paralyzed. In the document, Sepúlveda states, "habian dos dementes ó guilos," on San Pascual. This leaves one to infer that güilos is synonymous with dementes which means someone who is not in his or her right mind or considered "crazy." In some regions of Mexico, the güila is a slang term used when referring to a promiscuous woman. In this case, it seems to most closely relate to a simple-minded person. "Two güilos one man and one woman." Author's translation.

⁴³⁴ Sepúlveda to Governor, February 10, 1840, V7 370, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

any claim against Pérez's honor a very serious matter, as it tainted the reputation of the entire clan. Although the existence of the child that resulted from the illicit union between Silvas and his sister-in-law does not appear in the documents, the fact that Sepúlveda made this claim was enough to call into question the family's honor and integrity. The behavior Sepúlveda described was not that of a respectable patriarch; an honorable man charged with controlling and maintaining his family would not have permitted this type of behavior to occur. Relying on this claim, Sepúlveda's petition steered away from the economic conditions necessary to denounce Pérez's claim and instead focused on his masculinity and failure as a patriarch.

Sepúlveda's claim of San Pascual allows a look into the societal and cultural dynamics of Los Angeles' oligarchs. The questioning of patriarchal control did not produce a response on Pérez's behalf. After Sepúlveda's letter to the governor, the claim took two rather interesting turns. In a petition dated April 10, 1840, Pérez and Sepúlveda filed a joint denouncement for San Pascual based on the land's neglect by its previous owners. In response to the denouncement, local land officials ordered an investigation and questioning of witnesses to inquire about Mariné's heirs and their ability to develop the land. One by one, three witnesses testified that Mariné's children, including Fruto, did not have an occupation and therefore could not develop the land. This testimony helped legitimate the economic denouncement and moved Pérez and Sepúlveda closer to owning all of San Pascual. Land surveys and economic investigations found that the land was vacant and that the two petitioners had the economic means to develop the land. During the course of the investigation, Eulalia Pérez entered the picture and makes what would be her last claim to hold onto Rancho San Pascual.

In October of 1840, Eulalia Pérez requested a share of the vineyard and house left behind by Mariné. Subsequent investigations revealed that the land was in a "state of deterioration, due

to the lack of care of the owner.”⁴³⁵ Because societal gender norms considered the maintenance of a rancho to be man’s work, it was not uncommon for widows who owned land in Alta California to face denouncement because of neglect. When a woman’s husband died, responsibility for the land fell to her sons or brothers because it was not proper for women to perform agricultural labor.⁴³⁶ For the elderly and financially unstable Eulalia Pérez, maintenance of San Pascual was not possible; the land was in a deteriorated state and José Pérez and Enrique Sepúlveda used this against her in their economic denouncement. José Pérez’s denouncement of his aunt’s ownership of San Pascual did not differ from other economic denouncements; what is unique is that the widow withdrew her claim once José presented his. Pérez’s withdrawal of her claim illustrates her negotiation of Alta California’s gender dynamics. In her studies on New Mexico, González found that women stepped back from court cases and allowed their male relatives to set up the initial proceedings and returned once the parameters of the case had been set up.⁴³⁷ Pérez may have retreated from the claim once she saw that a family member, not an unrelated third party, had claimed her interest in the Rancho. Pérez’s withdrawal allowed José Pérez and Sepúlveda to receive the land concession, ending Eulilia Pérez’s hold on San Pascual.⁴³⁸

By early 1840, Sepúlveda had successfully obtained the land he desired. This particular claim is rather interesting because in the end both José Pérez and Sepúlveda were given title to the land. The manner in which this came about addresses several issues that arose within California’s close-knit oligarchy class. This claim exemplified how the desire for land and

⁴³⁵ Sepúlveda to Governor, February 10, 1840, V7 370, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴³⁶ For example, in her 1843 statement renouncing her deceased husband’s claim to San Pascual the widow María Merced Lugo, stated that “mis hermanos varones se han dedicado al ramo de agricultura [por que] no es a propósito para me sexo.” María Merced Lugo, July 8, 1843, V7 325, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. “My brothers have dedicated themselves to agriculture [because] it is not appropriate to my sex.” Author’s translation.

⁴³⁷ González, *Refusing the Favor*, 21.

⁴³⁸ Concession to Sepúlveda and Pérez, V3 326, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

wealth strained familial ties and called into question a landowner's honor. When Sepúlveda's attempt to initiate an economic denouncement failed, he utilized gender concepts and ideas of propriety to pressure José Pérez into an agreement that required him to share his land with another man, thereby questioning Pérez's masculinity and patriarchal control. Basing his denouncement on Pérez's character, Sepúlveda sought to lift his own reputation and become a better-qualified candidate for land. In the attempt to save face and his familial honor, Pérez acquiesced to Sepúlveda. Aside from the claimants' descriptions as *vecinos* and *cuidadanos*, the issue of race / ethnicity did not arise in the official proceedings, indicating that these men were social equals, but also showing that the landed elite held many secrets that could be used to gain the upper hand. The illicit union Sepúlveda points to, although not substantiated, shows how the secrets of the propertied class could potentially devastate one man's social standing and result in the aggrandizement of another. In a society where perception was everything, men competed to show that they had the economic means, social standing, and honor necessary to be part of the landed class. As Sepúlveda would quickly discover, the bases of honor and status in this society were tenuous and required constant reaffirmation. In a matter of a few short years, Sepúlveda's honor would be questioned and he would lose control of San Pascual to a *better* man.

Señor Manuel Garfias: The Last Mexican Owner of San Pascual

Upon receiving title to San Pascual in 1840 Pérez and Sepúlveda worked to develop the land, building two houses at the southwest portions of the land near the Arroyo Seco and bringing their livestock to the Rancho. One year after receiving title to the land, José Pérez died; the Lugo family, relatives of his wife María Merced, took his livestock and moved them a few miles south of San Pascual to Rancho San Antonio. José Pérez's death left a great portion of the

Rancho abandoned and, more importantly, it left Enrique Sepúlveda susceptible to economic denouncement. Sepúlveda, who had established himself as an honorable man eligible to own land, quickly found himself in a position to lose everything, including his social position, to another with better economic means and social standing.

In June of 1843, Lieutenant Manuel Garfias claimed that San Pascual was abandoned land in violation of the provisional land grant. Following the accepted protocol, Garfias denounced the Pérez / Sepúlveda land title and claimed the rancho for “his benefit and that of his family.”⁴³⁹ Not unlike other economic denouncements, Garfias cited the lack of development and the poor condition of the land in his claim. What stands out in the documents pertaining to Garfias’ denouncement is that unlike Sepúlveda, Pérez, and other men who filed papers related to San Pascual, Garfias was not ascribed the status of vecino of Los Angeles. As seen in previous claims, the term vecino reflected an ethno-social status and placed claimants within the racialized societal structure. Using this term when petitioning for land reflected a level of respectability that helped legitimize claims and connect petitioners to the region. Garfias, a high-ranking military officer in Micheltorena’s Batallón Fijo de Alta California, arrived in Los Angeles in 1842, making him an outsider in comparison to other landed men, including Enrique Sepúlveda. Because of political connections and social maneuvering through the years after Juan Mariné’s death, San Pascual had stayed in the hands of local elite, connected to the Lugo and Sepúlveda families. In keeping with the complex web of social relations and the preservation of land for the aggrandizement of the Los Angeles elite, Garfias’ economic denunciation of San Pascual should not have been successful. His claim should have met the same end as that of Francisco Villa, the vecino and retired soldier to whom the Los Angeles Land Commission had denied title to a portion of land at the boundary of San Pascual. Although both Villa and Garfias

⁴³⁹ Manuel Garfias, V7 323, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

were military men, albeit one a soldier and the other an officer, Villa was local and a vecino, a status that eluded Garfias.

In order to level a successful economic denunciation of Sepúlveda's title, Garfias needed to rely on his status as a military officer and build his local reputation by becoming part of the local elite. Garfias had the wealth necessary to support his claim, but his status as an outsider served as an impediment. Aside from wealth, Californio men desiring land needed to represent a dominant masculinity. Marriage, as an institution, was crucial to the support of a regional masculinity and helped create the basis of a strong patriarch who in turn represented the stability of the social hierarchy.⁴⁴⁰ Aside from supporting a patriarchal system, marriage was a successful method to gain social and political power. Ranging from the marriage of mestizo soldiers to Amerindian women on the California frontier, the intermarriages amongst elite families, and foreign men's marriages to elite daughters, the institution of marriage served a myriad of purposes.⁴⁴¹ In the Mexican period, Euro-American men assimilated into Mexican society through marriage. Not unlike the outsiders before him, Garfias married into the community in order to obtain legitimacy and power to complement his wealth.

In mid- November of 1842, Garfias appeared at Misión San Gabriel requesting permission to marry Doña Maria Luisa Avila, daughter of Francisco Avila and Encarnación Sepúlveda, both from prominent Californio families.⁴⁴² In the matrimonial diligencia,

⁴⁴⁰ Louise Pubols, *The Father of All: The de la Guerra Family, Power, and Patriarchy in Mexican California* (San Marino: The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, and University of California Press, 2009), 58.

⁴⁴¹ For a discussion of marriage see Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); María Casas, *Married to the Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007); Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest*; González, *Refusing the Favor*; and Antonia I. Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality and the Family" in *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, eds. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 230-259.

⁴⁴² Manuel Garfias and María Luisa Avila, Matrimonial Investigation, San Gabriel Mission Matrimonial Investigation Records, McPherson Collection, Honnold Mudd Library, Claremont University Consortium.

Encarnación Sepúlveda and Fray Tomás Estenaga referred to Garfias as a ciudadano, and natural de Oaxaca, Méjico.⁴⁴³ Reference to his legitimate birth into a well-respected Mexican family supported his claim for honor and respectability. Additional references to Garfias began with the honorifics “Señor” or “Don,” indicating Garfias’ standing in the eyes of those called to testify on his behalf. Although the witnesses did not directly address his racial and ethnic identity, they referred to him in a respectful manner, as a citizen and a military officer. The respect afforded to him by Sepúlveda and Estenaga indicates that they considered him gente de razón and not an Indian. After priests completed the investigation into Garfias’ and his fiancée’s character, marriage status, and birth, the couple married in November of 1842.⁴⁴⁴ The marriage gave Garfias legitimacy and entrance into the world of the local elite. In June of 1843, when Garfias filed his economic denouncement, he did so without the status of vecino but with the backing of his bride’s family name; Garfias was now part of the Sepúlveda and Avila clans. Within two days, Governor Micheltorena ordered the prefecture’s office to investigate Rancho San Pascual’s condition.⁴⁴⁵

The prefecture’s investigation into San Pascual’s condition found land that was undeveloped and abandoned. The investigator, Antonio José Coronel, reported “two adobe houses, one belonging to the deceased José Pérez and the other to Enrique Sepúlveda.”⁴⁴⁶ Additionally, he cited that “there were no head of cattle or flock of any sort on the land,” and “that there was no evidence of the families of said men having labored on the land.”⁴⁴⁷ While on the land, Coronel encountered Sepúlveda, who quickly offered apologies for the condition of

⁴⁴³ Garfias and Avila, Matrimonial Investigation, San Gabriel Mission Matrimonial Investigation Records, McPherson Collection, Honnold Mudd Library, Claremont University Consortium, 1-3.

⁴⁴⁴ Garfias and Avila, Matrimonial Investigation, 13.

⁴⁴⁵ Micheltornea to Prefecture, June 12, 1843, V7 323, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁴⁶ Antonio José Coronel to Prefect, June 30, 1843, V7 324, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author’s translation.

⁴⁴⁷ Coronel to Prefect, June 30, 1843, V7 324, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author’s translation.

the ranch and assured the investigator that there were “thirty heads of cattle in the area.”⁴⁴⁸

Despite Sepúlveda’s assurances that he was using the land, Prefect Manuel Domínguez stated that the “purpose of giving land titles was to make the land grow and that in the course of three years this premier land has sat abandoned.”⁴⁴⁹ With this vision of optimal land use in mind, Domínguez recommended that Garfias, “an honorable citizen, and a man with the necessary means to make the land thrive,” be awarded the land.⁴⁵⁰

After this damning report, Sepúlveda responded with a letter detailing why his land had fallen into disarray. He explained the lack of livestock by stating that it had “either been killed or run off by thieves in the direction of the Avila Rancho.” He stated that interlopers had taken over portions of his land and despite his several complaints local authorities had done nothing to ameliorate the situation. Finding himself in desperate circumstances, he decided not to try to develop the land any further. Sepúlveda’s response failed to recognize his responsibility for the land, an action that does not reflect the control and power of a patriarch.⁴⁵¹ This response only further supported Garfias’ claim for San Pascual, because upon investigating Sepúlveda’s allegations authorities determined them to be false. Although the specifics of the fabrication are not contained in the records, Prefect Manuel Dominguez’s report to the Governor declared that he had the honor of uncovering the lies that Sepúlveda had told pertaining to his land. Domínguez stated that because Sepúlveda’s lies had disgraced the prefecture office and governor, he should be punished according to the law.⁴⁵² It is clear from this statement that Sepúlveda’s allegations had not been proven and were simply fabricated in an attempt to save

⁴⁴⁸ Coronel to Prefect, June 30, 1843, V7 324, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author’s translation.

⁴⁴⁹ Manuel Domínguez to Governor, July 1, 1843, V7 324, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁵⁰ Domínguez to Governor, July 1, 1843, V7, 324, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁵¹ Enrique Sepúlveda to Prefect, July 7, 1843, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁵² Domínguez to Governor, July 10, 1843, V7, 324.

face. The accusation of lying and its accompanying dishonor placed Sepúlveda at a disadvantage, and although he was not punished, this undoubtedly tainted his honor. While the prefecture found Sepúlveda's allegations to be false, there is evidence that some of what he said might be true. After José Pérez's death, his widow, María Merced Lugo, left the land, and her family moved his cattle to Rancho San Antonio. In her official statement approving the sale of her casita on San Pascual to Garfias, she stated that the responsibility of the land had fallen to her male family members and that although she had the means to cultivate the land, chose not to do so.⁴⁵³ Even though Lugo's statement lends some credence to part of Sepúlveda's statement, the fact remains that he lost control of his portion of the land. In the end, Sepúlveda was forced give up his land to Garfias and was compensated seventy pesos for his adobe house on San Pascual.

Garfias' honor or his ability to develop San Pascual was never in question; he easily received title to the land in April of 1843. Throughout the denunciation process, Garfias used his wealth to reiterate his ability to develop the land. Garfias backed his words with action by offering to compensate Lugo and Sepúlveda for what he termed casuchas, or shacks, implying that they were not worth anything.⁴⁵⁴ Regardless, Garfias paid two separate skilled evaluators to assess the value of the houses and subsequently remitted payment in full to both parties.⁴⁵⁵ His marriage into the Avila family gained him legitimacy as a ciudadano of Los Angeles. After independence, the term ciudadano became a way of addressing a member of the Mexican Republic. The term vecino was no longer used in civil documents, left behind as part of the Spanish political system. However, in dealings with land ownership on the California frontier,

⁴⁵³ María Merced Lugo to Prefect, July 8, 1843, V7, 325-326, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁵⁴ Manuel Garfias to Governor, July 12, 1843, V7, 326-327, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁵⁵ Antonio José Coronel to Prefect, August 14, 1843, V7, 327-328, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

the change may have indicated something more significant because it linked a person to the land and through the rhetoric of liberalism gave the petitioner a legal right to claim the land. Although Garfias' marriage helped him build familial connections to the regional elite and claim a highly desired rancho, he still needed to prove to distinguish himself as a full member of the elite class.

Garfias' success resulted from a combination of his knowing how to maneuver the political and social system, and having the right connections. As a loyal military officer, he developed a very close professional and personal relationship with Governor Micheltorena, the man charged with distributing ranchos. Upon his arrival in Los Angeles, he married into the prominent Avila family. The Avilas owned Rancho La Ciénega and a large adobe home in the center of the pueblo. Marriage into this family gave Garfias standing in the community and access to Maria Luisa's land, but it also connected him to the wealthy Sepúlvedas. The Avilas and Sepúlvedas were related through marriage, making Enrique Sepúlveda and María Luisa Avila cousins.

The familial connection engendered through Garfias' marriage to Avila may have facilitated his access to San Pascual. He may have had specific knowledge of the rancho's condition, such as the fact that the Lugos, friends and distant relatives of the Sepúlvedas, had removed the cattle. The access he gained to the regional elite's complex relationships allowed Garfias to obtain access to San Pascual by emphasizing his wealth and his honor; this tactic was not unlike the manner in which Enrique Sepúlveda had pressured Pérez into sharing his land. Although defined as a regional outsider, Garfias' successful acquisition of San Pascual in 1843 indicates that the local oligarchy's power was not absolute, and in spite of its efforts to maintain control, an outsider could infiltrate it. While Garfias' racial/ethnic identity did not explicitly play

a role in his acquisition of land, it was implicitly present in the land distribution process. Local elites used their authority to award the land to those who fit within a racialized class structure.

Allotment of San Pascual to José Pérez, Enrique Sepúlveda and Manuel Garfias speaks to the different power dynamics involved in access to land in 1840's California. While secularization and liberalism emphasized equal access to land regardless of race and ethnicity, the manner in which San Pascual's lands were meted out points to the existence of racial/ethnic privilege that was inextricably linked to class identity and wealth. For twelve years, between 1839 and 1851, the land was reorganized and distributed in accordance with a highly racialized and classed system that privileged upper class, blancos y hijos del país, and increasingly left Amerindians on the margins of Californio society and culture.

Ex-Neophytes and Ex-Mission Lands

As seen during the mission era, Indians at San Gabriel occupied the lowest level of Spanish society. Their place within the mission was determined through their relationship to the land. Since neophytes worked mission lands as part of their journey to civilization, they were placed into a social stratum that denied them control of their labor and their bodies. Although some Indians did gain political authority and rose through an Amerindian social hierarchy in the missions, ultimately they were not allowed to attain the same level as the mixed race "Spaniards" who slowly came to form the regional elite. The implementation of secularization policy in the San Gabriel region illustrates how the social hierarchy in the post-mission era did not dramatically change the status of former mission Indians. After secularization and emancipation, mission Indians were left to make their lives outside the mission. Many Indians who found themselves landless and destitute migrated into El Pueblo de Los Angeles in search of work,

while others petitioned for allotments of the mission lands that they had helped develop. Indian petitions and their subsequent diligencias judiciales reflect the interplay between socio-cultural perspectives and Amerindian identity by illustrating how indigenous petitioners negotiated their status in a racialized society; additionally, these investigations show how non-Indian governmental officials perceived Indian petitioners. These investigations indicate that after secularization, societal perceptions of a person's racial/ethnic designation still determined one's relationship to the land; in this instance, ex-neophytes had to prove that they were racially, and thus culturally, fit to own land. In other words, in the mission Indians had to prove they were culturally Spanish, but after secularization, Indians had to prove that they were hijos del país, deserving of the benefits of liberalism and freedom.

California State Archive Land expedientes and Los Angeles County prefecture records for San Pascual and its surrounding areas contain several cases dealing with Indian petitioners and Californio governmental officials. The cases of Indian petitioners Valencia, Manuel Antonio, Próspero, Emilio Joaquín, and Serafíno de Jesús allow insight into the negotiation of regional identity in 1840s Los Angeles because they show Indians shaping their identities in land allotment applications. Often ex-neophytes emphasized their connection to the mission and to a certain extent their successful assimilation into regional society and culture. Methods for establishing this connection included applicants' detailed identifications of themselves, adherence to proper protocol in the paperwork, referencing the mission directly, citing the name of an important Californio to whom they were connected, and showing the proper deference to the governor, prefecturía, and other governmental officials.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ The office or department to whom the petition was directed depended on the size of the land applicants wanted. Petitions for small portions of land, mainly for use as space to build a house, small-scale cultivation and livestock grazing were directed to the Prefecture; appeals for ranchos were directed to the Governor. In the claims for ranchos,

Supplicants opened their petitions with the standard “Excelentísimo Señor,” addressing the governor or prefecture with an honorific that recognized his supreme authority in the matter. The greeting was then followed by “con la mayor sumisión y respeto ante usted,” a statement through which the petitioner submitted to the official’s authority and showed him the utmost respect of his power.⁴⁵⁷ This deference helped the petitioner enter into the political realm and engage the power dynamics involved in requesting land. Although this protocol was part of the larger accepted discursive practice that allowed governmental institutions to maintain power over the population,⁴⁵⁸ it took on a different meaning when used by a person from a subjugated, racialized group.

The use of this discursive practice by an ex-neophyte presented the potential for the destabilization of several institutions of power because it challenged accepted ideas about Indians as the racial and socio-cultural other. Despite liberalism’s ideals of equality, society still viewed Indians as ignorant and racially / culturally inferior. Therefore, using this language in their petitions was not enough to support their claims of successful assimilation and ascent into Californio society and culture, because they still bore the burden of proving it. For example, whereas non-Indians had to establish their status as *vecinos* and honorable, hardworking men of means, ex-neophytes were challenged to show that the mission had successfully made them into productive and honorable Californio men. At play were the dynamics of race and masculinity manifested through land politics. As historian Steve Stern argues in his discussion on masculinity and power, “men constructed their sense of masculinity on a field of power relations...manhood

the Prefectura would conduct the governmental investigation of the land claim and offer a recommendation to the Governor.

⁴⁵⁷ “His Excellency, with the highest level of submission and respect.” Author’s translation.

⁴⁵⁸ Discursive practices in the Foucauldian sense means the manner in which language produces, creates, maintains, and subverts systems and institutions of power. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

signified rights to power and citizenship.”⁴⁵⁹ For Californio men, their power and citizenship rested in their identities as *gente de razón*. To legitimize their status they simply needed to show that they were committed to the development of the land and had power to control it. For ex-neophytes in 1840s California, masculinity rested on the labor they had provided to the mission before secularization, their proper behavior, and their ability to show their successful assimilation, through labor, after emancipation. To be described as an “*hombre de bien*” was significant because it allowed men to ascend the socio-cultural hierarchy; for ex-neophytes masculinity could potentially serve the dual purpose of establishing them as citizens *and* men, entitled to the same rights as Californios blancos. The negotiation of masculinity and socio-cultural identity did not prove easy to achieve.

Expedientes for San Gabriel show that many ex-neophytes utilized the discourse of masculinity in their claims for land resulting in varying degrees of success. In his 1845 petition to Governor Pío Pico for a formal grant of a sitio on which to establish a rancho, Manuel Antonio, the former mayordomo from the ex-Mission, declared:

soy un hijo de esta misión, nacido y criado en ella, y durante lo mejor de mi edad é prestado buenos servicios, en los trabajos que se me an encomendado. He tenido siempre buena conducta, y por estas condiciones hace como seis años que siendo Adminstrador Don Nicolás Gutiérrez, el que comprov[b]o permiso y consentimiento de esta comunidad, se me permitió el uso del paraje llamada la Misión Vieja.⁴⁶⁰

This passage clearly shows Manuel Antonio’s direct link and his years of faithful service to the mission. He cites the permission given to him by mission administrator Colonel Nicolás

⁴⁵⁹ Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 161.

⁴⁶⁰ Manuel Antonio letter to Pio Pico, V7 518-522, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. “I am a son of the mission, born and raised in her, and during the best of my years, I have provided good services, in the work that has been given to me. I have always had good conduct, and because of these reasons, about six years ago Administrator Don Nicolás Gutiérrez, he who confirmed permission and consent of this community, permitted me to use of a plot of land called the old mission.” Author’s translation.

Gutiérrez and the Indian community to cultivate the land. Through this statement, the petitioner presented himself as a legitimate member of local society. After establishing Manuel Antonio's relationship to the mission, Gutiérrez addressed the ex-neophyte's development of the land along Californio cultural standards and his work ethic by stating that he used the land for grazing livestock and growing crops. Gutiérrez proudly stated that although the number of Manuel Antonio's livestock and cattle was small in number at first, in time with his hard work, they increased in number. Additionally, he stated that the ex-neophyte had successfully cultivated land for crops and planted a vineyard that he cared for.⁴⁶¹ Manuel Antonio's statement reflected Californios' racialized ideas of land use by emphasizing his cultivation of a vineyard and the development of a productive plot, elements directly linked with the emergence of the Californio culture and prominent in the calls for mission secularization. Although not explicitly stated, Manuel Antonio emphasized the improvement of the land while under his supervision, after secularization and without the guidance of mission fathers. By attributing the successful development of the land solely on his hard work, Manuel Antonio legitimated his claim to the land as an honorable man. San Gabriel missionary Father Tomás Estenaga substantiated Manuel Antonio's claim to honor in an 1841 letter to the prefecture. Estenaga described him as an "hijo de esta misión San Gabriel nacido y criado en ella...[su] conducta hasta el tiempo crítico de su emancipación, ha continuado hasta la fecha con la misma honría de bien."⁴⁶² Estenaga's regard for Manuel Antonio as an honorable man gained him cultural legitimacy, lending support to his claim for ex- mission land.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 518-522.

⁴⁶² Father Tomás Estenaga letter to Los Angeles Prefecture, V7, 518-522, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. "A son of the San Gabriel mission born and raised in her,... his conduct to this critical date of his emancipation, has continued with the same honor." Author's translation.

As an honorable man, Manuel Antonio lodged his appeal to Governor Pico out of his concern that although he had developed the land over the course of eleven years, it was being sold off to others who were not rightfully qualified to develop the land.⁴⁶³ In his concluding statement, Manuel Antonio again emphasized his entitlement and natural right to the land based on his sweat and labor in developing the land.⁴⁶⁴ His statement substantiates Haas' contention that "for Indians freedom meant liberation from the mission and entitlement to own land."⁴⁶⁵ This sentiment shines through in Manuel Antonio's declaration. The ex-mayordomo believed that he had more right to the land than others who were interested in buying it. He based his idea on his natural right to the land. Manuel Antonio's reference to natural right suggests his simultaneous support of and resistance to Californio liberal discourse. By indirectly basing his petition on natural inheritance of land, as did the hijos del país in their calls for secularization, Manuel inserted himself into Californio political ideology, and claimed his rights to citizenship, equality and the land rights of the elite. Indian claims such as Manuel Antonio's destabilized Californios' racial / ethnic structure. In a society where status and land went hand in hand, a land allotment could potentially legitimate a petitioner's claim to social equality. Manuel Antonio's use of the term *natural* also served as a form of resistance in which he challenged the socio-ethnic ideas about Indians as outsiders; *natural*, when used by an Indian, made white Californios into the other, and indigenous persons became part of the nation, at least temporarily.

In the interest of preserving the land for themselves and indirectly maintaining their political and social power in the process, Californios challenged claims such as Manuel Antonio's by questioning the integrity of the claim. In August of 1841, in the process of investigating Manuel Antonio's petition, Prefect Santiago Argüello reported his suspicions

⁴⁶³ Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest*, 60-61.

⁴⁶⁴ Manuel Antonio letter to Pio Pico, V7, 518-522, Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁶⁵ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 38.

regarding the ex-neophyte's claim for the land. Argüello, member of the prominent Argüello family,⁴⁶⁶ reported to the governor that Manuel Antonio and Fray Estenaga had lied about the ex-neophyte's service to the mission. According to Argüello, Manuel Antonio was "not connected to mission after puberty" and that since his departure he "disassociated himself from it... having not spent the best of his age in service to the old mission."⁴⁶⁷ Argüello questioned the one thing that tied Manuel Antonio to the land. By emphasizing Manuel Antonio's disassociation from the mission, he attempted to make the claimant appear less qualified for the land by implying that he had not fully assimilated. Argüello's attempts to delegitimize Manuel Antonio's claim reflected the anti-Indian attitudes that permeated Californio society in general and Los Angeles, San Gabriel specifically.

Many local inhabitants still regarded Indians as inferior people who lacked the intelligence, work ethic, and values necessary to successfully develop ex-mission lands. Some Californio landowners' anti-Indian sentiment brought them to the prefecture to request that Indians be dispossessed of land and that the it be given to them instead. In 1842 Rafael Guirado, an influential citizen of Los Angeles and father of future California First Lady María Guirado Downey,⁴⁶⁸ petitioned the prefecture to "remove the Indian settlement to another location and grant [him] the land now occupied by said Indians.... in order to plant thereon

⁴⁶⁶ Argüello was the son of José Darío Argüello, one of the original pobladores de Los Angeles and colonial governor of California. Santiago Argüello's brother, Luis Antonio Argüello, served as Mexican Governor from 1822-1825. Argüello was politically very well connected, having served as alcalde de San Diego and 2nd District Prefecture for Los Angeles. Arugello owned a tremendous amount of land in Alta California, having been awarded grants for the 22,184 acre Rancho Trabuco, in present day Orange Country and the 58,875 acre Rancho Ex-Mission San Diego.

⁴⁶⁷ S. Argüello to Pio Pico, V7, 518-522. Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. Author's translation.

⁴⁶⁸ María Guirado married Irish American John Downey in 1852; Downey became California's seventh governor after the U. S- Mexico War. Lynn Cook and Janet Ladue, *The First Ladies of California* (Xlibris, 2007), 32-35.

vineyards and other fruit trees for the maintenance of my needy and large family.”⁴⁶⁹ Guirado’s proposed displacement of an entire Indian settlement to address the needs of his family reflects larger societal devaluation of Indian people. Along the same vein, in 1842 Antonio María Lugo, politician, landowner and member of the prominent Lugo family, appealed to the prefecture requesting the removal of Indians from land distributed by Los Angeles authorities.⁴⁷⁰ Lugo stated that he wished to “plant an orchard and a vineyard...beneficial to society and [his] family.” He asked for the removal of Indians from the land in the interest of the “the peace and order of the Pueblo,” and stated that “it is not advisable for them to remain where they now live.”⁴⁷¹ Similar to Guirado’s request, Lugo placed his proposed use above that of local Indians, reflecting these men’s ethno-cultural arrogance and belief that societal benefits engendered through non-Indian land ownership would heavily outweigh anything that Indians could contribute.

Aside from showing the continued discrimination and contemptuous disregard for San Gabriel’s indigenous population, Guirado’s and Lugo’s petitions point to Californios’ goal of keeping the best lands out of the hands of Indians. Guirado and Lugo applied for land parcels located on ex-mission lands that had proven to be productive since before secularization. The

⁴⁶⁹ Rafael Guirado to Los Angeles Prefect, VI 156-157, Los Angeles County Prefecture Records, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. English Translation.

⁴⁷⁰ Antonio María Lugo was the son of Francisco Salvador Lugo, one of the original pobladores of Los Angeles. Antonio María served as a distinguished soldier at Santa Barbara and in 1816 became Alcalde de Los Angeles. In 1810 he received a Spanish Land Grant for 29,513 acre Rancho San Antonio and a grant for the 22,193 acre Rancho Santa Ana del Chino in 1841; part of ex-Misión San Gabriel’s land. He fathered eight children, five sons and three daughters, all of whom held prominent social positions. Daughter María Antonia married into the wealthy distinguished Yorba Family, supporting a very strong oligarchic bond. María Merced married José Pérez, cousin of Eulilia Pérez and owner of Rancho San Pascual. Six years after Pérez’s death, in 1848, María Merced married the first American mayor of Los Angeles, Stephen C. Foster. In 1852, she launched an unsuccessful attempt to obtain title to Rancho San Pascual, land she had lost to Manuel Garfias because of his denunciation for abandonment. For more information on Antonio María Lugo see Roy E. Whitehead, *Lugo: A Chronicle of Early California* (San Bernardino: San Bernardino Museum Association, 1978). For more on the marriages of these women see Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest*, and Casas, *Married to the Daughters of the Land*. For Stephen Foster see, H.D Barrow, “Stephen C. Foster,” *The Quarterly* 3-4 (Los Angeles: Noble and MacMillan: 1883), 179-183.

⁴⁷¹ Antonio María Lugo to Los Angeles Prefect, VI 158-159A, Los Angeles County Prefecture Records, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. English Translation.

potential for economic aggrandizement through these lands motivated many to create obstacles for Indians to obtain or keep these lands; the larger the land, the more tightly Californios held on to it. As we have seen, Prefect Santiago Argüello, the man charged with looking into and distributing land allotments in Los Angeles, functioned within the system detailed above. In his challenge to Manuel Antonio's claim for the large portion of Mission San Gabriel lands, Argüello, after describing the land as one of the "mejores sitios que se conocen en estos contornos," recommended that they reserve the land for a better criador or breeder, who could sufficiently develop it through large-scale labor.⁴⁷² His recommendation, made after questioning the ex-neophyte's integrity, could be seen as a way of reserving the land for a more deserving and qualified candidate. Although not clearly expressing a bias, and seemingly placing his challenge to Manuel Antonio on an economic basis, the fact that Argüello refers to leaving the parcel for someone who could use a large scale labor force to develop it indirectly reflects the racial / ethnic qualification for access to land. Part of what defined Californio identity was their relationship to land and labor; Californios were the rancheros who controlled labor, and Indians were the trabajadores who provided it. This social hierarchy, similar to that which existed in the mission, hinged on one's relationship to land and labor; it reflected a larger system of relations employed by countless others throughout California during the Californio period.

In spite of Argüello's claims and recommendation against Manuel Antonio, Governor Pico awarded him the land in 1845.⁴⁷³ Pico's decision to override the prefect's recommendation provides a different view of Californio society by showing that there were times when the local and departmental government supported Indians' rights to land, or at least kept *vecinos* from easily dispossessing them. For instance, in response to Lugo's and Guirado's claims, local

⁴⁷² Santiago Argüello to Pío Pico, V7 518-522. Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives; "best sites known in this vicinity." Author's translation.

⁴⁷³ Manuel Antonio, V5 234-238. Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

authorities decided that “the petitions for lands of the Indian settlements [could] not be granted because they have not been vacated.”⁴⁷⁴ Support such as this was not consistent, and although Manuel Antonio did receive the rancho he requested, other neophytes were not as fortunate, receiving only small allotments on which to build a small house and cultivate a small *huerta*. In San Gabriel, ex-neophytes Serafino de Jesús, Valencia, Próspero, and Emilio Joaquín obtained grants ranging between 200 and 400 varas. The lands distributed to these neophytes were most often comprised of lands part of ex-Misión San Gabriel and adjacent to the Rancho San Pascual. The lands were often “terrenos baldíos,” or vacant lands that no one claimed; this is important because unlike the manner in which San Pascual changed hands amongst Californios, ex-neophyte grants did not result from economically based denunciations. This fact speaks to vecinos’ attitudes about Indians’ place in the social hierarchy.

Following the accepted procedure, ex-neophytes asked for lands connected to the mission that had served as their former home. Similar to Manuel Antonio, each one linked their identity to the mission in the hopes of receiving the land they had cultivated under the mission priests. In April of 1843, Serafino de Jesús, “indígena de la Misión de San Gabriel,” petitioned the prefecture asking for land “for the maintenance of himself and his family to cultivate a fruit orchard.”⁴⁷⁵ Having the necessary witnesses and support, including the testimony of Father Estenaga, Serafino received his land allotment measuring 200 varas. Two years later, in April of 1845, Serafino petitioned for an extension of his land holdings by 200 varas, citing that his previous allotment was too small. In his request for an additional allotment of land, Serafino

⁴⁷⁴ Marginal Note to V I. 156 -157 and V I. 1 158 -159A, August 7 1842, Los Angeles County Prefecture Records, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. English Translation.

⁴⁷⁵ Serafino de Jesús, V6 1-2. Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives. “Indian from the San Gabriel Mission.” Author’s translation.

identified himself as a “natural y vecino de San Gabriel,” a term imbued with racial meaning.⁴⁷⁶

These documents, dated two years apart, indicate that Serafino experienced a rise in socio-ethnic status. By calling himself a vecino rather than an Indian convert or ex-neophyte, Serafino placed himself at an equal footing with gente de razón, Californios blancos. Because Serafino followed his petition for land with the necessary documents and inspections, including a letter from the parish priest,⁴⁷⁷ Governor Pico awarded him title to the land in December of 1845.

Other petitions for land by ex-neophytes netted results similar to Serafino’s. For instance, three claims dated 1843 resulted in distribution of land to the petitioners. The parcels were small but provided for a modest living. In the cases of Próspero, Emilio Joaquín, and Valencia we see similarities with the claims presented by Manuel Antonio and Serafino de Jesús.⁴⁷⁸ Each petition identified the claimants as Indian converts from San Gabriel. Each neophyte stressed the labor and service he had provided while in the mission, and noted his accomplishments after liberation from the mission. Each of these men had maintained a portion of land, without title, on the outskirts of the mission lands. As a testament to their successful assimilation and conversion, each emphasized that they had built and maintained a small home, orchard, or livestock on said land; these claims, when verified in the subsequent investigation and survey, lent credence to their successful integration into Californio society. In the case of Emilio Joaquín, an Indian who had provided years of service to the mission, the investigator regarded the ex-neophyte as a role model of sorts by stating that:

⁴⁷⁶ Serafino de Jesús, V5 458-460. Spanish Mexican Land Grants, California State Archives.

⁴⁷⁷ Regarding Zerefino de Jesús, V I. 408, Los Angeles, May 12, 1843. Los Angeles County Prefecture Records, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. English Translation.

⁴⁷⁸ Files for ex-neophytes Próspero, V.I 396 1843; Emilio Joaquín, V. I 399; Valencia, V.I 395; Los Angeles County Prefecture Records, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. English Translation.

if your Excellency so decides, you may issue a title for his [Emilio's] protection, which will serve to stimulate his co-workers to take up agricultural pursuits and dedicate themselves to work.⁴⁷⁹

The attitude represented in this recommendation supports the contention that land ownership and use reflected racialized ideas about the owner. During the mission period, ex-neophytes' adherence to a religiously based discipline and regimentation indicated successful assimilation. In the post-secularization period, ex-neophytes' ability to adapt to socio-cultural expectations, such as maintaining homesteads similar to those of *vecinos*, indicated their assimilation. For some ex-neophytes, such as those discussed above, the ability to obtain land opened the door into a society that based its identity on a racialized land ownership. Entrance into this society required ex-neophyte petitioners to negotiate and identify with Californio *vecino* values in an attempt to become members of a society that kept them marginalized.

Indian applicants' various attempts to find a common ground, if not a common identity with Californios are evident from the reasoning they gave when asking for the land allotments. Indians based their requests for land on their desire to develop the land as a means of supporting themselves and their families. This speaks to the ideals of individualized land ownership and economic development reflected through nineteenth-century Californio liberalism. Ex-neophytes hoping to obtain land had to show that they too were Californios, invested in developing the land. In the process of moving away from their identities as ex-neophytes and towards that of *vecinos* or *gente de razón*, titles that would prove ever elusive to most Indians, they became wedged between the colonial moment and the nationalist project. They found themselves in an interstitial space in which they were a people without a nation, indigenous or

⁴⁷⁹ Emilio Joaquín, V.I 399, Los Angeles County Prefecture Records, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. English Translation.

Mexican;⁴⁸⁰ they negotiated their survival in a space that had no room nor desire for their fusion or integration into the society. Ex-neophytes' use of discourse imbued with racialized socio-cultural values served as a form of "discursive doubling" in which they "doubled" with Californios' agenda for land distribution, seeming to agree, yet in actuality creating a space for themselves within a Spanish and a Californio discourse that sought to silence them.⁴⁸¹

Denial of land to Amerindians allowed Californios to construct and maintain a system that confined Indians to the lowest levels of the socio-economic hierarchy. Despite the rhetoric of racial / ethnic equality and the granting of full and equal citizenship irrespective of race after Mexican Independence, distribution of secularized mission lands reflected racialized ideas of Californio culture. Men who claimed Spanish racial purity, *sangre azul*, or an elite / Spanish lineage became landowners, while the majority of Indians became workers in a society that increasingly divided itself along socio-economic lines.

Conclusion

Mexican Independence, secularization, and land distribution shaped Californio society and politics during the 1830s and 1840s. In spite of the liberal rhetoric of equality and land for

⁴⁸⁰ This idea is informed by the work of literary critic Ellie D. Hernández on what she terms postnationalism. Hernández discussing how twentieth century transnationalism effects minority activism and civil rights, argues that Chicana/os and other minority groups experience a type of "dislocation in which they are caught or suspended between the national order and an emerging transnationalism." She presents postnationalism as a way in which "cultural national identity formation provided means of participation within a segregated society." With regards to ex-neophytes we can see that the period between secularization and the U.S conquest served as a transitional moment in which discourses of Spanish coloniality, Mexican nationalism, and California regionalism defined Indians as a marginalized people lacking political and social equality. See Ellie D. Hernández, *Postnationalism in Chicana/o Literature and Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 5-10.

⁴⁸¹ The idea of doubling stems from the notion of third space and third space agency; Chicana historian Emma Pérez utilizes this concept to discuss the development of third space feminism in Yucatán during the Mexican Revolution. Pérez argues that "feminists, through the dialectics of doubling yielded a politics of contradiction to and with male-centered policies...which articulated third space feminism within and between dominant male discourses." This is an invaluable idea as it interrogates power dynamics involved into the negotiations between dominant and marginal groups within larger nationalist projects. See Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 32-33.

all, land ownership increasingly linked racial /ethnic identity with class. Land ownership gave way to the creation of a regional oligarchy that kept land out of the hands of less qualified men. In the San Gabriel region, local Los Angeles elites used their familial ties and wealth to obtain these highly desired lands of Rancho San Pascual. Hinging their claims on wealth, honor and masculinity, they vied against each other for San Pascual's vast acreage, blocking ex-neophytes from the land that they had earned through their labor in the mission.

As Californio society divided itself by ethno-class lines and a person's identity was determined through his or her relationship to the land, it became increasingly important for landowning elites to demonstrate their affluence through elaborate displays of material possessions and cultural ritual. Through land ownership, elaborate estates, livestock, and the control of Indian labor Californios racialized the lands of Rancho San Pascual and the optimal vision of land use was re-defined. Chapter four will explore how as the meaning of land use became linked to ideas of race and culture, Californio land owning elites distinguished themselves from the lower classes by emphasis their material wealth and emphasizing their status as landowners.

Chapter 4

Ranchero Culture and the Markings of Race, Culture and Status

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one focuses on the creation of Californio culture from three aspects. First, it critically examines institutions such as home, marriage, and family as the foundation for Californio identity. Secondly, it interrogates the use of social ritual, symbolism and material culture as a means of creating and maintaining social distinction from the landless classes. Lastly, it critically analyzes elites' attempts to create a pragmatic, strategic unity with the landless classes through community fiestas and the *compadrazgo* system. Part two studies the changes caused by the increased American presence during the 1840s and the U.S.-Mexico War. Specifically, it examines San Pascual in the age of transition from 1843-1848. Land use and ownership tie these sections together by showing the manner in which Californios and assimilated Americans were at first united in their status as elites and later divided by Americans' desires for land after the U.S.-Mexico War.

Creating Californio Culture and Identity

The creation of Californio identity and culture in San Pascual paralleled that in other places throughout Alta California. After secularization, a system of oligarchy allowed a few prominent Californio families to own most of the ex-mission lands. For these families, access to land was crucial to maintaining their status at the top of California's racialized and classed society. A person's relationship to land reflected more than economic status; it determined one's racial and cultural identity and served to place him or her within the social hierarchy. Californios' successful exclusion of the majority of Indians from access to land helped solidify societal relationships based on land ownership and imbued them with racial and cultural

meaning. The ability to own land helped many aspiring and actualized elites shed the confines of their mixed-race roots. During the Mexican period, many Californios defined themselves as gente de razón, to show that they were blancos, not Indians. Previously, under the Spanish colonial system, the term gente de razón had indicated that one was a Spanish Christian. Although the term contained a racialized meaning, as racial boundaries blurred and castas gained access to political, social, and economic power, during the late Mexican period, the term reflected the societal changes produced thorough a changing cultural context. In 1840s Alta California, the term gente de razón reflected several regional specificities, including land ownership. Through access to land elites and land-owning vecinos found common ground in their identity as gente de razón and worked to distinguish themselves from landless, laboring Mexicans and Indians. The emergence of a society based on land ownership and labor contributed to the solidification of societal boundaries marked by perceived racial and cultural difference. As seen in Chapter Three, prior to secularization emerging elites used their control of Indian labor to construct their status as blancos or españoles. In the post-secularization era, the availability of lands allowed these elites, the descendants of Mexico's castas, the opportunity to uplift their social position in relation to other gente de razón and Indians.⁴⁸² By fancying themselves Hidalgos, California's Dons and Doñas moved to establish a high-class culture that reflected their refinement and status, and, more importantly, distinguished them from the poorer people. Solidification of the social hierarchy in this manner linked status to property, class and ethnicity. By linking these three factors, Californios created a society and culture that embodied the racialized visions of land use that had fueled secularization and land distribution. The

⁴⁸² Miroslava Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s-1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 67.

existence of a racialized elite class necessitated a system in which their visions of optimal land use were readily discernible; Californio culture reflected this vision.

Racialized Labor: Trabajadores Mejicanos

During the early nineteenth century, the rhetoric of equality that had fueled Mexican independence and secularization temporarily placed aspiring elites and the general populace on an equal footing. As California's oligarchy grew more exclusive, elites sought ways in which to affirm their status and distinguish themselves from the landless classes. Societal distinction between the landed and the landless played out through elaborate social rituals, symbols, and material wealth displayed through elaborate estates, ownership of livestock and horses, and control of vast vineyards and orchards, all of which reflected an increasingly racialized vision of optimal land use. Elites used these displays and behaviors to emphasize that their status was premised on their ownership of land and their control of labor. The complex relationship between landowners and laborers defined the contours of Californio society and culture. Not surprisingly, the politics of racial projects manifested themselves on the physical land of Rancho San Pascual, as well as on the bodies of those who owned it and worked on it. Aside from indicating economic position, land ownership also reflected a higher racial status. Not unlike their predecessors during the mission period, many Californios regarded manual labor as degrading and often associated it with the lower castas. As a result, similar to the Spanish soldiers who delegated their responsibilities to indigenous men in the missions, wealthy landed men relied on indigenous and Mexican laborers to maintain their lands, construct their elaborate houses, and ensure agricultural production. Californios quickly realized that without sufficient, reliable labor of the working classes, they would be unable to sustain their lifestyles, as well as their honor and whiteness. In spite of their place at the top of the social hierarchy, the fact

remained that the construction, maintenance, and affirmation of elites' status depended on the working class's labor and elites' recognition of its value. In a society based on the work of others, elites had to reconcile their desires for wealth, status, and distinction with the reality that their whole world depended on others' perceptions of that status.

Status and societal perceptions of wealth originated in how much land an individual owned. In Mexican California, even modest land holdings set a person apart from the larger landless masses. Excluded from the opportunity to access land, Indians and landless Mexicans comprised the labor force in places such as El Pueblo de Los Angeles and the ex-San Gabriel Mission lands, including Rancho San Pascual. Often working as ranch hands, Indians and landless Mexican men performed manual labor, tending the caballada and borregada, sowing and reaping the harvest, cutting timber, and clearing land.⁴⁸³ Indigenous and Mexican women, also kept from owning land, often worked as domestic servants in the homes of the wealthy. They assisted wealthy Californias by laundering and ironing clothing, preparing household meals, and performing a variety of other domestic chores.⁴⁸⁴ Regardless whether laborers performed domestic or agricultural work, they provided the support system necessary for the rancho to function and helped create a stable rancho and home for the ranchero class.

The work of ranch hands was crucial to the operation of the rancho. Many ranchos in the immediate region around San Pascual boasted workforces comprised of laborers performing a variety of services. The 1836 and 1844 padrones for Los Angeles and its surrounding jurisdictions listed men and women in occupations such as laborers, servants, vaqueros

⁴⁸³ For specific occupation listed in the census, see Padrones, 1836, 1844, V3 666-802, Los Angeles City Archives, (Los Angeles, CA). In his testimonio José del Carmen Lugo details the specific jobs and methods used by ranch hands. José del Carmen Lugo, *Vida de un Ranchero*, BANC MSS C-D 118, 104 -106. From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

⁴⁸⁴ Linda Heidenreich, *This Land Was Once Mexican: History of Resistance from Northern California* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 68; Lisbeth Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 53.

(cattlemen), and field hands. Ranchos Santa Gertrudis, Las Bolsas, and San Rafael, comprised of allotments from ex-mission lands and in close proximity to San Pascual, had workers performing a variety of labor ranging from sirvientes (servants) and labradores (farm laborers) to skilled artisans such as cigarreros (cigar makers) and bordaderos (embroiderers).⁴⁸⁵ For instance, in 1836, Antonio María Nieto's 21,298-acre Rancho Santa Gertrudis had five labradores, nine sirvientes, and one cigarrero.⁴⁸⁶ Similarly, the Verdugo family's 36,403 acre Rancho San Rafael had twelve labradores and one bordadero who embroidered the famous lace shawls and other items Californios used as designations of status. Interestingly, the region's only listed bordadero was a fifty-year-old man named José María Ortiz.⁴⁸⁷ The fact that an occupation that could easily be regarded as women's labor was done by a man speaks to the possibility that labor may not have been restricted along gender lines. Aside from the consistent labor provided by workers living on the ranchos, landowners had steady access to laborers residing in the San Gabriel Mission region.⁴⁸⁸ The 1836 padrón enumerated nine labradores (farm laborer), one vaquero (cattleman), and two mayordomos (principal servant), workers that ranchers could call upon whenever needed. In addition to this rancho-related labor, the region had several skilled artisans and merchants, including a jabonero (soap maker), a verdulero (fruit and vegetable dealer), and a platero (silversmith),⁴⁸⁹ all of whom served the regional inhabitants' needs and supplied rancheros with luxury items essential to their public image. The availability and control of labor helped landowners fulfill provisional land grants requiring land maintenance and improvement.

⁴⁸⁵ The term sirvientes refers to people who worked as servants at the homesteads. The padrón distinguishes between two types of labradores; first are general farm laborers and the second are labradores propietarios, farmers who own their own lands, and cigarreros or cigar makers.

⁴⁸⁶ Padrón, 1836, Los Angeles City Archives, Spanish Version, 46-47.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 46-47.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 48-49.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 49-51.

In stark contrast to the ranchos discussed above, Juan Mariné's Rancho San Pascual did not reflect the characteristics of a successful, productive ranch.

In 1836, San Pascual was in the hands of the original grantees, Juan Marin and Eulalia Pérez.⁴⁹⁰ Interestingly, census data did not specify San Pascual as a rancho but included it as part of the San Gabriel Mission. Additionally, unlike landowners of similar sized ranches, Mariné was identified as a "laborer-proprietor," a farmer who owned his own land, not a "rancher."⁴⁹¹ There were no laborers listed in connection to San Pascual. The only others included in the enumeration for the Mariné household were his children, Filomeno, Fruto, Rafaela, Josefa, and María Antonia. Filomeno, the eldest of Marin's two sons, is listed as a laborer, while his younger son, eighteen-year-old Fruto, has no listed occupation.⁴⁹² The fact that Mariné's ranch had no farm laborers aside from himself and his son, as well as the fact that he was not classified as a rancher, speaks to the status of the ranch itself. By 1836, Marin had not developed Rancho San Pascual in fulfillment of the provisional land grant; by 1838, the land was deemed abandoned. The information provided in the padrón gives an indication of the ranch's condition and foreshadowed the economic denouncement that soon followed; it also speaks to San Pascual's failure to become a rancho.

By 1844, Rancho San Pascual had changed hands and been granted to José Pérez and Enrique Sepúlveda based on an economic denouncement against Mariné's widow, Eulalia Pérez. The padrón of that year listed Pérez as living in Los Angeles, showing that she had lost any

⁴⁹⁰ The record lists Juan Mariné and Helena Guillén; Padrón, 1844, Los Angeles City Archives, English translation, 510.

⁴⁹¹ Padrón, 1836, English translation, 510.

⁴⁹² These children, ranging in age from eighteen to thirty-four, were the offspring from Marin's marriage to Maria Antonia Sepulveda, not Eulalia Pérez. With reference to Fruto Mariné, witnesses in the land investigations for Enrique Sepulveda's denouncement of San Pascual identify Fruto as a soldier who had often been in trouble with the law. See, Sepúlveda to Governor, February 10, 1840, V7 370, California State Archives, Spanish Mexican Land Grants.

claim to the land granted to her after her husband's death.⁴⁹³ Interestingly, despite their acquisition of San Pascual, José Pérez and Enrique Sepúlveda were not able to make the land profitable, nor were they able to develop it in any significant manner. Similar to the 1836 census, the 1844 census taker does not identify San Pascual as a rancho and the latter fails to include that rancho at all. There are several reasons why this may be the case. One explanation may be that both Pérez and Sepúlveda had died by the time of the padrón's completion. After their deaths, in 1841 and 1844 respectively, their wives took over their lands. Land records for San Pascual show that Pérez's and Sepúlveda's widows, María Merced Lugo and María Bernarda Alanís, gained their husbands' land and livestock, and that their husbands' properties were largely absorbed by their respective families. A second explanation for San Pascual's exclusion from the census may rest on the fact that the rancho did not have a male head of household or that an elaborate household did not exist on the land. Inclusion of surrounding ranchos, such as Rancho Santa Gertrudis and Rancho San Rafael, indicate that the enumerator did visit the area, but either neglected Rancho San Pascual or included it as part of these larger ranchos. Regardless of the reason behind its exclusion in 1844, San Pascual's status had not changed over the course of the eight-year period between the padrones. Although the land allotment was quite large and had proved quite viable during the mission period, grantees' repeated failures to develop it point to larger societal ideals of optimal land use. The fact that the 1836 census does not enumerate any laborers aside from Marin and his son, and the 1844 census did not include the rancho indicate that according to popular definition, the land itself was not popularly considered a rancho.

The comparison of San Pascual and surrounding ranchos shows the importance of labor in creating the popular perception of the land and its ranchers. Mestizo and Indian workers sold

⁴⁹³ Padrón, 1836, English translation, 568.

their labor to landed men who created a society based on the work of others; control of their labor was crucial to the ranching class's survival. The growth of ranchos perpetuated elites' visions of land use based on land ownership and control of labor. The exploitation of a racialized labor force helped propel the image of a Mexican California characterized by adjoining ranchos and Spanish Dons. The definition of what a rancho was and who was an honorable ranchero emerged from an interaction between the elite and lower classes. The ranchero created the image and compelled workers to support that image. Laborers were crucial to the materialization of elites' visions of the rancho. Without labor to build the homestead and to work the land, the ranch and the rancher did not exist in the public perception. The ranching elite's emphasis on socio-economic class distinction through expressions of material wealth came after they had successfully managed to fulfill visions of optimal land use and become rancheros.

Rancheros Blancos: The Land-Ownning Elite

In the context of 1840s California, the production of ranchero culture reflected racialized socio-economic conditions established during the early part of the nineteenth century. Racialized and gendered ideas regarding land ownership and labor created a social space based on class distinction. In line with the societal racial order, Indigenous and Mexican laborers charged with the daily upkeep of the land and the livestock faced long workdays and endless economic exploitation, while blanco elites distinguished themselves through rituals, symbols, and material wealth. Studies of wealthy Californios often place the production of ranchero culture in the hands of the elite; scholarship by historians such as Leonard Pitt and Robert Cleland contend that the production of ranchero culture resulted from the efforts of the

wealthy.⁴⁹⁴ Contrary to this classic narrative, the creation of culture did not occur in isolation, nor did it stem from one specific source. Cultural production resulted from simultaneous interactions in a specific historical context. As argued by historian Lisbeth Haas, “identities are grounded in the particular relationship formed through histories of race, gender, class, and place; the politics of space is closely connected to the formation of collective identities grounded in particular interpretations of the past.”⁴⁹⁵ Social and cultural identity emerged out of the interactions between laborers and elites.⁴⁹⁶ The multifaceted relationships engendered through the attempts to establish the rancho as a viable public site of economic production directly connected the laboring classes to the production of ranchero culture as spectacle. Workers became another crucial element in the production and maintenance of elites’ material culture and social status.

Prior to 1834, California’s non-indigenous people shared many commonalities based on their relationship to the land and the mission. Following secularization and through the 1840s, a racialized socio-economic hierarchy marked the main distinction existing in Alta California. In the emergent rancho society, land ownership itself served as its own social distinction. As the number of landed families grew steadily through the middle of the nineteenth century, outward reflections of wealth and status grew in importance. In addition to controlling large tracts of land and a significant labor force, many Californios reflected their wealth through a variety of ways. Competition to obtain a higher social and economic status than other wealthy landowners depended “on the affirmation of social standing, not the mere accumulation of goods and

⁴⁹⁴ Robert Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1963); Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish Speaking Californias, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

⁴⁹⁵ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 9.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

capital.”⁴⁹⁷ In other words, wealthy men measured their success through societal recognition of their status. Once workers had successfully built the rancho, it was necessary that the wealthy recognize the ranchero as part of the elite class. Between 1834 and 1846, the Golden Age of the Rancho, gaining societal recognition became increasingly important because wealthy elites needed to justify their wealth and social power to each other as well as to lower groups. Elaborate estates and homes furnished with fixtures of the finest quality, clothing made of fine, expensive cloth, and public ritual and symbols distinguished elites from the lower classes, but more importantly defined them in relation to other wealthy landowners.

Land, Estates, Homesteads

Secularization and political maneuverings placed wealthy men in control of California's most viable lands. Large landowners were often themselves civil leaders or friendly with men who served on the ayuntamiento (town council), or in other civil capacities. Political connections and social prestige provided landed men exclusive access to tremendous acres of premium land throughout California and allowed them to ascend higher in the socio-economic hierarchy. Californios' social prestige allowed them to obtain land easily and in turn helped maintain their social status. In addition to gaining the land, it was crucial that Californios fulfill the provisions of the land grants. In order to develop the land in accordance with the 1834 and 1836 land laws most landowners obtained an adequate labor force and quickly began their attempts to establish a respectable homestead as a way of affirming their societal status.

In the attempt to distinguish themselves from other more modest landowners, many elites invested their money and efforts into building adobe homes instead of the jacales or rudimentary

⁴⁹⁷ Douglas Monroy, "Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society," in *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 183.

wattle and daub huts of the lower classes. Landowners' use of adobe as construction material indicated their economic status and augmented their social status. Many wealthy families throughout the Los Angeles Pueblo and its surrounding areas built elaborate homes using the durable material. One of the most popular adobe homes of the time belonged to the Avila family. The wealthy rancher and grantee of Rancho Las Ciénagas, Francisco Avila, built the adobe in the center of El Pueblo de Los Angeles in 1818.⁴⁹⁸ As one of the wealthiest men in Los Angeles, Avila decorated his home with the finest furnishings imported from the Mexican interior as well as from New England and Europe.⁴⁹⁹ The importation of furnishings and decorations indicates Avila's economic success; his home affirmed his wealth in the eyes of the community. As one of the first men to receive a grant under the Spanish system, Avila's was the first adobe home built in Los Angeles. After independence and secularization, as the government distributed land grants in greater numbers and aspiring rancheros built their wealth, the home became a way to distinguish oneself amongst other elites. Not to be outdone, other landed families built their own elaborate adobe homes.

In 1828, Corporal José María Verdugo, a soldier who had served at the San Diego and San Gabriel Missions, retired and built his family home at Rancho San Rafael. Naming it the Catalina Adobe after his favorite daughter, Verdugo, with the help of his many sons, improved the ranch home using the profits from his lucrative ranching and agricultural ventures. After the ex-officer died in 1831, his son Julio took over full operation of the rancho and shared the land with his sister. Under Julio Verdugo's ownership, Rancho San Rafael grew in wealth through the cultivation of grape vineyards and cattle grazing. Similar to the Avilas, Verdugo furnished

⁴⁹⁸ William David Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 297-298 n56.

⁴⁹⁹ John Kielbasa, *Historic Adobes of Los Angeles County, Southern County, Avila Adobe*, <http://www.laokay.com/halac/> (accessed May 15, 2012).

his home with items imported from New England and Europe.⁵⁰⁰ In addition to the main house occupied by Julio Verdugo's immediate family, he also built several smaller adobe homes on the land for his older sons. Having inherited half of the land, his sister Catalina also maintained a small two-bedroom home at the northernmost point of the rancho.⁵⁰¹ The 1836 padrón indicates that approximately thirty-three people, including family members and laborers, lived on the Verdugo land. Julio Verdugo's successful building and furnishing of these homes, as well as the maintenance of a significant labor force, re-affirmed his status as successful a ranchero.⁵⁰²

The image of the successful ranchero relied on societal perceptions of masculinity and economics. Attainment of land was the first step in defining a man's space in California's social and cultural society. In their petitions for land, many men referred to their role as head of the family and their need for land to better the condition of their families.⁵⁰³ Once a man received land, it became his responsibility to use it to define his identity as a man, a ciudadano, and a ranchero. In nineteenth century California, the stable rancho homestead became the site for affirmation of these identities because the term "homestead" did not simply refer to the physical home but also referred to familial relationships and gender roles. As patriarchs, men had to control their women, their land, and maintain their honor. As argued by historian Louise Pubols, in her work on California patriarch José De La Guerra y Noriega, "patriarchy was part of the natural order of things," and the patriarch was "expected to command and dominate others... who fell within the bounds of his authority."⁵⁰⁴ Patriarchy and dominance of those regarded as lower on the social hierarchy were essential to maintenance of masculinity. The rancho

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., (accessed June 15, 2012).

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Padrón, 1836, English translation, 511.

⁵⁰³ For specific instances, refer to land documents presented in Chapter 3.

⁵⁰⁴ Louise Pubols, *The Father of All: The De La Guerra Family, Power, and Patriarchy in Mexican California* (Los Angeles: Henry Huntington Library and Art Gallery and University of California Press, 2009), 58.

household represented a private space in which men extended their public dominance and patriarchal power to the confines of their home and family.⁵⁰⁵ With the intention of protecting women's virtue and by extension men's honor, patriarchs built large houses that served the dual purpose of reflecting their wealth and controlling their women.⁵⁰⁶ The design of rancho adobes supports the idea that the home housed men's honor. The homes, often built in a U or L-shape, facilitated men's vigilance over the women who lived in the home.⁵⁰⁷ Vigilance over a woman's virtue reflected their status as men's possessions; men watched their women in a manner similar to the way they watched their ranches, their laborers, and their wealth.

Men's protection of women's virtue only reflected one aspect of their assertion of male dominance. Women's activities in the home also directly affected society's perception of wealthy patriarchs. Similar to the way manual labor determined a man's status, connection to manual labor defined women's status as well. Elite women were responsible for running the household and controlling the labor of household servants.⁵⁰⁸ Women's roles in the home were directly linked to men's honor and public reputation, because elite men's wealth determined how many servants worked in the home; the more servants a husband provided, the less direct contact his wife and daughters had with manual labor. Access to manufactured goods and a consistent domestic workforce did not completely remove them from their duties as housewives; it simply redefined their gender roles within a different economic reality. Both elite and working class women labored inside and outside the home, performing domestic duties such as baking,

⁵⁰⁵ For a similar argument, see Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities*, 49.

⁵⁰⁶ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 69-70.

⁵⁰⁷ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 69; for physical descriptions of the adobes in Mexican California see *Archeology in America: An Encyclopedea, Volume 3, the Southwest and Great Basin Plateau*, Francis P. MacManon, ed. (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 2009); Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1973), 1-22.

⁵⁰⁸ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 70.

cooking, cleaning, ironing, sewing, and laundering clothing.⁵⁰⁹ Aside from sharing similar labor duties, women from both classes bore the responsibility of bearing children. Within a patriarchal society, motherhood was an important element of women's identity; elite women's economic privilege did not spare them from this responsibility. Although all women were responsible for bearing children, elite women were expected to have a multitude of children in order physically represent their husband's virility and masculinity. Most working class women bore about ten children, while elite women often birthed upwards of fifteen children.⁵¹⁰ The number of children a man had directly correlated to his socio-economic status because it showed that he had the means to maintain them.⁵¹¹

Women's position within the household, and the physical dwelling itself, were crucial to reflecting men's honor. Landed men's spheres of influence originated in the household and were informed by societal prescriptions of masculinity. Social ideals about women's behavior and a patriarch's responsibilities to his family created the foundation for a stable household. Landowning patriarchs needed to indicate their ability to control and dominate their household affairs and provide for those living and working on their land. The examples of the Avila and Verdugo homesteads speak to the variety of social and cultural dynamics that combined to create the physical representation of prestige and honor needed to be a successful ranchero in control of a productive rancho.

⁵⁰⁹ Heidenreich, *This Land Was Mexican Once*, 99-100; María Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press), 52-53.

⁵¹⁰ Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 218.

⁵¹¹ Heidenreich, *This Land was Mexican Once*, 101.

Creating the Elite: Marriage, the Family, and Social Networks

Control of land, establishment of a stable household and the growth of prosperous estates were outward reflections of men's social honor and their identity as *rancheros*. Although the nexus of a man's identity was rooted in the individual patriarchal unit of his homestead, the creation of the family and familial honor existed within a larger social system. Similar to mixed-race soldiers' and *pobladores*' efforts to blend with Spanish governing elites to create strong familial and kinship networks to access profit and honor in early California,⁵¹² wealthy Californio men sought to achieve and maintain social status and respectability by building networks with other prestigious families. Utilizing intermarriage between their children and those of other prosperous *rancheros*, wealthy patriarchs augmented their land holdings. The creation of these familial networks complimented elites' political connections and helped facilitate the creation of a landed oligarchy. Successful establishment of these familial networks resulted in a small number of elite families controlling the majority of California's land.

In Los Angeles and the surrounding areas, sons and daughters from elite families such as the Avilas and Sepúlvedas married each other to solidify their families' socio-economic status and expand their familial land holdings. Similar to other ranches throughout Southern California, Rancho San Pascual fell under the auspices of these families. Dating back to the period immediately following secularization, we see a connection between Rancho San Pascual and the Sepúlveda / Avila clans. Juan Mariné, grantee of San Pascual, had been married to Francisca Antonia María Sepúlveda, daughter of patriarch Francisco Xavier Sepúlveda. After Francisca's death, Mariné married Eulalia Pérez; after his death, his children with Sepúlveda inherited his

⁵¹² Pubols, *The Father of All*, 13-14.

stake in the land.⁵¹³ José Pérez, Eulalia Pérez's nephew, denounced the land and was given a provisional grant. Pérez was married to María Merced Lugo, daughter of the prominent patriarch Antonio María Lugo.⁵¹⁴ Upon seeing that Pérez was not fulfilling the provisions of the grant, Enrique Sepúlveda, son of Juan José Sepúlveda and nephew of Francisca Antonia María Sepúlveda, denounced Pérez's claim and became co-grantee of San Pascual. Later, Manuel Garfías, a military officer married to María Luisa Avila, the daughter of María Encarnación Sepúlveda and Francisco Avila, and cousin of Enrique Sepúlveda, denounced Sepúlveda's claim to San Pascual.⁵¹⁵ Although it is quite complicated to keep track of the intermarriages and the familial connections between the Sepúlveda and Avila families, it is evident that this network allowed these prominent landowning families access to San Pascual's premier lands from the colonial period through the Mexican period. The Sepúlveda and Avila families remained connected to San Pascual until Garfías lost the land after the U.S.-Mexico War.

The fact that the Avila and Sepúlveda families successfully maintained access to San Pascual, as well as to the thousands of acres gained elsewhere in the Los Angeles area through intermarriage, reflects the importance of the family unit in Alta California.⁵¹⁶ The marriages contracted by these families functioned as a symbolic system that helped shape and support

⁵¹³ See previous chapter for more in detail discussion of Marin's heirs. Marriage Record Juan Marin and María Antonia Sepúlveda, September 6, 1797, San Gabriel Mission Records, Number 00433, Huntington Library, Early Population Project Database, 2006, <http://missions.huntington.org/MarriageDate.aspx?ID=22862>.

⁵¹⁴ Reference to María Merced Lugo's marriage to José Pérez is contained in Marriage Record for Charles "Carlos" Foster to María Merced Lugo, August 5, 1848, San Gabriel Mission Records, Number 02057, Huntington Library, Early Population Project Database, 2006, <http://missions.huntington.org/MarriageDate.aspx?ID=3240>.

⁵¹⁵ Marriage Record for María Encarnación Sepúlveda and Francisco Avila, November 8, 1822, San Gabriel Mission Records, Number 01634, Huntington Library, Early Population Project Database, 2006, <http://missions.huntington.org/MarriageDate.aspx?ID=3027>; Manuel Garfías and María Luisa Avila, Matrimonial Investigation, San Gabriel Mission Matrimonial Investigation Records, McPherson Collection, Special Collections, Honnold Mudd Library, Claremont University Consortium (Claremont, CA).

⁵¹⁶ In 1825, Enrique Sepúlveda married María Bernarda Alanís, the daughter of wealthy landowner Máximo Alanís. Máximo Alanís was the grantee of Rancho San José de Buenos Ayres, a 4,438-acre allotment that is the present site of Westwood, UCLA, Holmby Hills, and Bel Air in West Los Angeles. The marriage between Enrique and María Bernarda began a link between the Alanís and Sepúlveda families that continued into future generations. Marriage Record for Sepúlveda and Alanís, January 19, 1825, San Fernando Mission Records, Number 00749, Huntington Library, Early Population Project Database, 2006, <http://missions.huntington.org/MarriageDate.aspx?ID=22862>.

social hierarchies and behaviors. According to anthropologist Clifford Geertz, symbols serve as a way to create culture, a way to shape how a person sees, feels, and thinks about the world around them.⁵¹⁷ By establishing a stable family unit and strong familial networks, ranching elites transformed the family into a symbolic system that distinguished them from the lower classes. The fact that elites only married within their own ethno-class circles defined the parameters for broader social and class behavior and interactions. Entering into these elite marriages and maintaining control over the land accessed through them likely solidified the lower classes' perception and interpretation of elites' social status; furthermore it helped delineate the class boundaries between those who controlled labor and those who performed it.

Within Californio society, the family served as a symbol of honor and respectability; similar to the rancho and the home, it became another representation of material culture. The relationships and among these families were part of larger societal ritual and symbol and engendered class-specific relations that allowed the wealthy to maintain a multifaceted grasp on their power.

Californio Identity: Social Distinction, Ritual, Symbol, and Material Culture

In Mexican California, societal distinction manifested itself through a variety of interactions between the wealthy and lower classes. Californios sought to simultaneously emphasize their social status above the poorer classes and distinguish themselves in comparison to other elites through a project that emphasized material possessions, ritual and symbolic interactions. This project served the dual purpose of distinguishing between and amongst social classes and fostering a pragmatic social unity with the working class. Framing their relationship

⁵¹⁷ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretations of Culture: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5; 17-20. Geertz argues for the interpretive approach that looks at how people's interpretation of symbols shape their world.

with the lower classes through a lens of paternalism, Californios simultaneously reiterated their power and status through material culture and created interclass unity through symbolic events and relationships such as fiestas and the system of godparent relationships or *compadrazgo*. Californios created a society concurrently based on social deference and reciprocity, a culture in which every person was interconnected regardless of status, yet classified because of it.

Home and Ranch Accessories

Upkeep of the rancho was crucial to Californios' inclusion amongst elite circles. Although the physical appearance of the homestead was very important in avoiding economic land denouncements, elites accentuated their homes' aesthetics through an array of imported furnishings. Many Californio elites, because of their proximity to seaports, participated in trade with Americans and Europeans, which allowed them to purchase material items that augmented their economic status. Some wealthy families purchased items that enhanced household functionality, while other families purchased mirrors and clocks and luxury items such as pool tables, pianos, and organs.⁵¹⁸ In addition to items that many could dismiss as frivolous and mere expressions of wealth, some possessions owned by wealthier families reflected the fundamental inequities in Mexican California. For example, in his 1877 testimonio, Don José del Carmen Lugo described the different types of beds and bedding available in California. Families of means had “lechos hechas de álamo foradas con cuero.”⁵¹⁹ Less affluent persons used beds “hechas con latitas y encima colocado un cuero,” while those “que no tenían otra cosa, se

⁵¹⁸ Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 222-223.

⁵¹⁹ José del Carmen Lugo, *Vida de un Ranchero*, 1877, BANC MSS C-D 118, 80. From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, Index of the Spanish-Mexican Private Land Records and Cases of California, University of California, Berkeley “Beds [mattresses] made of poplar covered with leather hide.” Author’s translation

echaban sobre un cuero.”⁵²⁰ In addition to quality beds, elites also enjoyed lace-edged, embroidered pillowcases and bed sheets made of the finest cloth. In his 1877 testimonio, wealthy Los Angeles rancher Don Antonio Coronel recalled the attention paid to decorating household beds and accessories: “Las mujeres tenían particular cuidado en el adorno de sus camas, cuyas sábanas y fundas de almohada habían de estar perfiladas, bordadas ó caladas.”⁵²¹ The fact that elites took such care in their bedrooms, spaces that in all likelihood were very private and closed off to public eyes, speaks volumes to their commitment to creating and maintaining a wealthy image even when behind closed doors.

In addition to the bedroom, Californio elites used material items to emphasize their wealth in their homes’ more public spaces. Living rooms and parlors, places frequented by neighbors, friends, business contacts, and relatives, reflected a family’s affluence through the display of imported clocks and mirrors. Frequently, well-to-do families also hosted dinner parties and fiestas that accentuated their wealth through silver table services and glass decanters obtained through American and European traders.⁵²² Aside from the luxury items described above, elites had access to everyday items that most of the population could not afford. For example, in describing dinner and silverware, consisting of plates, forks, and spoons, Lugo stated that “por lo general, en la clase pobre, que era la mayor parte de la población...pocos tenían platos, cucharas o tenedores.”⁵²³ Lacking these items, the poor used cajetas (clay bowls) instead of plates and ate their food using tortillas instead of utensils.⁵²⁴ These items indicated the

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 80. “Beds made of small logs placed in a leather hide.” Author’s translation. “Those who had nothing else slept [literally: threw themselves] on a hide.” Author’s translation.

⁵²¹ Antonio Franco Coronel, *Cosas de California : Vecino de la Ciudad de Los Angeles, 1877*, BANC MSS C- D 61, 236-237. From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley. “Women took particular care in the adorning of their beds; the bed sheets and pillowcases had to be embroidered.” Author’s translation.

⁵²² Lugo, *Vida de un Ranchero*, 79-80.

⁵²³ Ibid., 83-84. “Generally speaking, the poorer classes, which were the majority of the population, few had plates, spoons, or forks.” Author’s translation.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 83-84.

affluence in which elites lived. The wealthy adorned their homes with the finest goods and successfully created a social image that left no question about their status.

The social status reflected through the home and its furnishings was only part of a larger endeavor to distinguish oneself in a materialistic culture; items outside the home also became crucial in creating a well-rounded image of the *ranchero* and his status. Throughout the region, most *rancheros* and their laborers had the standard *vaquero* gear comprised of a saddle, lariat, knife, sword, and *serape*;⁵²⁵ the quality of the gear was what distinguished the owner's wealth and status. In a culture in which both wealthy men and laborers rode horses, status and distinction were important because wealthy men could potentially be mistaken for being from the same class as laborers.

In a rancho and horse culture, the item that best reflected a man's status was the *montura*, or saddle and its accessories. According to Coronel, the saddle was a fundamental part of a *vaquero*'s gear. Functionally, saddles were similar in construction and type, made of sturdy materials to resist the harsh conditions of working with livestock. Strong, leather *reatas* attached the saddle to the horse by way of a belt made of thread crafted from horsehair; this harness was laid upon a *vaqueta*, a cowhide that covered the horse on both sides.⁵²⁶ While saddles were similar in practicality, their adornment often varied. The *vaquetas* included "bordadas de seda de colores ó hilo de oro ó plata," depending on "los recursos del cabalgador."⁵²⁷ Saddles' intricate decorations often carried over into elaborate *vaquetas* covering the horse's *anca* or haunches; many times these *vaquetas* matched the color, patterns and border of the cowhide on which the

⁵²⁵ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 237-238.

⁵²⁶ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 237. Author's translation.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 237. "The *vaquetas* included silk embroidery of gold or silver depending on the [economic] means of the rider." Author's translation.

saddle rested.⁵²⁸ The saddle reflected the status of the rider and accentuated a social and economic distinction amongst men on a field that presumed them equal.

Clothing

In broader society, away from the home and rancho, clothing provided the daily class distinction Californios desired. In Californio society, clothing served as the most important way of distinguishing oneself because it was what most people saw. As in other places throughout the Mexican frontier, encounters in the public arena required that one be dressed according to his or her social class. Wealthy Californios dressed in the most up-to-date fashions made of the finest materials as a way of making their status and economic position known to the public. Here, as in the creation of the respectable homestead and family, public perception played a crucial role in creating a person's status amongst other wealthy people as well as the lower classes. A person's clothing and the public's recognition of one's clothing affirmed the whole, complete image of the wealthy Californios' social status.

California's agricultural lifestyle and culture determined the type of clothing used in the region. Clothing and accessories were made of light cotton and linen, as well as leather and woolen materials that provided durability and versatility. Influenced by these factors, California's distinct social classes utilized clothing that were very similar in style but differed in quality and decoration. Differences in clothing served as the wealthy Californios' means of showing their wealth to the public; as a result, the wealthy took great pride in their clothing and used it to emphasize the differences between themselves and the poorer classes. In his 1877 testimonio, Coronel's detailed description of men's clothing emphasizes the disparate quality of clothing amongst the classes. In describing men's chalecos or vests, he detailed the elaborate

⁵²⁸ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 237. Author's translation.

decoration and ornamental buttons used on the silk or paño item. Coronel meticulously described buttonholes outlined with colorful silk and details the vest's elegant, silk hand embroidery.⁵²⁹ With similar detail, Coronel described the elegant riding sleeves, jacket, pants, and expensive garters decorated with silken flowers, fruits, and animals.⁵³⁰ After asserting that his careful description reflected the clothing of "men of a means that enjoyed more comforts," Coronel continued his description of clothing worn by men of the lower classes.⁵³¹ His description consists primarily of the material used to make the article of clothing. He stated that depending on a laborer's means, their chalecos were made of wool, cotton, or silk.⁵³² In contrast to his detailed description of wealthy men's vests, Coronel very briefly and simply stated, "[t]hey were decorated capriciously."⁵³³ With a similar lack of detail, he describes laborers' jackets and pants, stating that some variety existed if the laborer had the means to exchange them through their labor.⁵³⁴

Men's clothing described above reflects the fashion of men who either owned land or worked the land, men who spent their time outside their homes. Women's fashions were somewhat different from men's because they more clearly defined the links between gender roles and economic status. In 1834 and 1835, women, regardless of economic class, wore dresses. Similar to men's fashions, class differences in women's dresses lay in the material from which the dresses were made, as well as their detail and decoration. In his description of wealthy women's clothing, Coronel stated that women wore tight-fitting narrow tunics made of cotton or

⁵²⁹ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 232.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 232-233; Jose Lugo provides a similar description in his testimonio. See, Lugo, *Vida de un Ranchero*, 88-90. Author's translation.

⁵³¹ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 233. Author's translation.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 235.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 235. Author's translation.

⁵³⁴ Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 52.

suede. The top of the dress, described as a corpino or bodice, was high-necked and sleeveless.⁵³⁵ Women decorated the dress with their choice of a listón or ribbon, or with flowers, whatever they fancied.⁵³⁶ Frequently women accentuated their clothing with necklaces and earrings they obtained from trading hides with American merchants.⁵³⁷ Coronel stated that fancy lace rebosos, reminiscent of those worn by Spanish women, completed their outfits.⁵³⁸

While wealthy women wore the most up-to-date fashions, women of lesser means often wore more traditional style skirts and off-the-shoulder blouses, lacking the intricate decorations and detail of higher quality clothing.⁵³⁹ Poorer women's less elegant and loose fitting attire reflected class-specific ideas about gender because it afforded them the mobility necessary to more easily perform their day-to-day activities. Poor women's less modest clothing also indicated their place in the social strata. Elite women's very conservative clothing spoke to the value of wealthy women's sexuality and gender behavior. Upper class women were consistently supervised in their homes, the place that accorded them their honor and virtue. In contrast, because poorer women often worked outside their respective homes they were subjected to less direct patriarchal supervision and their gender propriety and respectability were policed by larger societal forces. These gender expectations indicate the fact that wealthy women were responsible for maintaining landed men's honor as well as sustaining wealthy women's propriety. In comparison, wealthy women's tunics were very tight-fitting and restrictive; while wearing the dress, or medio paso as it was known, women could only take half steps.⁵⁴⁰ The dresses' effect on a woman's mobility provided for the affirmation of gender and economic

⁵³⁵ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 235.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁵³⁷ Monroy, "Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society," 188.

⁵³⁸ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 245.

⁵³⁹ Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 220-221.

⁵⁴⁰ The phrase medio paso means half step. Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, 220.

status by controlling what a woman could do. In terms of labor, wealthy women could not freely complete a variety of household work, increasing their reliance on their domestic servants and indirectly reaffirming their status as rich women, as well as their husbands and fathers as strong patriarchs.

Coronel's testimonio provides an important description of the type of clothing worn by Californio men and women, but his narrative also provided a glimpse into elites' attitudes regarding clothing and its role in the affirmation of the social hierarchy. His choice of language and the manner in which he described the clothing indicated his desire to express the differences between himself and lower class men. For instance, in his discussion of laborers' chalecos, Coronel segued into the description by explaining the type of work that laborers did; he stated "Men worked on the rancho or in other agricultural pursuits."⁵⁴¹ Although this does not seem as a significant point, it is very important in documenting his superior status to the workers he described. Prefacing his description with a discussion of the type of labor lower class men performed, and the clothing they wore while doing it, Coronel reiterated the social and economic hierarchies that the clothing affirmed. Additionally, Coronel's brief description of the decorations on a working class man's chaleco spoke volumes about his attitudes about the men who wore them. In his description, Coronel stated that the decorations were "capriciously done." In English, this statement does not seem to indicate any sort of social distinction but merely suggests that they were unorganized or impulsive. When reviewing the statement in Spanish we see another perspective that reflects societal power dynamics between laborer and rancher. In his testimonio Coronel stated that the vest was "adornado caprichosamente." In Spanish, the statement's tone and the short dismissive description of the vest's decoration implied an erratic and inferior quality of the vest in comparison to those of elite men. This small difference is quite

⁵⁴¹ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 235. Author's translation.

significant, because through this statement Coronel reaffirmed the quality of his clothing and status and reestablished the social distance between himself and the men he considered his social inferiors.

Lugo's and Coronel's testimonios reveal several things about elites' socio-economic status as reflected through material items. In their narratives, both men speak to the different conditions existing in Californio society. Both provided descriptions of material items enjoyed by those at different socioeconomic levels. In spite of their attempts to supply an all-inclusive depiction of everyday items used in Alta California, their narratives betrayed the privilege accorded to them through their wealth. Their recollections reflect the social distinction they sought during the Californio period. For example, Lugo used the phrase, "según los recursos," or "according to one's resources," to indicate that not everyone had access to the same standard of living. Lugo first relates the goods of the upper class, followed by the middle class, and lastly by the lower classes. The order in which he told his story described his lifestyle as a man of means, distinguishing himself from those who could not afford his lifestyle. Recounting his story in this manner provided a way of reiterating his upper class status. While Lugo's use of the phrase "según los recursos," and the order of his recollection showed his awareness of the economic inequities of Californio society, it also served a larger historiographical purpose. According to Hayden White, historical work is a verbal structure in narrative form that classifies past structures and processes in order to explain what they were by representing them as models.⁵⁴² Following this definition, the historian writes history by arranging events in a certain order, deciding which events in the chronicle to include and exclude, and by stressing some events and subordinating others. Lugo's testimonio, as part of a project conducted by Hubert

⁵⁴² Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 4.

Howe Bancroft and his research assistants, made Lugo into a historian whose recollections became part of a history that he was simultaneously telling and making. Lugo's role as historian, then, allowed him the latitude to create the story however he wished. Lugo's formalist argument identified material objects by ordering, classifying and reclassifying them according to economic accessibility.⁵⁴³ In other words, Lugo related the (hi)story as he saw fit, and his story socially distinguished Californios, including himself, from the lower classes in the past as well as in the future.

Californios' use of material possessions and their building of stable homesteads and respectable families allowed landed elites to create a public image that they used to remain at the top of the social hierarchy. Aside from reflecting Californios' participation in the reaffirmation of social difference through material items, Lugo's and Coronel's testimonios indicated wealthy Californios' relationship with people in lower economic classes.

Symbolic Societal Unity

In Mexican California, rancheros utilized a form of paternalism long employed by their fathers to ensure patronage and keep an amicable relationship with the lower classes, all the while solidifying their honor as wealthy landed men. Based on patriarchal authority and notions of elite masculinity, first and second generation rancheros took responsibility for the members of their communities. Seeing this responsibility as an extension of their honor, rancheros provided an array of support for their communities. For example, wealthy ranchero José de la Guerra provided money for building churches and gave food to community members as a means of

⁵⁴³ White argues that historical writing follows three types: emplotment, argument, and ideological implication. The argument type, tells history according to what the historian thinks it ought to be. There are four argument types: formalist, organicist, mechanistic, and contextualism. See White, *Metahistory*, 6-10; 14.

performing his paternal responsibility to those lower on the socio-economic scale.⁵⁴⁴ By seeing themselves as fathers of a large interrelated family, elite Californio men, structured their society “on clear lines of authority and submission, but linked as well by chains of obligation and reciprocity.”⁵⁴⁵ In other words, landed elites’ responsibility for the lower classes resulted from a constructed relationship built on the performing the roles of provider and dependent. Elites’ paternalism sought to maintain authority and respect through the giving of gifts, symbolic / fictive kinship networks such as *compadrazgo*, and community acts of altruism such as *fiestas*. Throughout Mexican California, the community *fiesta* and *compadrazgo* system served the dual purpose of fulfilling paternal responsibilities while simultaneously publicly reaffirming elites’ social status and power. Elites were fully aware that their maintenance of wealth and success often relied on the lower classes’ labor and respect. Despite Californios’ emphasis on social distinction, differences between the elite and the poor did not create a fully isolated relationship between social classes. Elites, seeking to distinguish themselves from the lower classes while maintaining their respect, utilized the *fiesta* and *compadrazgo* system in a self-serving attempt to create a symbolic and pragmatic unity beneficial to their social status.

Fiestas

Californio society marked special occasions such as weddings and religious holidays with lively parties where guests enjoyed abundant food and drinks while they engaged in endless revelry.⁵⁴⁶ In the early rancho era, these high-profile celebrations often brought together people from different social classes and provided elites the opportunity to display their wealth. The wealthy hosted these community parties at their homes, allowing them to highlight their

⁵⁴⁴ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 90.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁴⁶ Lugo, *Vida de un Ranchero*, 230.

affluence in its entirety. The rancho home represented an extension of the property-owner's land by emphasizing his ability to appropriate and control the land and its resources to establish an elegant homestead. The home became the physical representation of the optimal vision of land use; it illustrated how a man's control of the land's resources could bring affluence, honor, and respectability. In a society and culture based on public perception, the space of the home illustrated these societal dynamics and reaffirmed the social hierarchy. As guests enjoyed their time at the fiesta, physical markers of wealth constantly reminded them of the host's status.

In addition to the home, the host used food and drink as a second means of displaying wealth and affluence. It was the responsibility of the *encargado* or party host to provide food and drink for the fiesta, which in some cases could last as long as a week. As social custom required, on the first day of the fiesta, the host served a "large meal for important and notable party attendees."⁵⁴⁷ For these meals, hosts ordered the killing of calves for food and provided guests with an unlimited amount of imported brandy to imbibe.⁵⁴⁸ While providing for guests seemed part of having a successful celebration, in Mexican California this too took on an important social meaning. The large elaborate meal was an opportunity for the elite to prove their status to their social peers by having them mingle in the large, spacious living rooms furnished with imported furniture and elegant decorations, while waiting to dine in the elegant dining room. Although the public could not partake in the meal, they could participate in the rest of the evening's revelry.

After supper, the host organized a dance open to anyone wishing to attend. The enramada, a large canopy made of tree branches, served as the site for the evening's baile or

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 122. Author's translation.

⁵⁴⁸ Monroy, "The Creation and Re-Creation of Californio Society," 188.

fandango.⁵⁴⁹ In the 1830s, these dances were very inclusive, and a variety of the city's population attended in spite of social differences. In his 1878 testimonio, José de Arnaz, a wealthy Spanish-born trader turned rancher, described the atmosphere of the bailes of the period:

Californio society at my arrival was mixed, rich and poor, honorable women and prostitutes, alike participated equally in social diversions. Even women who lived openly as prostitutes, and those with reputations as concubines, were easily admitted to public events.⁵⁵⁰

Arnaz's recollection indicates that although social distinctions existed in 1830s Californio society, these boundaries were not very rigid. Arnaz's statement indicates a level of disbelief in the intermingling of social classes; he seems shocked at what he regarded as a very permissive society. His statement indicates the possibility that as social norms changed, not all elites were happy with the interaction between the classes. Arnaz's use of the term "honorable" in his reference to women showed that he believed in a strong social and cultural hierarchy in which some people deserved to be shunned for their status. Regardless, these dances created the opportunity for the host to display and share his wealth with the larger community, in many cases with his employees. In order to sustain his image as a respectable, honorable man, the ranchero had a responsibility to share his wealth with those who helped him make it.⁵⁵¹ The land and its laborers made the rancher wealthy, and to insure his continued wealth, he needed to insure workers' loyalty through the distribution of its rewards. Readily visible in this interaction is the simultaneous maintenance and deconstruction of social distinction. By providing food and drink to the community and his workers, the rancher provided temporary access to the elite's excess, while increasing his social stature in the eyes of the community. Although ranchers

⁵⁴⁹ Lugo, *Vida de un Ranchero*, 122; Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 245.

⁵⁵⁰ José Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, BANC MSS C-D 32, 14-15. From the Collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley. Author's translation.

⁵⁵¹ Monroy, "The Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society," 188.

temporarily blurred social distinctions by providing momentary access to food, drink and the surroundings of affluence, social interactions and behavior reflected through dancing quickly restored the hierarchy and his place as a strong patriarch.

Dancing was an important part of the fiesta and, not surprisingly, it reflected one of the more organized and supervised parts of the social gathering. Despite the fact that admission into the bailes was somewhat lax, party participants' adherence to class norms was still expected.⁵⁵² The close proximity and possibility of intimate and/or interclass interactions changed the *baile's* dynamics because it reinstituted the class boundaries between party guests. Elites and lower class party attendees had specific behavior norms to which they adhered. As Pubols found in her study of Santa Barbara's de la Guerra family, a person's ability to enter the home of the host depended on his or her membership in elite circles. Upper class attendees ate in the large sala, while lower class community members ate in the interior patio.⁵⁵³ While adherence to class protocols was an attempt to maintain social class distinction, they were imbued with ideals of gender as well. Men and women's performances in culturally symbolic dances speak to the gendered and classed aspects of these interclass gatherings in which elites and the populacho commingled.

Aside from lunch and dinner, the fiestas included a variety of dances with names such as la bamba, la jota, el fandango, and el burro, each with its respective moves.⁵⁵⁴ Men performed some dances while women observed, and in other dances women performed while men were the spectators. Both men and women used the dances as courting opportunities, and because the dances were in *public* spaces, men and women had to follow a gendered protocol. The design of the enramadas provided a place for women to sit under the canopy and a place outside for men to

⁵⁵² Ibid., 188.

⁵⁵³ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 97-98.

⁵⁵⁴ Lugo, *Vida de un Ranchero*, 123-125; Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 248-261; Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, 19.

congregate while mounted on their horses; the men's space was along the side of the enramada and allowed them to see and be seen by the women inside.⁵⁵⁵ Men and women could not form mixed groups and were always separate from each other, except when they danced.⁵⁵⁶ Women sat under the canopy while men remained outside on their horses until the master of ceremonies, or tecolero, announced a couple's dance.⁵⁵⁷ Men dismounted and entered the tent, chose the woman with whom they wished to dance, and proceeded to the dance floor.⁵⁵⁸ After the dance was over, men excused themselves from their companions and went back to their horses.

The protocol described above does not seem to reflect the delineation of classes at these social gatherings; however, a deeper analysis shows how class did play a major role in the exchange. Similar to the manner in which control of the land distinguished a ranchero, men with the resources to own and mount a horse distinguished themselves from lower class men who did not own horses; it made them caballeros. The term caballero indicated a level of respectability not available to men without the means to own a horse. When on horseback, a man was significantly higher off the ground than a man who was not mounted; the visibly elevated status provided by riding a horse translated into a symbolic elevation of social status. Within this context, the horse became an accessory, similar to his clothing, his boots, or his saddle, a way of elevating and indicating a man's social position and means. Not surprisingly, at the bailes, men vied for a good position, upfront, in the men's area, where women could easily see them. Similar to how land ownership had served to define a man's social class early during the ranchero era, the *baile* became a part of a ritualized classed masculinity that reaffirmed wealthier

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 123.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 123.

⁵⁵⁷ Although not in contemporary dictionaries, Bancroft referred to the term tecolero as a Californianism, a word used by Californios. Bancroft described a tecolero as the master of ceremonies at Californios' fandangos. Various Californios such as Coronel and Mariano Vallejo used the term in their testimonios to refer to the man in charge of the dance. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Histories of the Pacific States of North America: California Pastoral* (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1888), 532.

⁵⁵⁸ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 245.

men's status amongst men of differing social classes. Only men who had the means with which to compete in this show of masculinity could claim access to the higher class and its women; those who did not were by definition part of the poorer classes.

As mixed-class spaces, fiestas and bailes temporarily blurred lines of social distinctions but did not obliterate them. Although attendees shared a common language, common general culture, and a common geographic space, their relationship to the land continued to determine their interconnectedness with each other. The *ranchero* who owned the land allowed those who labored on it to enjoy it at these fiestas, but his action was part of a larger system of mutual respect and obligation. As a respectable man and patriarch of the land, the *ranchero* needed to provide for his family and for his workers; the more he provided, the more respect he earned. In his 1878 testimonio, José Arnaz referred to this system in reference to the elite's obligation to the poorer classes. Arnaz maintained that although there were economic differences between inhabitants of Los Angeles, the poor did not lack meat to eat. Arnaz stated that when a man of means ordered the killing of a calf, he ordered that men who lacked the means to feed their families receive enough meat for one or two days.⁵⁵⁹ Additionally, Arnaz stated, "If an individual who needed meat for his family stole and killed another person's cow, the matter could be resolved by giving the owner the cow's hide; in this manner hunger and necessity were addressed in this region."⁵⁶⁰ Elites' distribution of food to the lower classes helped them create positive reputations and loyalty amongst the community. The system of obligation, in conjunction with the fiesta, reflected the ties that existed between classes during the early rancho period. This bond did not override elites' desire to distinguish between the classes but rather

⁵⁵⁹ Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, 17.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 17-18. Author's translation.

helped improve their social status through self-serving measures that seemed altruistic and paternalistic.

Compadrazgo

The interclass interactions provided through the fiesta and the system of obligation represent two methods of maintaining and sustaining social position and power. The desire to create a connection between and amongst different social classes transcended secular interactions and entered into the ecclesiastical realm through the compadrazgo system. In the compadrazgo system, families created bonds with each other by taking responsibility for the spiritual and material well-being of each other's children. Although articulated through social relationships, religion and spirituality served as the basis of the godparent – godchild bond. Church law delineated the terms of the compadrazgo relationship, creating a sacred bond between the parents, child, and godparents. In the relationship, padrinos or godparents needed to provide for their ahijados or godchildren, in case they lacked the resources with which to live after the loss of their parents.⁵⁶¹ The fact that godparents might need to provide for their godchildren prompted parents to choose padrinos that had the means to help their children. As a result, workers and poorer relatives often asked their bosses and wealthier familial relations to sponsor their children as padrinos and madrinass; elites entered into the agreement as a way of obtaining the lower classes' respect and loyalty.⁵⁶² Although elites benefited from their entrance into the godparent relationship with the poor, the advantage was far from one-sided; workers also benefited from having the ranchero as a compadre because it reflected a long-term, solid bond

⁵⁶¹ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 231; Arnaz, *Recuerdos*, 32, 24.

⁵⁶² Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 12-13; Pablos, *Father of All*, 83-86.

with the employer, ensuring an increased level of job security.⁵⁶³ For this reason, the compadrazgo system often served as a way to create a reflexive bond between the upper and poorer classes, a relationship through which both the wealthy and poor obtained an affirmation of their status, as a *ranchero* and as a worker, respectively. This is only one way in which the system functioned; amongst the elites, the compadrazgo relationship helped solidify political and economic bonds between the wealthy and insure elite's social status.⁵⁶⁴ The dynamics of the system changed depending on the groups that were involved.

When the children of their employees or lower class relatives needed sponsorship, elites readily obliged. The situation differed when elite children needed godparents. Members of the upper class were more selective, and often chose close family and allies for from the same socio-economic class to fill the responsibility.⁵⁶⁵ In this respect, the compadrazgo system functioned in a similar fashion as intermarriage between elites. Uncles, aunts, cousins, and close family friends and associates often took on the compadrazgo relationship, forming a multitude of relationships that linked most Californios together by blood or at the very least by custom.⁵⁶⁶ For the elites, the relationships produced within the system of compadrazgo, similar to those produced through intermarriages, solidified the ties between the wealthier classes, maintained elites' position at the top of the social hierarchy and provided for opportunities closed off to those outside elite circles.

In the case of the landed families directly connected to San Pascual between 1834 and 1845, the ties between these families are readily visible through marriage and baptism. In April of 1791, Juan Marin, original grantee of San Pascual, served as godfather at the baptism of Juan José Sepúlveda's son, Enrique Sepúlveda, a later owner of San Pascual. Mariné, a military

⁵⁶³ Robert V. Kemper, "The Compadrazgo in Urban Mexico," *Anthropological Quarterly* 55 no.1 (Jan. 1982): 23.

⁵⁶⁴ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 31.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 31.

⁵⁶⁶ Coronel, *Cosas de California*, 231.

officer was Juan José Sepúlveda's superior at the San Diego Presidio; he was also married to Francisca Antonio María Sepúlveda, Juan's sister. Interestingly, the baptismal record listed Marin as a third godparent in addition to padrinos fellow soldier José Carmen Araña and his wife Manuela Astorga.⁵⁶⁷ Through this relationship, the link between the owners of San Pascual illustrates how the exclusive circles created through marriages, baptisms, and other affinities helped keep land and wealth in the hands of a select few.

The practice described above, in relation to San Pascual, paralleled relationships throughout California's elite. As argued by anthropologist Robert Kemper, in his comparative study of compadrazgo in urban and rural Mexico, the system served as a means of strengthening already existing ties of kinship and friendship; the expansion of the system outside family or blood relations depended on specific functional and historical circumstances.⁵⁶⁸ Mariné and the Sepúlvedas were relatives through marriage, not blood, yet, he was still chosen as a padrino, illustrating the expansion of kinship networks amongst the early soldiers and pobladores. When the colonial period ended and these families slowly came to comprise the landed elite, the system of compadrazgo changed to accommodate the shifting political, economic and social climate created by independence and secularization. In 1830s and 1840s California, compadrazgo amongst the wealthy became a system that created what Pubols has referred to as "kin clusters," interrelated groups of godparents that sponsored children born of kin or fictive kin.⁵⁶⁹ The connection compadrazgo provided the wealthy went beyond that of spiritual kinship; it transformed into a political kinship that determined Californios' place in the social hierarchy.

⁵⁶⁷ José Enrique Sepúlveda, Baptismal Record, April 29, 1791, San Diego Presidio Records, Number 30888, Huntington Library, Early Population Project Database, 2006, <http://missions.huntington.org/BaptismalData.aspx?ID=30888>

⁵⁶⁸ Kemper, "Compadrazgo in Urban Mexico," 20.

⁵⁶⁹ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 31-31.

Californios utilized the compadrazgo system in two different ways as a means of determining social status. For the poor, the system allowed them the opportunity to assure themselves of their connection to the ranchero and reflects their pragmatic decision to display loyalty and respect, irrespective of how genuine, for elites' patriarchal authority. For the wealthy, the godparent system supplemented other links amongst the elite; it insured them political, economic, and social power and status. Overall, the compadrazgo system reflected the attempt to create an image of cohesiveness on one level, while reaffirming and social class distinctions on another.

As spectacle and public ritual, the interactions created through the fiesta and compadrazgo system provided the semblance of cohesiveness while redeploying and reaffirming concrete examples of social hierarchies and social distinction. In this context, the fiesta and godparent relationship were simply part of elites' self-serving attempts to maintain social appearances of wealth and status by sharing their riches and creating links with people they considered inferior, yet whose loyalty and support they needed to maintain their status.

Increased American Presence and Pragmatic Social Cohesiveness

As the region grew more diverse and the Anglo immigrant population and landless Mexicans began to increase, the pragmatic cohesiveness created through the fiestas, bailes and compadrazgo systems during the early rancho period began to decline. Over time, wealthy families sought to distinguish and separate themselves from the lower classes with whom they had once commingled. In the Los Angeles area, the influx of Anglos and their acculturation into Californio society began to change the organization of social functions and the community's social structure. Increasingly, wealthy families held their own exclusive parties separate from la

gente común, or commoners. Californio elites mingled with prominent Anglo merchants at exclusive parties and other social functions. The basis for these social relationships was increased business interactions and the intermarriages between daughters of the Californio elite and acculturated Anglos. Contrary to earlier times and social custom, wealthy Californio families attended social functions that did not allow persons from the lower classes to attend. In his testimonio, José Arnaz, after discussing the mixed nature and lax admission practices of bailes and fiestas, described El Pueblo de Los Angeles' preparation for the celebration of Mexican Independence in September of 1840:

Around that time, attempts were made to establish a circle of decent and honorable people. To this effect, on September 16, 1840 there were two public dances held- one in the central plaza under a ramada, which the majority of the populacho [rabble] and gente común [common people] attended. The other [dance], hosted at the house of Abel Stearns, was attended by invited outstanding families of the town. In order to obtain this result [invited guests only] he posted a guard at the door as a precaution.⁵⁷⁰

The example above speaks to the decline of societal cohesiveness in 1840s California, but also speaks to Anglos' growing presence and influence amongst Los Angeles elites. As the population of immigrants grew and they entered into elite Californio circles, the contours of the elite changed. Looking at this example within the context of change brings to light the way in which the Californio elite began to change their relationship with the poor during the last years of Mexican rule.

This study maintains that the secularization of mission lands in 1834 increased the availability of land and produced a land-owning elite and landless class in California. An additional effect of secularization was increased immigration of Americans and other foreigners into the region. Immigration into California was common during the Spanish Mission period.

⁵⁷⁰ Arnaz, Recuerdos, 15.

Between 1800 and 1834, foreign traders and merchants migrated into California in the attempt to establish trading relationships with the missions. Many traders found that assimilating into the emerging elite class served to solidify their business interests, and they quickly converted to Catholicism, obtained Mexican citizenship, married into the area's respected families, and in many instances, even Hispanicized their names. This pattern, repeated throughout California and other areas of the southwest, helped immigrants become Californios.⁵⁷¹ The case of Abel Stearns, the host of the party described by Arnaz, serves as an example of the immigrants who came into Los Angeles in the period before secularization in the 1820s and early 1830s looking to establish themselves as profitable merchants. Stearns, an American merchant who had migrated to Los Angeles in the 1820s and had become a prominent member of Californio society, was one of many immigrants who had come to the city in search of social and economic opportunity during the last years of Spanish rule.⁵⁷² The 1836 Los Angeles padrón enumerated 48 foreigners amongst a non-Indian population of 1,678.⁵⁷³ Although the padrón only indicates a person's nativity and not his or her emigration date, it does offer an accurate enumeration of foreigners present in the city at the time of the census. Numbering twenty-two, American men constituted the largest of the immigrant groups.⁵⁷⁴ Interestingly, the padrón does not list women amongst these immigrants, which sustains the contention that immigrant men married into the local population as a means of gaining social legitimacy. Americans held a variety of occupations in Los Angeles society; according to the census, three were merchants, eleven were skilled laborers or craftsmen, three performed general labor, one was a servant, four were

⁵⁷¹ Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: the Spanish Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 113-114.

⁵⁷² For more detail about foreigners interactions with Spanish missionaries, refer to Chapter 1 in this work.

⁵⁷³ *Padrón, 1836*, English translation.

⁵⁷⁴ Immigrants into Los Angeles came from a variety of places such as England, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Ireland, Italy, and Chile. See *Padrón, 1836*, Los Angeles City Archives, English translation.

transients and one was a medical doctor. In the census, Stearns was listed as a merchant from the United States, alongside another notable member of Los Angeles' elite, Juan (Jonathan) Temple. In 1828, after leaving San Diego, Temple migrated to Los Angeles and established a profitable general store. Both Stearns and Temple quickly became well-respected and wealthy members of Californio society. Stearns' and Temple's stories are not unique in the sense that many immigrants came to Spanish / Mexican California seeking wealth and riches; their uniqueness lies in their success. Stearns and Temple entered into Los Angeles' elite circle through marriage. Stearns' marriage to Arcadia Bandini, daughter of established merchant Juan Bandini, allowed him entrance into the society's upper echelon and gave him access to large tracts of land.⁵⁷⁵ Similarly, Juan Temple married Rafaela Cota, daughter of Guillermo Cota and Manuela Nieto, gaining him access to lands owned by his new in-laws. Both men eventually numbered amongst Los Angeles' wealthiest landowners.

By the 1840s, many of the businessmen, such as Stearns and Temple, who had migrated during the early nineteenth century, found themselves at the top of California's hierarchy, within its elite circles. The padrón of 1844, taken two years before the outbreak of the U.S-Mexico War, lists Stearns and Temple as merchants. Figures provided in the 1850 Los Angeles City Census indicates that they expanded their wealth and improved their social status after 1848; for example, Stearns was classified as a gentleman with an estimated worth of 80,000 dollars, while

⁵⁷⁵ Bandini was born in Peru in 1800; he was the son of a Spanish trader named José Bandini, who sailed to California from Peru in 1818 with his son. The elder Bandini made a name for himself through his participation in Mexican Independence. Juan Bandini made his reputation through his extensive political involvement during the Mexican period. He became a wealthy landowner and well respected amongst the Californio elite. For more information on the Bandini Family see Patricia Baker, "The Bandini Family," *The Journal of San Diego History* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1969), 23-27.

Temple was listed as a merchant worth 50,000 dollars.⁵⁷⁶ The status that these men held amongst Californio circles paralleled that of the older, established families in Los Angeles.

As the circle of elites grew larger and interactions with American markets increased, Mexican Californios began emphasizing the differences rather than the sameness that existed amongst the population. Arnaz's example of the 1840 Independence Day Party indicated that as early as 1840 Los Angeles elites had entered into exclusive circles with the region's Anglo Americans. Americans, who had been in the region as a minority as early as the 1820s, had finally begun to influence the community's social structure. In his autobiographical, *Life in California*, Alfred Robinson, an American businessman who married into the prestigious De la Guerra family, wrote of the growing separation between the classes:

In time when the country becomes more settled, a necessary distinction will prevail amongst the various classes; and society will be found more select, as in places of greater civilization.⁵⁷⁷

Within the context of the 1830s and 1840s, we must analyze this statement with an eye towards Americans' attitudes regarding racial and class distinction as it pertained to Mexicans. Growing animosity between the United States and Mexico, exacerbated by racially fueled notions of expansion, influenced Americans' and Californios' ideas regarding social organization and propriety. Wealthy Californios sought to place themselves within a new racialized class structure that not only distinguished them from the lower classes, but also emphasized their class similarities with Euro-Americans.

The exclusion described above is not unlike the variety of measures Californio elites used to distinguish themselves from the community's common folk. As shown through this

⁵⁷⁶ Maurice H. Newmark and Marco R. Newmark, *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California for the Year 1850* (Los Angeles: The Times - Mirror Press, 1929).

⁵⁷⁷ W.W. Robinson, *Land in California: The Story of Mission Lands, Ranchos, Squatters, Mining Claims, Railroad Grants, Land Scrip and Homesteads* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 73.

chapter, the wealthy had long used clothing, homes, material goods and dinners as a way to emphasize the wealth gained from land ownership and control of labor. Despite their desire to distinguish their economic status, several factors indicate that they did not seek to do away with societal cohesiveness. During the 1820s and 1830s, elites' use of material goods and items to emphasize their superior status did not seek to humble those who did not have wealth but rather sought to glorify those who did. Arnaz stated that "decent and honorable" people wanted a place for themselves away from the rabble; this statement, unlike those of Lugo and Coronel, does not indicate distinction but rather separation. The example above presents a look into elites' changing perceptions of class distinction during a transitional period in the region's social and political history. Changing economic, political, and social forces contributed to a decline in the desire for societal cohesiveness and gave way to ideas based on distinction and separation within an increasingly Anglo-based model.

Rancho San Pascual, a piece of land that had its origins in the Spanish period and changed hands in accordance with changes in the political and social climate, serves to exemplify the process of distinction, symbiosis and separation described above. San Pascual's history reflects the politics of land use and the social meaning accorded to land during different historical moments. The period from 1843 to 1853 at San Pascual provides a glimpse into how the transition from Californio to American played out on California's physical landscape and affected Anglos' perceptions about the elite landowning class.

The U.S.- Mexico War: San Pascual in the Age of Transition

In the years prior to the U.S-Mexico War, San Pascual had been a rancho in name only. Despite the proven viability of the land, its owners failed to develop it in any substantial way. In

1843, Governor Micheltorena gave the land to one of his favored officers, Manuel Garfias. Micheltorena's granting of San Pascual to Garfias was an attempt to raise the officer's social status. Although Garfias was a military officer, he needed to own land in order to distinguish himself within Los Angeles' elite circle and succeed in courting Don Francisco Avila's daughter Luisa. After denouncing Sepúlveda's ownership of San Pascual, Garfias married Avila and awaited word on his land grant.⁵⁷⁸ In 1843, Garfias received San Pascual and began his development of the land. Finding the land and the small, dilapidated adobe beneath his standards, Garfias and his new bride moved into his Los Angeles home located on First and Main streets. Through the early the 1840s, Garfias and Avila lived in town and left the small adobe ranch house for laborers involved with day-to-day ranch maintenance. Having gained social status from his mere ownership of the land, Garfias took little interest in ranching and put his efforts towards building his social reputation by creating relationships with some of the most powerful men in Los Angeles, including Abel Stearns and Pío Pico. Despite Garfias' disinterest, under the guidance of Doña María Encarnación Avila, Luisa's mother, San Pascual slowly took shape as a rancho. Not interested in making Rancho San Pascual a huge prosperous rancho like the Avilas' Rancho Las Ciénegas, the widow Avila concentrated on simply keeping the ranch within the family by developing the land enough to ward off denouncements. Garfias, spending most of his time in Los Angeles, paid no mind to San Pascual. The coming of the war and Garfias' direct participation in it would bring Rancho San Pascual into the regional spotlight.

In August 1846, American Commodore Robert F. Stockton's victory in the siege of Los Angeles brought American occupying forces into the region. The region's vaqueros and rancheros, many retired military officers and soldiers, quickly mobilized a militia led by José María Flores, Andrés Pico, and José Carrillo to retake and defend the city from the invading

⁵⁷⁸ For discussion of land claim, see Chapter 3.

forces. Under the leadership of Captain José María Flores, Garfias fought alongside fellow Californios in the region's defense. In September, Flores' forces retook the city, forcing the Americans to retreat and wait for reinforcements. Moving south from Los Angeles to San Pedro, Stockton waited for General Stephen Kearney's troops, making their way through Arizona, to provide support to his tattered forces. In December, Kearney's troops reached San Diego and began their march northward to Los Angeles. On December 6, while moving north, Kearney's forces engaged Flores' lancers at the Battle of San Pascual at Rancho Guejito, site of present-day Escondido.⁵⁷⁹ After several days of fighting, Stockton's troops arrived, providing much needed support. After taking Rancho Guejito, Kearney and Stockton's combined troops continued north, entering Los Angeles in early January 1847. On January 8, Flores' 300 lancers engaged the American forces numbering close to 600, at the Battle of the San Gabriel River, near present day Montebello.⁵⁸⁰ After several failed attacks, Flores, outnumbered and outgunned, retreated, conceding the battle to the Americans. Moving westward, Flores and his men engaged the Americans the next day at the Battle of La Mesa.⁵⁸¹ After an intense, but unsuccessful resistance, Flores concluded that his men could no longer resist the onslaught of American forces and ordered his men to withdraw. Flores' retreat at La Mesa marked a turning point in the war; it left Mexican leaders in Los Angeles demoralized and defenseless against the Colonel John C. Frémont's incoming troops. With no means for a viable defense, American forces overtook Los Angeles on January 10, 1847.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ Escondido is about 100 miles south of Los Angeles in San Diego County. This land is not connected to Rancho San Pascual in Los Angeles County. The site of this battle was part of 13,000 acre Rancho Guejito granted to José María Orozco in 1845. For more information on Rancho Guejito see Bruce Coons "A Brief History of Ranch Guejito". *Save Our Heritage Organization Magazine* 38 no.1, (2007), http://sohosandiego.org/reflections/2007-1/guejito_history.html (accessed 9/1/2012).

⁵⁸⁰ Montebello is located 17 miles east of Los Angeles.

⁵⁸¹ The Battle of La Mesa took place in the present-day City of Vernon, located 4 miles east of Los Angeles.

⁵⁸² David A. Clary, *Eagles and Empires: The United States, Mexico, and the Struggle for a Continent* (New York: Bantam Books, 2009), 255-256.

Upon the fall of Los Angeles, Flores and his remaining contingent of men, including Lieutenant Garfias, met at the Rancho San Pascual adobe to decide their next move. Here, at this small adobe, Flores, José Antonio Carrillo, and Captain Agustín Olvera discussed the Californios' terms of surrender. Fearing that American forces would execute him upon surrender, Flores transferred control of the militia to Andrés Pico and fled south to Sonora with Garfias. On January 13, 1847 Carrillo, Pico, and Olvera met with Frémont at Campo de Cahuenga to sign the treaty ending the war in California. Under the articles of capitulation, Californios were to turn over all their artillery and promise not to pick up arms against the U.S. for the remainder of the war. The treaty also provided Californios the same rights and privileges awarded to American citizens, including the protection of their rights and property.⁵⁸³ When fighting in the region ceased, Californios went back to their ranches to await the end of the war.

After having served as Flores' final headquarters, Rancho San Pascual remained in the same condition as it had prior to the war. Although not a site of critical importance during the war, Rancho San Pascual proved to be an important site for regional historical analysis. The rancho's importance lies in the land itself because it witnessed and contributed to the region's various social, economic, and political changes. Located on the lands of the ex-Misión San Gabriel, where seventy-five years earlier, Spanish friars and Tongva Indians collided, it provided for the growth of a regional economy that propelled the continued settlement of Alta California. The rancho was a direct result of secularization and the opportunities created by it, contributing to the emergence a local landed class that defined a distinct Californio identity based on land. The land itself bore the marks of the political, social, cultural, and economic struggles produced from the previous cycles of conquest and the clash of ideas of optimal land use. Seventy-five

⁵⁸³ Lisbeth Haas, "War in California, 1846-1848," in *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 345.

years later, scourged by the march of American “*progress*,” it served as the site at which Los Angeles’ last Mexican defenders, ex-military men turned rancheros, small farmers, vaqueros, and *vecinos* contemplated their surrender to the American forces that had overtaken their homeland. Despite the Californios, surrender at Cahuenga and Mejicanos’ subsequent loss to the United States, elites continued to negotiate their space within the incoming social, economic, and cultural structure. Californio elites picked up the pieces and worked to keep their land by adhering to Anglo American norms and redefining their identity in accordance with Anglo-American models of land ownership. As the American period progressed, elites such as Garfias attempted to use their lands to incorporate themselves into the new social and economic structure only to find themselves in the margins.

San Pascual Becomes a Rancho, 1848 - 1853

Throughout the Californio period, rancheros’ visions of optimal land use required a man to utilize the land he owned to successfully produce wealth and accumulate goods representative of that wealth. For many well-known rancheros of the era, their building of a productive ranching operation and their participation in the tallow and hide trade brought tremendous wealth and prestige to their families. In the areas around San Pascual, including the outer lying areas of El Pueblo de Los Angeles, men from landed Californio families such as the Verdugos, Avilas, Sepúlvedas, and Nietos, and a handful of immigrants such as Juan Bandini, Abel Stearns, and Hugo Reid made their wealth and reputations on these lands. While many of the men listed above began accumulating land and wealth after mission secularization, most men found the possibility of gaining wealth and distinction an elusive venture. Finding that their land claims lacked the necessary political and social support provided through growing elite, familial

networks, they often found themselves outside the margins of the land owning elite.⁵⁸⁴ Many of Rancho San Pascual's various grantees had first-hand experience with the difficulty of achieving upper class status by experiencing economic denouncement and losing the land to someone possessing better economic means, or socio-political connections. Throughout the years, beginning with Juan Marin and Eulalia Pérez, and continuing with José Pérez and María Merced Lugo, and Enrique Sepúlveda, Rancho San Pascual had seen many grantees who failed to develop the land in accordance with societal prescriptions. Despite their efforts, these grantees had succeeded only in building small, poorly constructed living quarters that quite easily reflected each respective owner's abandonment of the land. After Don Manuel Garfias acquired the land in 1843, San Pascual slowly became a rancho reflective of the material wealth and prestige embodied by surrounding ranches. The rancho's growth was in reputation only and did not prompt any physical changes to the land. Garfias largely ignored the land, relying on it only to increase his public image amongst Californio elites. As seen above, under the guidance of Avila matriarch, Encarnación Avila, San Pascual remained a respectable rancho between 1843 and 1846. In spite of the rancho's successful maintenance, its overall image as a successful rancho did not grow until after the U.S.-Mexico War.

In the period from 1848 to 1853, Manuel Garfias worked to build his reputation through his ownership of San Pascual. Garfias, who had fled to Sonora shortly before the Californios surrendered, returned after the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848. When the war came in 1846, Garfias had only briefly been part of the local elite. Immediately following the war's end and his return to Los Angeles in 1848, Garfias found himself within a transition period during which many of the city's elite still maintained their control and power,

⁵⁸⁴ For discussion of the various neophyte and lower class men who petitioned for land allotments from former Mission San Gabriel and Rancho San Pascual, refer to previous chapter.

for the time being.⁵⁸⁵ Within this context, Garfias jockeyed for a position amongst the Californio and emerging American elites. During the last years of the Californio period, Garfias had obtained a respectable status amongst the Los Angeles elite. The 1850 City census lists Garfias as an agriculturalist owning property worth an estimated 7,000 dollars.⁵⁸⁶ Amongst the four ranchers in the City of Los Angeles in 1850, Garfias ranked third in estimated worth. Amongst thirty-nine farmers listed with property values ranging from 200 to 50,000 dollars, Garfias ranked fourth. These figures indicate that by 1850 Garfias had successfully become a wealthy member of the elite, and although he was a respected member of the community, he did not have the amount of wealth to place him amongst the highest-ranking men on the social ladder. The value recorded in the census data reflects the value of real estate owned by an individual; in this respect, land translated into social status. Having no interest in developing the rancho, Garfias sought to supplement his status through a position in politics. In April 1850, voters elected him as Los Angeles County's first treasurer; his election to public office helped boost his efforts to increase his social status. Garfias' one-term, one-year appointment did not lead to the wealth and prestige he desired, but at this moment he took an active interest in developing Rancho San Pascual. Garfias sought to build a large estate on the land in the hopes of further integrating himself into Los Angeles' political and social circles. Lacking the capital necessary to build the home, he sold a parcel of San Pascual's less inhabitable northern section in the attempt to raise money for his project.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁵ The maintenance and eventual loss of Californios' power within the American system is the topic of Chapter 5 in this work.

⁵⁸⁶ Maurice H. Newmark and Marco R. Newmark, *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California for the Year 1850* (Los Angeles: The Times - Mirror Press, 1929).

⁵⁸⁷ Later, J.S. Griffin gave land in this region to the Indiana Colony free of cost, as a way of encouraging them to buy San Pascual. This indicates that the northern areas of the property were not seen as very viable, because of their location at the base of the San Gabriel Mountains.

In 1850, Garfias sold “a tract one square mile, commencing where the arroyo turns upward on the tillable land,” to Americans Carlos Hanewald and John Pine for \$2,000 at an interest of 4%.⁵⁸⁸ The terms of the sale required \$600 up front and the total purchase price paid over nine months from March 9, 1850. Hanewald and Pine agreed to pay \$42 a month rent for the land. Garfias’ terms of sale stipulated that the land would revert to him if the total purchase price was not paid in nine months.⁵⁸⁹ In 1851, Garfias invested this money into San Pascual and undertook construction of a home on the land; the resultant Garfias adobe rivaled the grand Californio estates of the time in size and elegance. Records indicating the actual size and condition of the adobe are quite difficult to locate, because the 1880s land boom prompted the adobe’s demolition to make way for new homes. Unlike the Avila and Verdugo adobes that presently serve as physical representations of the past, description of the Garfias adobe exists only in the stories of guests who visited the home and authors who wrote about the structure in its immediate epoch.⁵⁹⁰

Built in 1852, the Garfias adobe stood on the banks of the Arroyo Seco in San Pascual.

In his memoir, Judge Benjamin S. Eaton described the adobe as:

a one and half story adobe building with walls two feet thick, all nicely plastered inside and out, and had an ample corridor extending all around. It had board floors, and boasted of green blinds- a rare thing in those days.⁵⁹¹

Eaton’s description of the Garfias home provides one of the most detailed descriptions of the adobe. Eaton describes the luxury material Garfias used to construct his home. Other works also comment on the adobe’s physical display of wealth:

⁵⁸⁸ Manuel Garfias to Carlos Hanewald, March 9, 1850, Heslop Family Papers, 1833-1906, mssHM35490, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁵⁸⁹ Manuel Garfias to Carlos Hanewald and John Pine, March 13, 1850, Heslop Family Papers, 1833-1906, mssHM35490, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁵⁹⁰ The only physical evidence of the Garfias Adobe are the adobe ruins; the ruins are located at 424 Arroyo Drive, South Pasadena, CA 91030.

⁵⁹¹ Benjamin Eaton quoted in Robinson, *Land in California*, 86.; Benjamin S. Eaton, Materials Relating to Benjamin S. Eaton, BANC MSS C-D 974, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

A veranda extending around the building and with a finish costly and somewhat pretentious for the time it was built, hinted at the character of the former occupants.⁵⁹²

The description above, written in 1883, speaks of the adobe's grandiose design and expensive appearance. Both Eaton's and Green's descriptions allude to the fact that the adobe was unlike those in the surrounding areas. Hoping to use his land as a means to impress regional elites and raise his status, Garfias spared no expense in building and decorating his home. Although both these descriptions provide a view into the level of affluence reflected through the home, there is a striking difference in the descriptions. While Eaton, who eventually would live at the adobe after Garfias lost the land, described the adobe in a praising manner, Green's statement alludes to the pretentious character of the owner. Green's indirect comment about Garfias reflected early nineteenth-century Euro-American attitudes about Californios' fanciful and ostentatious ways. In *Two Years Before the Mast*, Richard Henry Dana indicted wealthy Californios as a "thriftless, proud, and extravagant" group, emphasizing his perception that they misused their wealth.⁵⁹³ Other American contemporaries, such as Alfred Robinson, referred to Californio men as "generally indolent, and addicted to many vices, caring little for their children, who like themselves, grow up unworthy members of society."⁵⁹⁴ These remarks reflect American perceptions of Californios as people who used the land to obtain wealth only to squander it on materials and items that they were not industrious enough to make for themselves. In this light, Green's description of the adobe seems to represent larger racialized attitudes about Californios' misuse of their wealth. Describing the Garfias home as "costly" and "pretentious for the time"

⁵⁹² Perry M. Green, "History of Pasadena," in *A Southern Paradise*, R.W.C Farnsworth, ed. (Pasadena: R.W.C Farnsworth, 1883), 36.

⁵⁹³ Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1840), 214.

⁵⁹⁴ Robinson, *Life in California*, 73.

served as a way of dismissing Californios' achievements and downplaying the wealth of the "former occupants" of the land in a larger sense.

Descriptions of the adobe illustrated the money that Don Garfias put into the growth of his estate. In addition to improving the land, Garfias needed to ensure his ownership of property within the new American land laws. Despite guarantees of citizenship and land through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, elites' land rights eroded under the incoming American system. Passage of the Federal Land Act in March of 1851 required Mexican land-owning elites to prove ownership of their land grants. As a legal process, the confirmation of land titles was quite tedious. According to the regulations established on January 21, 1852, a claimant was required to file a written petition that indicated the date of the original grant and a detailed list of previous landowners ending with the claimant.⁵⁹⁵ In addition to this petition, claimants needed to provide a land survey as well as information pertaining to any interfering land claims. The petitioner needed to furnish the original grant, and any documentary evidence, including sworn testimony, to substantiate his claim.⁵⁹⁶

In September 1852, Manuel Garfias filed his petition to keep Rancho San Pascual, but ironically began the path to its loss. Many Californios, including Manuel Garfias, committed their money to the time-consuming and costly process of upholding their land titles. When Public Land Commission members Harry I. Thornton, James Wilson, and Hiland Hall arrived in Los Angeles in 1851, Garfias held a large, lavish party in at his smaller adobe home on First and Main Street in their honor. Aside from the commissioners, many of the city's elite, including Abel Stearns, Pio Pico, and José del Carmen Lugo also attended. The list of attendees

⁵⁹⁵ Acts and Regulations of the United States Land Commission for Settling Private Land Claims in California (San Francisco, 1852).

⁵⁹⁶ Ivy B. Ross, "The Confirmation of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in California" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1928), 37.

exemplifies Garfias' adherence to social protocol in his attempts to keep his land. Utilizing a process similar to that of the Mexican system, Garfias emphasized his connection to the land and to the local elite by publicly showcasing his wealth.

While the Southern District land court reviewed his petition, Garfias continued to funnel money into the land and the legal proceedings. Many Californios caught up in the costly confirmation process borrowed money from willing American businessmen as a way to continue their claims. Garfias approached Benjamin Wilson for a loan, using his rancho as collateral. Wilson, known as Don Benito, was an American fur trapper who came to California in the early 1830s and married into the prestigious and wealthy Yorba Family.⁵⁹⁷ Wilson quickly became a prominent community member and local politician, serving on the Los Angeles Common Council in 1850 and one term as mayor of Los Angeles from 1851 to 1852.⁵⁹⁸ By 1850, Wilson was one of the region's wealthiest men with real estate valued at \$50,000.⁵⁹⁹ After the U.S.-Mexico War, he found many opportunities to obtain land through a variety of means, including loans. In 1852, Garfias borrowed \$8,000 from Benjamin Wilson and his business partner John S. Griffin. A few years later, in March 1856, the Southern District Federal Court approved the petition, upholding Garfias' claim. Having overcome the confirmation process, the only step left was to receive the highest title to the land, a U.S. Land Patent signed by the President. Awaiting the patent, Garfias had become heavily indebted to Wilson. By 1859, due to exorbitant compound interest, the \$8000 loan had ballooned to \$24,000. With no means of paying the

⁵⁹⁷ Wilson married Ramona Yorba, daughter of Bernardo Yorba. The Yorba Family owning upward 35,000 acres was one of the oldest and wealthiest families in Southern California. For marriage information see Benito Wilson and María Ramona Yorba, Marriage Record, February 19, 1844, San Gabriel Mission Records, Number 3600, *Huntington Library, Early Population Project Database*, 2006, <http://missions.huntington.org/MarriageData.aspx?ID=3600>.

⁵⁹⁸ For more on Benjamin Wilson see Nat B. Read, *Don Benito: From Mountain Man to Mayor, Los Angeles, 1841-1878* (Los Angeles: Angel City Press, 2008).

⁵⁹⁹ Maurice H. Newmark and Marco R. Newmark, *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California for the Year 1850* (Los Angeles: The Times - Mirror Press, 1929).

amount he owed to Wilson, Garfias was compelled to turn over Rancho San Pascual to Don Benito. On January 1, 1859 Manuel Garfias and his wife Luisa Avila signed “all right, title and possession,” to Benito Wilson for a consideration of \$1,800.⁶⁰⁰

The manner in which Garfias lost ownership of San Pascual speaks volumes about how many landed Californios lost their land in the period after the U.S Mexico War. As part of the process of colonization, landowners such as Garfias were required to prove ownership of their lands yet the price of this process proved too much for many Californios. Attempting to navigate within a new social, economic and cultural structure, Californios utilized the traditional method of emphasizing affluence. In their attempts to distinguish themselves many Californios obtained high-interest loans to gain the necessary capital. Looking at the Garfias – Wilson transaction, it is interesting that the amount Wilson paid for San Pascual was a little over what Garfias had borrowed, yet a fraction of what he owed with interest. This fact indicates the possibility that the loan itself was from the onset an attempt to gain San Pascual. As reported in the 1850 Census Rancho San Pascual had never been worth more than \$7,000, yet Wilson provided a loan with an \$8,000 principal. Between 1860 and 1890, these unscrupulous business transactions increased throughout the American Southwest, successfully dispossessing wealthy landowners of property that had been guaranteed thorough the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.⁶⁰¹ Visions of optimal land use that had fueled the war of expansion and conquest continued into the post-war era, taking land from people considered inept and inferior. Garfias’ loss of San Pascual spelled the end of Mexican ownership of this vital piece of land. In a twist of irony, a few years after Garfias had lost his land to Wilson, on April 3, 1863, Garfias received the official land patent signed by

⁶⁰⁰ Manuel Garfias and Luisa Avila to Benjamin Wilson, 1/15/1859, Heslop Family Papers, 1833-1906, mssHM35490, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁰¹ Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest*, 81-85; for a discussion of the Treaty of Guadalupe’s land guarantees see Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

President Abraham Lincoln. Wilson's ownership of the rancho marked the rancho's transition from Mexican to American ownership. American visions of land use had triumphed over Californio ideals of pastoral land use.

Conclusion

The rancho system and ranchero class of 1830s and 1840s California successfully replaced the mission institution and Franciscans of the previous era. By continuously emphasizing their *sangre azul* and stressing their identities as *blancos* in their *testimonios*, elites distinguished themselves from the lower classes. Californios placed themselves in the center of Alta California's socio-economic structure and culture and emphasized a racialized vision of land use sustained through an imagined Spanish cultural identity as well as symbol and ritual. Similar to the manner in which missionaries distanced themselves from Indians, ranchero elites differentiated themselves from the landless classes. Although separated through time and historical context, regional inhabitants during both eras reluctantly recognized that their survival was contingent on the creation and maintenance of a symbiotic relationship. Missionaries and Indians, rancheros and laborers worked to negotiate their survival on their respective frontier and quickly learned that survival on the fringes of the nation required a malleability of social strictures and negotiation of social relationships. During the mission period, Franciscans, settlers, and soldiers collectively identified as *gente de razón* to separate themselves from the region's indigenous population. As the rancho era progressed and the region grew more diverse, Californio elites came to ally themselves with the incoming Anglo population that had quickly integrated itself into wealthy Californio circles. Regional inhabitants' shared identity as *gente de razón* gave way to social differentiation and exclusion based on an increasingly classed system

informed by Anglo racial ideals. Garfias and other elites failed to realize that although the men they dealt with after the U.S-Mexico War were familiar business and social associates before the war, the American Conquest changed the social order.

After the war, Euro-Americans were no longer working within a Mexican / Californio system as minorities, but were steadily increasing their status within an emerging racial hierarchy perpetuated through their ideals of Manifest Destiny and progress. During the late 1840s, the ties that bound and separated California's social classes in the Mexican period served to polarize these groups according to an Anglo-American racial spectrum that defined them as Indian or white.⁶⁰² Calling themselves "Spanish" helped elites place themselves at the top of the racial categories established through the American Conquest in 1848; this allowed them to fend off property loss but constructed lower class Mexicans as racialized labor within a new American racial system. Early on, Californios such as Garfias integrated themselves into the American structure, by learning to negotiate new rules of wealth and propriety; their efforts brought continued acceptance and access to social, political, and economic power in post-war Los Angeles. As time went on and Americans became the majority in California, their attempts to assimilate dwindled. Californios became the minority amongst a newly emerging Anglo elite class. As *Californio* elites lost their lands through unscrupulous business practices and legal maneuvers, aspiring American elites obtained these rich lands and carved a place for themselves within California's emerging American economy. Garfias' loss of San Pascual in 1859 illustrated Californios' displacement in the region and began the erasure of the region's Mexican past.

The loss of San Pascual during the American period embodied the transition between two competing powers, each vying for control of the land. Americans, not unlike the Californios

⁶⁰² Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*, 57.

twenty years earlier, desired to rid the land of those they viewed as backwards and undeserving of its riches. Similar to other elites, Garfias reaped the most prestige from the land and built his rancho and his reputation within a culture that rewarded extravagant expenditures as a means of accentuating wealth and distinguishing social class. Americans, such as those described above, viewed this behavior within a new Anglo structure that defined Californios as obstacles to progress. As the next chapter will show, during the years that followed, elite Californio families, many of whom had intermarried with Anglos in previous years, worked to redefine their social position within the ideology of Manifest Destiny and American Anglo Saxon white supremacy. Aspiring to prove their wealth, elites attempted to maintain a façade of wealth and whiteness within an increasingly racialized capitalist economy.

Chapter 5

Years of Transformation: San Pascual in the American Period, 1860 – 1890

Framed within the nineteenth century ideology of Manifest Destiny and Anglo American white supremacy, this chapter examines the transition of Rancho San Pascual into the City of Pasadena from 1860 to 1890. The first part of the chapter focuses on Manifest Destiny's foundation on the Jeffersonian vision of the yeoman farmer as a way to interrogate the correlation among Anglo American ideas about race, land use, and expansion into California. The second part of the chapter studies Californios' negotiation of the late nineteenth-century American racial hierarchy as an attempt to keep their social status and political power. It examines Californios' decline of socio-political power and the deterioration of Anglo and Californio unity during the 1850s and 1860s as part of the solidification of Anglo white supremacy in the region. The last part of the chapter, divided into three subsections, centers on the manifestation of racialized ideas of land use on Rancho San Pascual's physical landscape during the latter part of the nineteenth century. This first subsection traces Rancho San Pascual's transition into American hands through several land disbursements. Subsequently it looks at the Indiana Colony's establishment and growth between 1872 and 1875 as an experiment in gentleman farming and rural urbanism. The second subsection studies the colony's growth as part of the regional land boom of the late 1870s. Within the context of land speculation and increased land ownership, this section also traces the colony's shift from an agricultural community into a tourist destination. The last subsection details the colony's development of infrastructure and growth into the City of Pasadena. Pasadena's incorporation marked the realization of Americans' racialized visions of land use.

Manifest Destiny, American White Supremacy, and Optimal Land Use

Manuel Garfias' loss of San Pascual in 1859 paralleled the experiences of many landed Californios in the period following the U.S.-Mexico War. Within a time span of fifty years, many of California's wealthiest Mexican rancheros lost their lands to Anglos who had migrated into the region after 1848. While fraternization with Americanos had not posed a threat during the early nineteenth century because they constituted a minority of the population, by the mid-nineteenth century, Mexican Californios had become the vanquished people in a war of territorial aggression. As Anglo Americans became the majority population in California, their tolerance and attempts at assimilation dwindled. The influx of Anglos into Los Angeles and the nearby region of San Pascual resulted in the displacement of rancheros' visions of land use and prompted the establishment of an American settlement that later became the City of Pasadena.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, as Californios lost control of their lands and by extension, their wealth and status, Anglos gained political, economic, and social power in a new social structure that ushered in new racialized ideas of land use based on Manifest Destiny and white supremacy. Manifest Destiny, a term coined by journalist John O'Sullivan in 1845, described the United States' "destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence."⁶⁰³ Often used as a catchall phrase reflecting the process of moving west, the term's popularity does not reflect the myriad of meanings it embodied. O'Sullivan's phrase epitomized older sentiments regarding westward expansion, land acquisition, freedom, and citizenship dating back to the American Revolutionary era. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Jeffersonian vision of a "rising empire for liberty" based on private landownership, citizenship, and economic development filled Americans' minds with thoughts of controlling the entire North

⁶⁰³ John O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 17, no. 1 (July-August 1845): 5-10; for a discussion on the origin of the phrase Manifest Destiny see Julius W. Pratt, "The Origin of Manifest Destiny," *The American Historical Review* 32, no.4 (Jul., 1927): 795-798.

American continent,⁶⁰⁴ and fulfilling their destiny “to be the greatest power on earth.”⁶⁰⁵ Framed within a racialized agrarian vision, the Jeffersonian ideal viewed territorial expansion, private land ownership, and the white, yeoman farmer-citizen as the basis for the growth of the American nation. Between the late 1780s through the early nineteenth century, these ideals fueled the movement west and supported U.S acquisition of French, Spanish, and indigenous lands as well as the expansion of slavery.⁶⁰⁶ Despite the lack of the phrase Manifest Destiny, the concept burned in the hearts and minds of Americans seeking to fulfill the burgeoning nation’s Jeffersonian vision.

In the 1840s, O’Sullivan’s phrase encapsulated the Jeffersonian agrarian vision during a time of political, social, and economic change. This newly articulated vision of land use, presented within the context of territorial conquest of Mexico, supplemented the agrarian vision by constructing and emphasizing racialized ideas about Mexicans and other non-white groups. O’Sullivan and other expansionists of the time believed it their duty to expand American control over the entire continent by removing the obstacles impeding Anglo Saxon civilization. Removal of racially inferior people allowed for the growth of American Anglo Saxon civilization, marked through the establishment of Protestant Christianity, growth of democratic institutions, economic prosperity, and progress amongst racially inferior peoples.⁶⁰⁷ Americans’ ideals of Anglo Saxon racial superiority, what historian Reginald Horsman termed American Anglo Saxonism, supplemented Jeffersonian agrarianism to serve as the foundation for Manifest Destiny. This

⁶⁰⁴ Thomas Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, Dec. 25, 1780, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian Boyd *et al.* (27 vols., Princeton, 1950-57), IV, 237, quoted in John M. Murrin, “The Jeffersonian Triumph and American Exceptionalism,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 20, no. 1 (Spring, 2000): 3.

⁶⁰⁵ John Adams to John Jay, May 8, 1785, in *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United State, with a Life of the Author*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (10 vols. Boston, 1850-56), VIII, 246, quoted in Murrin, “The Jeffersonian Triumph,” 8.

⁶⁰⁶ Murrin, “The Jeffersonian Triumph,” 1-25.

⁶⁰⁷ Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994), 12.

ideal sustained the notion that because American Anglo Saxons were racially pure, they were destined to rule over inferior groups. American Anglo Saxon superiority not only insured the superior race's dominance over inferior groups but also predicted the latter groups' subordination and eventual extinction, thus ensuring Anglo Saxons' permanent racial superiority.⁶⁰⁸ Armed with this belief in Providence and racial superiority, Americans continued their move westward, believing that their journey symbolized "the domination of civilization over nature, Christianity over heathenism, progress over backwardness."⁶⁰⁹ As they undertook their march of progress, Americans encountered a variety of groups impeding their divine mission to bring advancement and light to the uncivilized. Utilizing legal maneuvers and genocide, Americans drove indigenous peoples from their lands, all the while rationalizing their actions by citing Amerindians' racial weakness and inferiority. In 1830, after Congress enacted the Indian Removal Act, the government confiscated Indigenous lands in Georgia and Alabama to meet the country's growing population and expanding cotton trade; as part of this search for land, some Americans moved further west into Mexican territory. American migration into Tejas y Coahuila gave rise to territorial conflict that culminated in the U.S. – Mexico War and Mexico's loss of one third of its territory.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Anglo Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 229.

⁶⁰⁹ Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines*, 13.

⁶¹⁰ In 1830, the Indian Removal Act confiscated lands in Georgia and Alabama and opened the areas to American settlement. The removal sent the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaws, Choctaw, and Seminole peoples to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. The Removal Act was a central part of westward expansion and serves as an example of the contradictory ideals of racialized territorial expansion. This federal order affected indigenous groups defined by many Americans as the Five Civilized Tribes because they had most closely assimilated into Anglo American cultural norms. To differing degrees each group had adopted Christianity, horticulture, centralized government, market trade, and race based slavery, all reflections of Manifest Destiny. Despite their adaptation of American ideals and culture, American society and the Federal Government advocated their removal. Removal to Indian Territory, which bordered Mexican Territory, coincided with American migration into Tejas y Coahuila. The removal of Indians groups into this region in the 1830s contributed to the problem northern Mexicans faced with Indian raids and violence; presence of more Indians caused Mexicans more worry about their regional security. The historical conflict between Northern Mexico and Native Americans, such as the Comanche, created conditions that allowed for Americans armed with the ideas of Manifest Destiny, to migrate into the region. American Anglo Saxons believed

The conflict that ensued between the United States and Mexico as a result of the Texas Revolution and American annexation soured diplomatic relations and contributed to the proliferation of negative perceptions about the Mexican government and its people. Throughout the 1840s, Americans perceived Mexicans as a mongrel race, a lazy, shiftless and ignorant people resulting from intermarriage with Indians.⁶¹¹ Building on the 1830s accounts of travelers such as Richard Henry Dana and Lansford Hastings, many contemporaries believed Mexicans too ignorant to develop the rich soil of the southwest and emphasized Americans' duty to dispossess these shiftless people of their lands.⁶¹² Because Americans lacked a thorough understanding of Mexican identity and culture, they relied on their racialized ideas about Amerindians and African Americans to describe the Mexican population. For instance, in his 1830s description of California's Mexican population, traveler Lansford Hastings stated:

Many of the lower order of them [Mexicans], have intermarried with the various tribes, and have resided with them so long, and lived in a manner so entirely similar, that it has become almost impossible, to trace the least distinctions between them, either in reference to intelligence, or complexion. There is another class, which is, if possible, of a lower order still, than those just alluded to, and which consists of the aborigines themselves, who have been slightly civilized, or rather domesticated. These two classes constitute almost the entire Mexican population, of California, and among them almost every variety and shade of complexion may be found, from the African black, to the tawny brown of our southern Indians.⁶¹³

Statements such as Hastings' were quite common and created a negative image about Mexicans in the American Anglo Saxon mind. Americans' racialization of Mexicans as Black or Native

that they, not the racially inferior Mexicans, could transform this region and bring civilization. For more on the impact of Native Americans on Northern Mexico and how relations with Indians facilitated the U.S Conquest see Brian Delay, *War of a Thousand Deserts, Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁶¹¹ Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 210.

⁶¹² See Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1840); Lansford Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (Cincinnati: G. Conclin, 1845).

⁶¹³ Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, 113.

American placed Mexicans into the nation's dialogue about race. Americans, both those migrating west and those in the east, familiar with the racial rhetoric regarding slavery and Indian removal, utilized these models of problem races to create an understanding about this new racially inferior group in the southwest. In the narrative of Manifest Destiny, Mexicans became the racialized other; negative racial perceptions about Mexicans, compounded by growing social and political tensions after 1835, contributed to the rise of white supremacy in Texas and the southwest. White Americans' perceptions of Mexicans as lazy, backwards and ignorant paralleled similar beliefs about Amerindians and African Americans in other parts of the country and rationalized territorial conquest and economic exploitation.

Californios and White Supremacy

Manifest Destiny's link between racialized ideas about local populations and land use was not unique to American and Mexican interactions. Americans, similar to the Spanish and Mexicans who came before them, held ideals about what constituted optimal land use and utilized these beliefs to racialize Alta California's inhabitants.⁶¹⁴ In accordance to the agrarian vision described above, Euro Americans' ideas of optimal land use depended on the opportunity and ability to produce viable agricultural crops. Within the narratives of territorial expansion, Manifest Destiny and white supremacy, American settlers were the only people capable of improving land they believed was mismanaged by racially inferior people.⁶¹⁵ In California, attitudes about white supremacy and land development took a bit more time to develop than in other parts of the southwest because Anglos remained in the minority until 1849. During the

⁶¹⁴ See Chapter 1 of this work.

⁶¹⁵ Elizabeth Raymond, "When the Desert Won't Bloom: Environmental Limitation and the Great Basin," in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*, ed. David M. Wrobel et al. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 75-76.

1830s, Americans who had migrated to the region had successfully integrated themselves into the elite *ranchero* class; amongst the elite, most of whom fancied themselves Spaniards, a racialized class structure veiled Americans' ideas of white supremacy through class distinctions. During the Mexican Period, Americans who sought to separate themselves from the rabble and common population did so by utilizing class ideals that embraced Europeaness, rather than Anglo Saxonism or white supremacy.⁶¹⁶ Accordingly, Americans built on Californios' practice of identifying themselves as *blancos* or *Españoles*. These identities provided them the privileges of the landed elite, placed them at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy, and distinguished them from the inferior, non-European, Indian working class.

The *ranchero* elite's emphasis on Spanish identity and European bloodlines constructed an ideal comparable to white racial identity that temporarily helped suppress the rise of Anglo white supremacy in the region. As discussed in an earlier chapter, landed elites forged their Spanish identities through the creation of a racialized cultural identity that emphasized their difference from *mestizos*, Indians, and *mulattos*.⁶¹⁷ Similarly, historian Yolanda Venegas argues that by naming themselves *gente de razón*, Californios claimed Spanish heritage and culture as a means of masking their mixed heritage.⁶¹⁸ Californios' claims to a European-based identity paralleled Anglos' ideas about white supremacy. Americans found Californios' social stratification and class distinctions friendly to their ideas of white superiority because it reflected a racial based binary that separated white from non-white groups. During the Spanish and Mexican periods, these ideas of whiteness and Europeaness legitimated landed elites' treatment

⁶¹⁶ For a discussion on class distinction, see chapter 4 of this work.

⁶¹⁷ See Chapter 2 of this work.

⁶¹⁸ Yolanda Venegas, "The Erotics of Racialization: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of California," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 25, no.3 (2004): 67.

of lower, racialized populations; later, at the end of the nineteenth century, the American conquest relegated Californios to a similarly inferior racial status.

After the U.S.-Mexico War, the California Gold Rush and the opportunity to own land brought an influx of Americans into the region. The shift in population contributed to the rise of white supremacy and the development of a new racialized structure that increasingly defined the Californio elite as racially inferior. The labeling of landed elites, many of whom held political power prior to the war, as racially inferior resulted from American attempts to establish political and economic control in the region.⁶¹⁹ Euro Americans' redefining of Californios' racial status paralleled the region's social and political conquest. Prior to the war, Americans and other foreigners married into Californio families and assimilated into Mexican society as a way to attain economic and social status. As the war approached, Americans, such as Dana and Hastings, in addition to countless others, racialized Californios as a racially inferior and backward people in order to legitimize the takeover of their lands. This racial rhetoric continued into the early American period because the Californio elite still held significant portions of land, wealth and political power. Americans, interested in obtaining what these wealthy men had, utilized legal and extralegal means grounded in the racialized rhetoric of Manifest Destiny to obtain the spoils of war. In the midst of these changes, elite Californios, many of whose daughters had intermarried with Anglos prior to the war, redefined their social position within a changing racial and economic structure in the attempt to maintain their social, political and economic status.

⁶¹⁹ Venegas, "The Erotics of Racialization," 67.

Negotiation of the American Racial Hierarchy

As the American Republic moved westward during the early nineteenth century, emerging ideas of white supremacy created a racial binary that placed whites at the top and non-whites at the bottom of the racial hierarchy. The American conquest of the southwest transplanted this racial binary into the region. California's ethnic and racial diversity necessitated that Americans amend the simplistic binary to account for the variety of racial / ethnic groups, including the diversity of Euro Americans who flooded the region after 1849. Despite the racial designation of Anglo, which implied English descent, the Americans who entered California after the conquest were comprised of Americans and foreigners of German, Irish, French, and Italian descent.⁶²⁰ Americans downplayed the diversity amongst the white population by creating a collective designation as Anglos. The fact that Americans were largely outnumbered by a diverse minority population resulted in the reconceptualization of racial categories in California and other areas of the southwest.⁶²¹ In spite of the animosities between ethnic whites in other areas of the country, they entered into a racial project that redefined the meaning of white and black to suit their specific contextual needs.⁶²² Euro Americans fabricated a collective racial identity that differentiated them from the Mexican, Indian, and Chinese populations they encountered.⁶²³ Increasingly, white Americans celebrated their entrance into the region and denigrated local populations, including wealthy Californios, as a way of differentiating themselves from the minority populations they had overtaken through war. As critical race

⁶²⁰ Venegas, "The Erotics of Racialization," 67.

⁶²¹ Following the war and statehood, Anglos migrated into Northern California and quickly outnumbered Mexicans. In Southern California Mexicans remained the minority population until the railroad prompted the land boom of the 1870s.

⁶²² This speaks to the pliability of white racial identity and whiteness. What constitutes white was continuously redefined dependent of the specific social, political, and cultural context.

⁶²³ Critical race theorist Ian F. Haney López argues that "races are constructed relationally, against one another, rather than in isolation." See "The Social Construction of Race," in *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, ed. Richard Delgado (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 196.

theorist and legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw argues, white Americans constructed their racial identity relationally against people of color they deemed inferior in order to delineate a “common identity of non-stigmatized parties- whose identity and interest are defined in opposition to the other.”⁶²⁴ In post-conquest California, Mexicans became the racial other, the antithesis of whiteness, used to replicate the racial hierarchy that existed in other areas of the United States, in a slightly different form.⁶²⁵

The construction of white racial identity and citizenship during the first half of the nineteenth century affected Mexicans in the newly attained regions of the southwest by emphasizing the difference between rich Mexicans and poor Mexicans within the American racial structure. At the end of the U.S.–Mexico War, provisions in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed Mexicans living in the former Mexican territory American citizenship and land rights.⁶²⁶ In the antebellum era, the Naturalization Act of 1790 accorded citizenship to free white persons and excluded all other groups, thereby creating race-based access to the privileges of citizenship and economic development.⁶²⁷ By granting Mexicans, specifically wealthy Californios, citizenship, the federal government designated them as racially and legally white, making them eligible for the political, social, and economic status of white people. In California, Americans’ racialization of Mexicans as white created a bifurcated social structure that defined Californios and lower class Mexicans in relation to each other. In this hierarchy, and in

⁶²⁴ Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, “Race, Reform, and Retrenchment: Transformation and Legitimation in Antidiscrimination Law,” *Harvard Law Review* 101, no. 7 (May, 1988): 1372.

⁶²⁵ In the debate over slavery, the idea of African American as subjugated racial others legitimated slavery and social inequality. In the American Southwest, Mexicans became the racial other and were racialized similar to African Americans. For a discussion on bipolar conceptualization in Western thought see Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2004), viii..For a discussion of race, skin color and otherness see Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 1952).

⁶²⁶ Chapter 4 of this work discusses the erosion of these land rights as it pertained to Rancho San Pascual after passage of the Federal Land Act of 1851. Manuel Garfias’ experiences in relation to his land serve as an example of the larger, widespread dispossession of Californios’ lands after 1850.

⁶²⁷ Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines*, 24.

American eyes, Californios class status made them temporarily white or at the very least European; this reflects the social construction of race, and indicates that a variety of processes, institutions, and persons create racial categories.⁶²⁸ This designation was not unlike the one Californios utilized during the Mexican Period to create, deconstruct, and recreate the meanings of racial categories for personal gain.

In the American Period, Californios exploited the pliability of “white racial identity” within the new American racial structure by re-deploying racially imbued ideas about Spanish identity rooted in the white / European cultural supremacy, and class privilege. Californios’ identification with and accommodation of Americans’ notions of Europeanness helped them maintain political and social power in the immediate post-war period and maintain their class interests and social standing.⁶²⁹ Californios’ negotiation of whiteness / Europeanness within the new racial system resulted in Americans’ reluctant identification of Californios as racially white and provided them the necessary franchise rights to keep political and social influence in places such as Los Angeles and Santa Barbara well into the 1870s.⁶³⁰

Californios’ maintenance of social and political power allowed them to continue the racially imbued cultural and class practices that distinguished them from the lower classes. During the American period, similar to the Spanish and Mexican eras, land ownership and control of labor was crucial to the maintenance of power and status. As in previous times, the Mexican lower, landless class did not reap the privileges of American citizenship and land rights enjoyed by their upper-class compatriots. Racialized by Americans in a way similar to African Americans and Amerindians, working class Mexicans were seen as inferior to the European

⁶²⁸ Laura Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 3.

⁶²⁹ Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines*, 55-56.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 56; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 109-112.

rancheros. This view often resulted in the passage of legislation that sought to control this racialized population.⁶³¹ The class-based nature of these laws and Americans' perception of elite Californios as racially white functioned as long as they held land. As Californio elites lost their lands, and by extension their political, social, and economic status through Americans' unscrupulous business practices and legal maneuvers, they were placed into a racial structure that defined them in relation to Anglo Americans, not their lower class brethren. Restructuring of the racial order created a situation in which Anglos slowly assumed political, social, economic control of California in general and the area of Los Angeles specifically.⁶³²

Land Loss and Loss of Political Power

As seen in the previous chapter, Manuel Garfias worked to keep his land by improving its condition. Throughout the Mexican period, Garfias worked to increase his wealth and social status through his ownership of land. Similarly, during the early years of the American era these same desires were evident through his political participation in Los Angeles. In April 1850, after the first California Legislature divided California into counties, Los Angeles County held an election for officers, electing landed Californios such as Antonio F. Coronel as county assessor, and Agustín Olvera as county judge.⁶³³ Having always been interested in politics, Garfias quickly found himself within Los Angeles' political circles; Garfias served as the county's first treasurer from 1850-1851. Many prominent Californios with deep roots in the region served at the local and state levels. In addition to Mexican Californios, Anglo Californians also served as elected county officials in 1850. The most prominent American elected to county office in 1850

⁶³¹ In 1855 the California State legislature passed the Anti-Vagrancy Law of 1855, also known as the Greaser Act, as a way to ensure the control of the Mexican American population. The law required that Mexicans show they were gainfully employed and were not public charges. See Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 108.

⁶³² As previously shown, San Pascual was near Los Angeles; the loss of political power in Los Angeles had consequences on San Pascual.

⁶³³ George Ward Burton, *Men of Achievement in the Great Southwest* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Time, 1904), 15.

was Benjamin Davis Wilson, better known as Don Benito to the local population. Wilson, an American born in Tennessee who had lived in Santa Fe as a beaver trapper and fur trader, had come to California in the early 1840s as part of the Workman-Rowland Party, a group of Americans who fled Santa Fe, New Mexico, after rumors of unrest between Mexico and the U.S. arose in the area. Upon his arrival in Los Angeles, Wilson sought transport to China, to engage in the fur trade, but failing to gain access to any ships decided to stay in the city.⁶³⁴ In 1844, Wilson married Maria Ramona Yorba, daughter of prosperous ranchero Bernardo Yorba.⁶³⁵ This marriage provided Wilson the opportunity to ascend Los Angeles' social and political hierarchy, quickly becoming a successful landowner and politician. The fact that Wilson served alongside Mexican Californios as an elected official in the period immediately following the war indicates that the transition from Mexican to American government was not immediate. In many ways, it shows a level of continuity that existed in the region after the war.

In the years immediately following the American conquest, Los Angeles' social and political elites were comprised of the same people that were in power prior to the war. Americans participated in the social, cultural, political, and economic life of the city as they had for decades before. Unlike the demographic changes prompted by the gold rush in Northern California, in the Los Angeles region, Americans remained a minority for years after the war. This relative stability allowed Los Angeles' Californio elites to maintain their political power longer than those in California's central and northern regions. For example, Californio Antonio F. Coronel served in a variety of political capacities ranging from county assessor to mayor to

⁶³⁴ John Caughey, "Don Benito Wilson: An Average Southern Californian," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (Apr., 1939): 286.

⁶³⁵ The Yorbas were one of Southern California's oldest families. Yorba patriarch José Antonio Yorba was the grantee of Santiago de Santa Ana totaling 165,000 acres in 1810. Bernardo Yorba was the owner of the 13,000-acre Cañada de Santa Ana granted to him in 1834. The Yorbas were one of region's largest and wealthiest families. For Wilson and Yorba marriage record, see San Gabriel Mission Records, Number 01966, Huntington Library, Early Population Project Database, 2006, <http://missions.huntington.org/MarriageData.aspx?ID=3600>.

city councilman. Californios' political participation in Los Angeles continued well into the 1870s, until the expansion of the railroad prompted an increase in the Anglo population and a decline in Californios' political power. For example, the last Mexican mayor of Los Angeles, Cristóbal Aguilar, lost his re-election campaign in 1872 after his Anglo American opponent, James R. Toberman, emphasized Aguilar's poor ability to speak English.⁶³⁶ Toberman's emphasis on Aguilar's English skills implies that the growing Anglo constituency cared about such things, but it also indicates the growth of Los Angeles' Anglo population. Toberman's overwhelming defeat of Aguilar marked the beginning of an Anglo American controlled mayoral office.⁶³⁷

The attitude displayed in the 1872 election is in line with many works that cite the 1870s as the decade of Mexican political and social declension; review of *El Clamor Público*, the first Spanish language newspaper published in Los Angeles after the U.S.-Mexico War, indicates that anti-Mexican and anti-Californio attitudes prevailed long before the late 1870s and 1880s. Anglos' tolerance of Californios at the political and economic level often failed to translate into full social acceptance. In Los Angeles, Californios spoke of the negative economic and social consequences prompted by the American conquest and colonization. Speaking specifically of the region's economic decline, an October 1855 article stated that the "expected ruin of bankers and merchants and agriculture had finally come as a result of the extravagant speculations and

⁶³⁶ William Estrada, "The Last Latino Mayor of Los Angeles: José Cristóbal Aguilar, 1866-1868, 1871-1872," *The City Project Blog: Equal Justice, Democracy, and Livability for All*, June 30, 2005., <http://www.cityprojectca.org/blog/archives/117> (accessed March 21, 2013).

⁶³⁷ In this election, Toberman received 715 votes in comparison to Aguilar's 350. For election results see, Los Angeles City Council Documents, *Common Council Session December 5, 1872*, vol. 8, 132-135. Aguilar was Los Angeles's last Mexican mayor until the 2005 election of Antonio Villaraigosa.

importation of foreign products into the region.”⁶³⁸ The unnamed author cited the diminishing condition of “la clase Española” by stating:

It must be understood that the major part the Hispano-American population, comprised of Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, etc., have dedicated themselves to agricultural production, and because of the complete paralyzing of the of the industry due to a lack of appreciation for these native products, have been obligated to abandon their jobs and find themselves ruined without a means of making a living. And being the only industry to which the Spanish class [Españoles] can dedicate themselves to, and because they lack knowledge of any other industry, they find themselves in an even sadder situation, without any hope for the future.⁶³⁹

This statement is evidence that the class solidarity formed between Californios and Anglos waned early in the American period. In as few as seven years after war ended, Californios had experienced a loss in their economic standing and the decline of their prominence in the agricultural and pastoral economy. Californios’ wealth and success is what allowed for their racialization as Europeans and non-Indians; the decline in their status left them susceptible to the racial prejudice encountered by their lower class counterparts.

By 1857, *El Clamor Público* published articles that pointed to Anglos’ continued racial prejudice and mistreatment against Californios. In an article titled “Americanos! Californios!” from February 1857, the unnamed author spoke to the racial bias that distinguished Mexicans from Americans:

It is very difficult in writing or in conversation to use these two words [Americano and Californios] without leaving room to form bad ideas for those who are not familiar with our local relations. We desire with all our hearts to abolish the last vestiges of distinction implicit in this expression. When will

⁶³⁸ “Situación de los Hispano-Americanos en California,” *El Clamor Público*, vol. I, no. 9, Octubre 23 de 1855. From *El Clamor Público*, the Huntington Library. Digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Library. Available: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>. Accessed August 1, 2012. Author’s translation.

⁶³⁹ Author’s translation.; No author cited. “Situación de los Hispano-Americanos en California,” *El Clamor Público*, vol. I, no. 9, Octubre 23 de 1855. From *El Clamor Público*, the Huntington Library. Digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Library. Available: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>. Accessed August 1, 2012.

the time come that the inhabitants [of California] will speak and treat each other under a same title, like brothers from the same family? Do we not exist under the same republic? Do we not have the same rights and protection under the law?⁶⁴⁰

The author points to the continued social and judicial inequity between Anglos and Californios.

The quote indicates an awareness of the fact that despite the guarantees made through the treaty,

Californios did not receive equitable treatment. The author called many of the older respected

“*ciudadanos de California*,” such as the Picos, Domínguez, and Olvera to meet and candidly

discuss ideas about how to unify “las doz razas.”⁶⁴¹ As shown earlier in this work, Anglos and

other immigrants followed social, cultural, and economic protocol as a means of assimilating

into upper class rancho society. Calling on these older residents to bridge the differences

between these groups was significant because they had successfully created strong cultural bonds

with Anglos who migrated into the area during the Mexican period. After the American

conquest, Californios attempted to assimilate into the new social order by identifying with

Anglos as brothers and citizens. The article stated that if “Californios had not followed through

with their responsibilities as citizens to the best of their abilities, they expected their faults to be

clearly related so that they could be rectified.”⁶⁴² This statement indicates that Californios called

on Anglos to allow them the opportunity to assimilate into the new social order. More

importantly, it indicates their attempt to keep their political and social power as a means of

“securing the prosperity of the community.”⁶⁴³

⁶⁴⁰ Author’s translation, No author cited. “Americanos! Californios!” *El Clamor Público*, vol. II, no. 34, Febrero 21 de 1857. From *El Clamor Público*, the Huntington Library. Digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Library. Available: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>. Accessed August 1, 2012.

⁶⁴¹ No author cited. “Americanos! Californios!” *El Clamor Público*, vol. II, no. 34, Febrero 21 de 1857. From *El Clamor Público*, the Huntington Library. Digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Library. Available: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>. Accessed August 1, 2012.

⁶⁴² No author cited. “Americanos! Californios!” *El Clamor Público*, vol. II, no. 34, Febrero 21 de 1857. From *El Clamor Público*, the Huntington Library. Digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Library. Available: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>. Accessed August 1, 2012. Author’s translation.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, Febrero 21 de 1857. Author’s translation.

Despite their desire to assimilate and their calls for equality, an article republished in *El Clamor Público* from the San Francisco *Herald* in July 1859 indicates that Anglo Americans' racial attitudes towards Californios had not changed:

Californios are a degraded race. Part of them are so dark that it takes much effort to distinguish them from the Indians, for the small difference that there is between them and the African race.⁶⁴⁴

Published on *El Clamor's* first page in bold, capital letters, the statement above reflects Anglos' continued racialization of Californios and lower class Mexicans. The class line that had separated wealthy Californios blancos and poor Mexicans seemed to erode as early as 1850s.

Many scholars attribute the rise of anti-Californio attitudes to the 1870s and 1880s as a result of the increase in the Anglo population and Californios' loss of lands; these conclusions, although not completely erroneous, do not fully account for the presence of larger racial projects in the region during the late Mexican and early American periods. As William Deverell has shown, the 1870s and 1880s served as a period in which Americans began to construct the acceptable Spanish past wrought with Spanish Dons, Doñas and fiestas. Deverell argues that Anglos created the Spanish past as a way to construct the Mexican image in a non-threatening way. By creating Mexicans as pliable, remnants of the historic Pueblo de Los Angeles, Anglos established a racially exclusive metanarrative that maintained the newly established Anglo order and created the modern Anglo City of Los Angeles.⁶⁴⁵ The creation of this myth correlates with the emphasis on whiteness and Europeanness embodied by Manifest Destiny and Anglo white supremacy; it legitimized Anglo Americans' permanent superiority in the region. Building on

⁶⁴⁴ Author's translation; No author cited. "Lo Que Dicen los Democratras, "Los Californios son una raza degrada, negros, distinguirlos de los Indios, poca diferencia, entre ellos y la raza negra." *El Clamor Público*, vol. V, no. 5, Julio 30 de 1859. From *El Clamor Público*, the Huntington Library. Digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Library. Available: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>. Accessed August 1, 2012

⁶⁴⁵ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California), 5-10.

Deverell's ideas of the construction of Mexicans' identity and challenging the temporal boundaries that pinpoint the late 1870s and 1890s as the decline of the Californios, the newspapers above indicate that the Californios' decline began much earlier than the late nineteenth century. Americans' assimilation and integration into Californio society and culture during the late Mexican period allowed them to gain a foothold in the region prior to increased Anglo immigration in the 1870s. In his classic work on Californio society, historian Leonard Pitt argued that as early as 1853 Americans' "walk in without knocking kind of friendships between several hundred Anglo Americans and Spanish Americans.....advanced the harmony of the races," and helped solidify economic and social ties between the two groups.⁶⁴⁶ Pitt argued that Anglo Americans used their status as part of the Californio elite to establish a "campaign to make the Californios into Patriotic Yankee citizens," and establish a "Yankee spirit" amongst the Mexican elite a few years after the U.S.- Mexico War.⁶⁴⁷ Pitt's contention of a pre-1870s relationship supports the argument that Californios' and Anglos' relationships were created to maintain elites' wealth and status regardless of racial ideals.

Californios' and Anglo Americans' relationships during the 1840s and 1850s reflect each group's negotiation of racial and class identities for the purpose of obtaining wealth and status through land ownership. During the Mexican and early American periods, "wealth dissolved many differences,"⁶⁴⁸ and both Californios and assimilated Americans used land as a way of obtaining specific racialized class privileges and political power. After the U.S-Mexico War the demographic changes created a population imbalance that changed the dynamics of assimilation. The increased presence of Anglos provided social and cultural legitimization of Anglo American

⁶⁴⁶ Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 126.

⁶⁴⁷ Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 127.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 127.

ideas of white supremacy, held but kept quiet by the American minority prior to the war. The slow but deliberate imposition of the American political system allowed Americans who held political power prior to the war to maintain their power during the transition into the American system.

As ideas of white superiority and Manifest Destiny became more prevalent in the region, Californios' attempts to negotiate incoming social and economic structures to maintain their power and influence in the American system faltered because the process of westward expansion and the racial rhetoric of conquest did away with the notions of class solidarity by emphasizing Anglo Saxon racial supremacy. Unlike the Mexican Period, in which Liberalism and independence helped frame visions of land use and ownership within a racialized class status, under the American system the ability to own land was explicitly based on racial identity and control of labor. Within the new American racial structure, Californios' acceptance as social equals depended on their continued landownership. In their attempts to assimilate into the American system, Californios claimed whiteness or Europeaness as a way of reframing cultural and class superiority as racial superiority. Once Californios lost their lands, what had made them Americanos in the first place, they lost their claims to racial and cultural superiority. By reframing their ideas of land ownership and culture, wealthy Californios attempted to follow the transition from a class-based social system to one solely based on race. Californios believed that through marriages, improvements of land, and links with pre-war American immigrants they would be able to maintain their power and influence. Unfortunately, within the race-based American system their attempts only temporarily staved off their political and economic loss. In San Pascual, the process described above resulted in the sale and eventual parceling out of these lands. Garfias, who had tried very hard to assimilate into Mexican and later American society,

serves as an example of the transition from a class-based to a race-based system. Garfias' loss of San Pascual to Benjamin Wilson illustrates the contestation between these two systems and Californios' eventual erasure and relegation to the past.

Changing Landscape: Rancho San Pascual in the American Vision

After his attempts at improving the land, Manuel Garfias' sale of San Pascual to Benjamin Davis Wilson and his business partner John S. Griffin ushered in the rancho's American period. Wilson's tenure as owner of San Pascual brought many developments to the rancho and to the region. Known to Californios as Don Benito, Wilson's access to capital and his respected position as a politician and businessman during the Mexican era facilitated his navigation of the American system after the U.S.-Mexico War. Wilson's acquisition and development of San Pascual reflects the successful negotiation of Californio culture and the incoming Anglo culture. The broader significance of Wilson's development of San Pascual lies in his ability to use the land as a means of embodying the changing needs and visions of optimal land use. Prior to the war, as an American immigrant in Mexican territory Wilson negotiated cultural expectations and participated in a variety of business ventures to quickly become a very well-respected member the Californio community. Wilson's use of land to build his reputation and status was well in line with wealthy Californios' beliefs about what constituted an honorable *ranchero* and *vecino*.⁶⁴⁹ Wilson's marriage into the Yorba family gained him access to some of the region's most valuable land. By the time of the American conquest, Wilson enjoyed a great deal of social privilege and wealth. Conversely, within the American system, land ownership still determined a man's status but was reliant on racialized ideals propelled through Manifest Destiny. Wilson, although having assimilated into Californio culture, epitomized the possibilities

⁶⁴⁹ For a discussion of masculinity, land use, and status see chapters 3 and 4 of this work.

available to incoming Anglo Americans after the U.S.-Mexico War. In many ways his successful ownership of some of southern California's best lands, his ability to run a successful vineyard and winery, and his involvement in regional politics represented the triumph of Manifest Destiny and Anglo American white supremacy. The manner in which Wilson approached his acquisition of San Pascual indicated his knowledge of both Californio and American visions of land use and socio-economic and cultural ideals about landownership and status.

As previously shown in this work, Wilson's attainment of San Pascual resulted from Manuel Garfias' default on a personal loan; unable to repay his debt, Garfias offered Wilson and Griffin title to Rancho San Pascual. Wilson knew the value of land ownership, and when Garfias offered San Pascual in exchange for zeroing out his debt he wanted to assure himself that Garfias' land was productive and could bring him profit. A series of letters exchanged between Wilson and Griffin indicate his confirmation of the land's value. Prior to signing the deed in January of 1859, Griffin sent Benjamin Eaton, a noted surveyor, to assess San Pascual's value.⁶⁵⁰ Trusting Eaton's positive report regarding the land's premium condition, Griffin met with Garfias and his wife Luisa Avila to purchase the land.⁶⁵¹ Griffin immediately wrote to Wilson and stated that he was confident that they had made "a good purchase" from which they would "receive full value for [their] money."⁶⁵² Wilson and Griffin quickly began to see how they could begin making money on their investment.

⁶⁵⁰ Incomplete letter to Benjamin Wilson from John S. Griffin, unknown month and date, 1859, Los Angeles. Correspondence and Business Records 1858, Box 12. From the Benjamin Wilson Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁵¹ Letter to Benjamin Wilson from John S. Griffin, January 15, 1859, Los Angeles. Correspondence and Business Records 1859, Box 13. From the Benjamin Wilson Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁵² Ibid., January 15, 1859.

Most of Wilson's and Griffin's dealing with San Pascual consisted of selling off land parcels for a variety of uses. Water rights were of major importance in the region because the cultivation of grapes and the raising of livestock depended on the availability of water. One of the earliest deals connected to Wilson's sale of San Pascual dealt with the parceling out of water rights. In 1860, one year after they had obtained the land, Wilson made a deal with John Keever over the latter's ability to obtain water that flowed thorough San Pascual.⁶⁵³ Interestingly, the agreement did not contain any monetary fee for the use of the water but rather simply delineated San Pascual's boundaries and reaffirmed Wilson's sole ownership of the property. Although this particular agreement does not appear fiscally beneficial, Wilson's involvement in water rights issues was a crucial part of the development of the region's infrastructure during the 1860s and 1870s. Water, often a theme in the history of the west as place, is important to the discussion of how the west developed.⁶⁵⁴ The control of water is what supported the optimal visions of land use. In San Pascual, the cultivation of grapes and other crops necessitated access to a consistent, reliable water source during the mid- to late nineteenth century. Wilson, recognizing the need for water, worked to create an intricate system that provided water to region. Later in the nineteenth century, harnessing the water supply solidified Wilson's legacy as the Father of Pasadena, because it provided the crucial element necessary to facilitate the Indiana Colony's expansion.

Wilson's ability to dominate San Pascual and by extension many of the surrounding areas' water supply speaks to larger process regarding ideas about race and land use. The fact that Wilson, an American, was the first to divert water via an aqueduct from the origins of the

⁶⁵³ Agreement Between Benjamin and Margaret Wilson and John C. Keever Over Water Rights, Unknown month and date, 1860, The Benjamin Davis Wilson Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁵⁴ See Daniel Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Pantheon Press, Reprint 1985).

Arroyo Seco in the San Gabriel Mountains reflects the materialization of Manifest Destiny and Anglo American white supremacy. Wilson had accomplished what Californios, especially Garfias, had failed to do; he made the land viable and productive. Wilson's distinction as the "Father of Pasadena" recognizes his success and contributions to the region.⁶⁵⁵ Wilson's positive reputation in the region speaks to the manner in which some Americans negotiated white and Californio society after the U.S Mexico War. Wilson navigated the transitional period quite well. His title as "Don Benito" indicated his respected status and acculturation into Californio society during the Mexican Period. After the war, although his first wife Ramona Yorba had died in 1849, Wilson still kept in contact with his former brother-in-law, Raymundo. A short letter from Yorba dated October 4, 1859, illustrated how the class relationship between Californios and Americans remained amicable. Yorba greeted Wilson as his "highly esteemed brother," and requested payment of a debt for a third party. After asking the favor, Yorba ended the letter with a warm salutation to Wilson's wife Margarita [Margaret] and the entire family.⁶⁵⁶ Interestingly, Wilson's private papers are full of invitations and calling cards from noted Californios such as the Picos and the Sepúlvedas,⁶⁵⁷ pointing to the fact that Wilson, and certain landed Californios, maintained communication, albeit professional, during the early American Period. Read one way, this communication indicates the mutual respect that existed between Wilson and Yorba. Conversely, read in the context of a negotiation of power, Yorba's letter and the various invitations to social events may be a way of maintaining a connection with Wilson at a class

⁶⁵⁵ In addition to this title, Wilson also has several other places that bear his name. For instance, one of the most well-known peaks of the San Gabriel Mountains, Mount Wilson, is named after him. In the 1860s, Wilson explored the mountain in the hopes of finding trees to process into wooden casks for wine from his Lake Vineyard. The trail he took up to the peak was later named, the Mount Wilson Trail. Aside from his imprint in Pasadena, Wilson is also remembered as the grandfather of World War II general George S. Patton, son of his daughter Ruth.

⁶⁵⁶ Letter to Benjamin Wilson from Raymundo Yorba, October 4, 1859, Buena Vista. Correspondence and Business Records 1859, Box 13. From the Benjamin Wilson Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Author's translation.

⁶⁵⁷ Newspaper Clipping, Invitations, and Cards, etc. Box 39. From the Benjamin Wilson Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

level. Despite the fact that Wilson had deep roots in Californio society and successfully participated in the regional economy of the pre-American period, history remembers Wilson as an American not a Californio.

While Wilson's accomplishments fill the historical record, the physical landscape and historical memory represents Americans' triumph; the legacy of Don Manuel Garfias, the last Mexican owner of San Pascual, served as the materialization of Mexican Californios' inability to hold on to their lands. In April of 1857, Garfias, most likely feeling the pressure of his growing debt to Wilson and Griffin, advertised the sale of his home in downtown Los Angeles:

For sale in exchange for cash or livestock, the famous and elegant house situated in the Main Street of this city, owned by the person writing this ad; whose property, due to its very spacious rooms, fine construction and decoration offers all the comfort that good taste can provide. In addition it has a beautiful garden at the front of the house, and plot suitable for development in the back; both plots contain some fruit trees with plenty of land remaining for the same purpose. Interested persons come to the store of Twist y Aguilar, for more details. [The land is also] available for lease.⁶⁵⁸

This advertisement tells us several things about Garfias' home, social status, financial situation, and most importantly his land's value. First, Garfias described the home as elegant and having all of the upper-class comforts. By doing this, Garfias employed a common practice amongst Californios; he used his property to distinguish himself as a member of the upper class. Secondly, aside from his description of the home, Garfias detailed the abundant land available with the property. He emphasized its beauty and productivity, stressing its value, real and potential for the growth of fruit trees and crops. Lastly, Garfias' advertisement implicitly speaks to his financial situation. Offering to sell his city home, a mark of wealth and distinction, for cash

⁶⁵⁸ Author's translation, No author cited, "Aviso Interesante, Se Vende, Twist y Aguilar, Manuel Garfias," *El Clamor Público*, vol. II, no. 42, Abril 18 de 1857. From *El Clamor Publico*, the Huntington Library. Digitally reproduced by the University of Southern California Digital Library. Available: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu>. Accessed August 1, 2012.

or exchange of livestock indicates his attempt to obtain capital. Although this advertisement may simply be part of regular business transactions for the landed classes, the sale indicated that he was dealing with the rising debt that had arisen out of his dealings with Wilson and Griffin over San Pascual. Garfias' sale of his city home, his deeding of San Pascual to Wilson and Griffin in 1859, and his 1860 land patent signed by President Abraham Lincoln, marked the last few times that Garfias was mentioned in relation to Rancho San Pascual. Garfias' experiences became part of a racialized narrative in which inferior Californios lost their lands due to mismanagement and bad financial decisions. In this story, Garfias, like countless other Californios, disappeared into history, leaving the present to men such as Wilson.

The 1850s transition of Rancho San Pascual from Mexican to American hands provides an opportunity to see how Californios lost their lands to American men who had assimilated into Mexican society in the period prior to the U.S. – Mexico War. Garfias' loss of San Pascual was quite different from the threat of losing land through economic denouncement during the Spanish and Mexican periods, because it occurred within a new political and economic climate, fueled by the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and Anglo Saxon racial superiority. When Garfias denounced San Pascual's previous owners, he did so through his utilization of a well-established system long used by Californios to take control of ex-mission lands. Not unlike other Californios, Garfias supported his claim to land through an emphasis of a Spanish cultural identity and his financial status. This protocol provided a much-needed support system for the Californio elite. Immigrant Americans had entered into Californio society through marriage and had managed to reach the highest echelons of Californio society. By the time of the U.S. –Mexico War, Wilson had reached a status similar to Californios such as Garfias. The two men belonged to the same social circles, had similar associates, and were well-respected, landed men. The political and

social consequences of the U.S.-Mexico War changed the structure of the system in which these men lived. Although they remained at a similar social level for a brief period, Wilson quickly surpassed Garfias in wealth and status; this was not unlike what occurred after Garfias' economic denouncement of Sepúlveda's right to San Pascual. Although similar in process, the difference comes in terms of what the loss represented. When Garfias took over San Pascual, he did so based on the idea that Sepúlveda and his heirs had failed to develop it in a meaningful way. This land acquisition was not a means of making wealth but rather a way of displaying wealth and social standing. In the Californio period, the land itself was wealth; one's status depended on the ability to have the land, develop a homestead, and make enough profit from it to keep one's lavish lifestyle. In the case of Wilson's takeover of San Pascual, we can see a different understanding of what the land itself represented within the incoming American system: a vision of land use in which Americans believed the land itself represented not only wealth, but also a means of making more wealth. This vision of land speculation had fueled westward expansion from as early as the late colonial period and had prompted a variety of conflicts between Anglo Americans and indigenous peoples. The end of the U.S.-Mexico War and influx of Anglo settlers led to the growth of land speculation of the American Southwest during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Wilson's loan to Garfias in the early 1850s was part of a larger trend in which American financiers, land speculators, lawyers, and others provided high-interest loans to Mexican landowners using their lands as collateral; when the landowner defaulted, the loan guarantor confiscated their lands. Historian Deena J. González identifies these and other practices as part of an unofficial policy of outright swindles and land grabs, in which Anglos gained land at the

expense of Indigenous and Mexican peoples.⁶⁵⁹ Framing her understanding of land loss within the power dynamics of colonization, she argues that the actions are not as important as the implications of those actions.⁶⁶⁰ In other words, she is interested in what those actions represented in terms of imposition of control over the conquered population. The establishment of American hegemony after the war changed the dynamics that existed between men who had shared a similar status as landowners during the Mexican Period. After the war, Garfias' position in American society took on a racialized element that placed him beneath Wilson in the social hierarchy. When Wilson purchased San Pascual from Garfias, because of his default on a personal loan, it happened within a political, economic, and racialized context that matched the tenets of Manifest Destiny. The power dynamics involved in this transaction represented larger societal and cultural ideals about land use and race. Unlike Garfias' economic denouncement that only changed Sepúlveda's economic status, Wilson's appropriation of San Pascual changed Garfias' racial status from a Californio blanco to that of a lower, landless Mexican.

The interactions between visions of land use and ideas of race are evident in the transaction over San Pascual in 1859. When Wilson and Griffin took over San Pascual, their primary concern was whether the land could cover the amount of Garfias' defaulted loan. Wilson and Griffin's correspondence does not indicate any desire to establish a homestead, raise cattle, or grow crops. From the beginning, their interest in this land came from their desire to parcel it out, take full advantage of it, and become wealthier in the process.⁶⁶¹ As businessmen dealing in land, Wilson and Griffin functioned as land speculators. They worked to get the most money back from the land. Despite his acculturation into Californio society and first-hand knowledge of

⁶⁵⁹ González, *Refusing the Favor*, 108.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

⁶⁶¹ Incomplete letter to Benjamin Wilson from John S. Griffin, unknown month and date, 1859, Los Angeles. Correspondence and Business Records 1858, Box 12. From the Benjamin Wilson Collection, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

how land ownership determined social status, Wilson now employed American visions of land use within an American economic and racial structure to gain the most he could from San Pascual. The end of San Pascual's Mexican era engendered the transition to the American Anglo Saxon vision of land use; as a direct consequence, the era of the small American farmer soon replaced the era of the rancho.

The rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and Anglo Saxon racial supremacy reaped what the U.S.-Mexico War and American colonization had sown. The California Gold Rush prompted massive migration into the region in the 1850s. The dramatic influx of settlers, comprised of people from a variety of places, produced a region that many observers, such as New York author Charles Nordhoff, regarded as violent and chaotic.⁶⁶² Stories of danger, violence and hardship made their way back east and permeated the popular imagination.⁶⁶³ The image of unruly Los Angeles was a necessary part of the story as it provided the opportunity for Anglo Americans to bring order and civility into the region. The completion of the transcontinental railroad and its links to the rail lines that ran from Los Angeles northward towards San Pascual positively changed the region's image in the popular imagination. More accessible to people and products, Los Angeles and its surrounding areas became a beautiful and more comfortable place. Increased travel and trade to and from the region during the 1860s and 1870s prompted an economic shift inextricably tied to the land's use. Slowly the rise of agriculture displaced the grazing of cattle; small farmers, most of whom were Americans who had migrated into Los Angeles during the latter part of the Mexican era, began to utilize their lands to plant an assortment of crops.

⁶⁶² Charles Nordhoff, *California for Health, Pleasure and Residence: A Book for Travelers and Settlers* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1873), 18.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

The 1870s proved to be a vibrant period for California's agriculture. By this time, wheat had become California's most valuable crop. Although settlers around Los Angeles and the San Gabriel Valley attempted to grow wheat, the crop did not develop as easily as in other areas of the state. As the San Gabriel Mission padres had realized a century earlier, regional inhabitants found that the area's soil and climate facilitated the growth of grapes, olives, and most importantly citrus fruit.⁶⁶⁴ As early as 1841, William Wolfskill, an American living in Los Angeles, had successfully planted a plot of citrus trees.⁶⁶⁵ The demand for citrus grew steadily throughout the 1860s, and oranges quickly became the region's chief export; Wolfskill and other citrus farmers in the area sent their crops to San Francisco via ship.⁶⁶⁶ By the late 1870s and early 1880s citrus farmers grew oranges on tracts of land as far south as San Diego and exported large shipments eastward on the newly completed Southern Pacific railroad.⁶⁶⁷ The success of orange cultivation was crucial to regional development because it prompted many to migrate into the area and brought tremendous wealth to individual farmers who successfully cultivated the crop.⁶⁶⁸ Aside from the potential for individual enrichment, the cultivation of oranges helped construct the image of post-1860s California. As the citrus industry grew during the latter part of

⁶⁶⁴ The San Gabriel Mission had grown oranges as early as 1804; the mission had one orange orchard with 44 seedling trees that would later be transplanted into other areas of Los Angeles during the mid-nineteenth century. For more on California's early citrus industry see Walter Ebeling, *The Fruited Plain: The Story of American Agriculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 352.

⁶⁶⁵ William Wolfskill was an American mountain man and fur trapper from Missouri who came to California by way of Taos, New Mexico. Arriving in Los Angeles in 1831, Wolfskill became a Mexican citizen. His assimilation into Californio society is evident through the translation of his name to Guillermo in the city's padrones; in both the 1836 and 1844 documents, he was listed a laborer living in Los Angeles. See, Padrón de la Ciudad de Los Angeles y su jurisdicción, Año de 1836, Los Angeles City Archives, English translation, 465; and Padrón 1844, English translation, 552; For more information on his life see, H.D Barrow, "William Wolfskill, The Pioneer," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California and of the Pioneers of Los Angeles County* 5-6 (1902-1904): 287-294; Iris Wilson, *William Wolfskill 1796-1866: Frontier Trapper to California Rancher* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1965) ; David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 144-145. In 1841, he married María Magdalena Lugo, daughter of prominent Californios Ygnacio and Rafaela Lugo. He became a renowned viticulturist who is credited with being the first American to plant oranges in Los Angeles.

⁶⁶⁶ Ebeling, *The Fruited Plain*, 353.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 353-354.

⁶⁶⁸ Ebeling states that the last crop of orange William Wolfskill sold before his death in 1866 sold for \$25,000 on the tree. Ebeling, *The Fruited Plain*, 353.

the nineteenth century, the image of the fruit adorned the colorful images adhered to crates that shipped the sun-kissed oranges eastward, sending with them the image of a tropical, Eden-like place that could produce such sweet, delectable fruit.⁶⁶⁹ The image of Southern California, including San Pascual, during the early years of American control was rooted in the land. Americans cultivated this image through the production and highlighting of the region's magnificent crops grown in place that a mere twenty-five years ago had been a sleepy region of "shiftless Mexicans" who had failed to develop to its full potential.⁶⁷⁰ Within a racialized rhetoric, Californios' rancho era became a remnant of a failed, archaic endeavor, in which everything non-Anglo was relegated to a romantic, yet doomed past. Places such as Pasadena were places of promise and Anglo success; more importantly, they represented an Anglo future. Gradually, the landscape began to change; saplings of citrus trees filled the once wide-open range coloring the region's future in a bright orange hue.

The growth of citrus as the region's main export crop and the expansion of nationwide markets facilitated by the transcontinental railroad deeply influenced ideas about land use during the American period. The creation of the citrus culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century embodied the agricultural vision of Manifest Destiny and marked the land as a place of progress and modernity created by Anglo American hands. In his work on Los Angeles' citrus industry, Douglas Sackman argued that the citrus industry, what he termed "the orange empire," was a pervasive imperial force that effected political, social, and cultural control in California and its people.⁶⁷¹ The natural landscape and Anglo Americans' control of nature made citrus the ideal moneymaking crop. The Los Angeles Basin, nestled in between the San Gabriel and San

⁶⁶⁹ For a detailed analysis of these images see chapter one in Douglas C. Sackman, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

⁶⁷⁰ Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 26.

⁶⁷¹ Sackman, *Orange Empire*, 7.

Bernardino Mountains, an excellent Mediterranean climate influenced by the Pacific Ocean, and three watersheds helped grow the Orange Empire.⁶⁷² The physical land itself provided the canvas for the new Anglo American nation with limitless potential for wealth. Not unlike the way in which overseas trade facilitated the expansion of the tallow and hide economy and changed the landscape during the Spanish and Mexican eras, the railroad facilitated a lucrative agricultural trade through which American California “became infused with market force and bound up in a web of economic and political” growth.⁶⁷³ Combining nature with Anglo Americans’ scientific ingenuity, technology, and quickly expanding markets, the orange empire changed the landscape and people’s relation to the land while simultaneously creating an Edenic vision of place and solidifying a racial hierarchy reflective of Manifest Destiny and Anglo Saxon racial superiority.⁶⁷⁴

Caught in the whirlwind of change, San Pascual’s landowners used the physical land to create a regional future framed within Anglo American ideals of optimal land use. Knowing that the land was not suitable for grazing cattle when they bought it, Benjamin Wilson and J.S. Griffin began looking to sell portions of San Pascual to interested individuals.⁶⁷⁵ The first plot of land sold from the purchase was in December of 1862 to Eliza Johnston, sister of J.S. Griffin and the widow of General Albert Sidney Johnston, a Confederate Army surgeon killed while serving in the Civil War.⁶⁷⁶ The documents pertaining to the sale indicate that despite the fact that

⁶⁷² Ibid., 7-8.

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 24.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁶⁷⁵ Henry Markham Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years* (Los Angeles: Lorrin L. Morrison Printing and Publishing, 1964), 10.

⁶⁷⁶ General Albert Sidney Johnston had fought in the U.S. – Mexico War in the 1840s. In May of 1861, Jefferson Davis appointed him General in the Confederate Army. Johnston died at the Battle of Shiloh in April of 1862. For Johnston’s role in the Civil War see, James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). Daniel M. Berry, the land scout for the Indiana Colony, refers to Johnston’s passing in his letter to T.B. Elliot. See Letter to Thomas Balch Elliott from Daniel M. Berry, September 12, 1873. Box 1, From the Paper of Thomas Balch Elliot, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Johnston was Griffin's sister, Wilson alone conducted the land transaction. Wilson sold Johnston six hundred and forty acres of land for \$1,000. The land, as described in the deed, contained a number of oak trees, and green bushes; it was close to the southwest bank of the Arroyo Seco, and was near the zanja used to bring water into area.⁶⁷⁷ With this prime land in her control, Johnston quickly built a home that she named Fair Oaks Ranch, after her childhood home in Virginia.⁶⁷⁸

Johnston's Fair Oaks Ranch, described by contemporaries as a "large tract of choice land, in the heart of the orange tracts," became a shining example of San Pascual's viability.⁶⁷⁹ Shortly after establishing the homestead, Johnston encountered personal tragedy when her son Albert died in a steamship explosion off the coast of San Pedro in April 1863.⁶⁸⁰ After her son's death, Johnston returned to Virginia. Her departure left the question of who would take control of the Fair Oaks homestead. Unofficially, it is most likely that J.S. Griffin took care of the property after his sister's departure. Over the next three years, Johnston slowly gave Griffin legal control over the property. In 1865, Johnston granted Griffin power of attorney, ceding all power over the property to him.⁶⁸¹ One year later, documents indicate that she *sold* Griffin a portion of the 260-acre property for \$2,500.⁶⁸² The documented sale of Fair Oaks to Griffin ended Johnston's control of the property and gave her brother the opportunity to sell parcels of the land to

⁶⁷⁷ December 11, 1862, Deed to Portion of Tract of San Pascual, Benjamin D. Wilson and Margaret S. Wilson to Eliza G. Johnston, Box 9, From the Papers of James Filmore Crank, 1880-1902, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁷⁸ Robert H. Peterson, Altadena's *Golden Years* (Alhambra: Sinclair Printing and Litho, Inc., 1976), 23.

⁶⁷⁹ Letter to Thomas Balch Elliott from Daniel M. Berry, September 12, 1873. Box 1, From the Paper of Thomas Balch Elliott, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁸⁰ On April 27, 1863, the steamboat *Ada Hancock*, owned by well-known businessman Phineas Banning, exploded during a routine trip to transport passengers to the steamer *Senator* waiting in the San Pedro Bay. Fifty passengers died, including Sue Wilson, daughter of Benjamin Davis Wilson. For a brief discussion of this explosion see, William B. Seacrest, *California Disasters 1800-1900* (California: Quill Driver Books, 2005), 102-105.

⁶⁸¹ Power of Attorney, Eliza Johnston to John S. Griffin, January 30, 1865, Box 9, From the Papers of James F. Crank, 1880-1902. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁸² Deed to Fair Oaks, Eliza Johnston to John S. Griffin, September 12, 1866, Box 9, From the Papers of James F. Crank, 1880-1902. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

interested buyers. Two years after his purchase of the estate, Griffin sold the homestead to his brother-in-law Judge Benjamin Eaton.⁶⁸³ Eaton, trusted for his knowledge of land, was no stranger to San Pascual, having evaluated the land a decade earlier prior to Wilson's purchase of it from Manuel Garfias. Eaton was a long-time resident of Los Angeles and had served in a variety of positions such as an associate justice for the circuit court, Los Angeles district attorney, and tax assessor.⁶⁸⁴ Prior to his purchase of the Fair Oaks estate in 1868, seeing his wife Helena Hayes in bad health, Eaton tired of their lives in Los Angeles, and moved his family into the Garfias adobe. Beginning in 1858, Eaton served as San Pascual's caretaker; when Helena died in 1859, Eaton took his family and returned east.⁶⁸⁵ Eaton returned to San Pascual six years later in 1865 and lived in the Fair Oaks estate. Interested in buying the land, Eaton purchased the eastern portion of Wilson's share of San Pascual for \$500.00 in November of 1868.⁶⁸⁶ One month later, Eaton purchased the rest of the land, including the home, from Johnston for \$1000.00.⁶⁸⁷ This was end of a long sequence of transactions created from Manuel Garfias' sale of the land.

The processes described above illustrate the manner through which San Pascual slowly fell into Euro Americans' hands during the 1850s. The business interactions among Wilson, Griffin, Johnston and Eaton do not differ greatly from those of the Californio era. The same way that San Pascual had remained in the hands of Californio families and men related through blood

⁶⁸³ Eaton's wife Helena Hayes was the sister of Griffin's wife Louisa Hayes. See, Benjamin Hayes and Marjorie Tisdale Wolcott, *Pioneers: Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875* (Wisconsin: Arno Press, 1976), x.

⁶⁸⁴ Richard Beebee, "Judge Benjamin Eaton: Father of Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Altadena," *The Quarterly Magazine* (Spring 2007). Accessed September 10, 2012. <http://www.thequarterly.com/spr07content/pdf/p37.pdf>.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁶⁸⁶ Deed of Land, Benjamin Wilson to Benjamin Eaton, November 19, 1868, Box 9, From the Papers of James F. Crank, 1880-1902, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁸⁷ Deed of Land, Eliza Johnston to Benjamin Eaton, December 19, 1868, Box 9, From the Papers of James F. Crank, 1880-1902, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

ties or marriage, after Griffin and Wilson assumed control of the land they parceled out the land to their family members and in-laws. These relationships supported the creation of a Euro American landed class. Aside from utilizing kinship and family relationships to gain land, Americans, similar to the Californios who came before them, gave ex-military men the opportunity to own land. Land scout Daniel M. Berry related this issue in a letter to his eastern client, Thomas Balch:

In the time of the Mexican War, our boys in blue came over here and had a chance to see the country, and the consequence was that Rosecrans, Fremont, Griffin, Banning and Albert Sydney Johnston all took large tracts of choice land.⁶⁸⁸

Berry's statement referred to a variety of military men who fought in California during the war; many of these men held large tracts of land in Southern California.⁶⁸⁹ Berry's reference to these men, including Griffin and Johnston, indicates that he was well aware of a type of social networks that kept land within specific circles.⁶⁹⁰ The fact that many landed men had familial connections or had provided military service indicates a similarity in the way that Californios and Americans thought about land ownership; both groups, although during different periods, were interested in keeping land amongst specific groups. Despite this similarity, the two groups differed in their purpose for obtaining land. Californios wanted land as an indication of wealth and status, focusing more on having it as a representation of wealth; Garfias was a prime example of this attitude. When he first obtained San Pascual he was not interested in developing it; later, he focused on improving the home instead of the physical land. Conversely, Wilson and

⁶⁸⁸ Letter from D.M. Berry to Thomas Balch, September 12, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliot, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁶⁸⁹ His letter specifically refers to Albert Johnston, indicating that Berry's erroneous belief that Johnston had received San Pascual because of his military service. As previously stated, San Pascual was purchased by Eliza Johnston, his widow.

⁶⁹⁰ Berry, as the scout for the Indiana Colony, the group of easterners who wanted to buy land in California, would eventually make a bid on San Pascual.

Griffin represented a vision that reflected larger Euro American ideals of improving the land based on the idea of agricultural development. These men's ideas coalesced with concepts resulting from conquest, colonization, white supremacy and the expansion of trade markets.

Living within a new American system that delegitimized Californio ideals of land use, Wilson and Griffin maneuvered the incoming land system in a rather skillful way. After the U.S.-Mexico War, the old view about land ownership sustained through social and cultural ideas and familial networks changed to a vision maintained through court systems and bureaucracy.⁶⁹¹ The American government, steeped in the ideas about Anglo American racial supremacy, based colonization of the west on ideas of taming wild, uncivilized areas. The American government established land policies that allowed Anglos to dispossess Californios of their premier lands through the judicial system. For instance, the creation of the Federal Land Commission and the passage of the Federal Land Act of 1851 required Californios, and other Mexicans throughout the southwest, to produce legal title to their lands.⁶⁹² The costly process of defending one's title and the unscrupulous business transactions, mainly high interest loans made by more than willing American speculators, proved economically disastrous to Californios, often leaving them indebted, penniless, and landless.⁶⁹³ Although conceptualized at the state and federal level, the governmental and judicial processes of land dispossession often occurred at more localized sites and reflect micro-level social and cultural changes regarding land use. In other words, although the creation of concepts of land use and the formation of the landscape are representative of larger colonial projects, their manifestations on local sites such as San Pascual reflect the local community's adaptations of these ideals. Cultural perceptions of land use in San Pascual

⁶⁹¹ Laura R. Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley: Rural Landscapes, Urban Development and White Privilege* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 26.

⁶⁹² Ibid., 26 -27.

⁶⁹³ A discussion of this process as it relates to San Pascual is in chapter 4 of this work. For a discussion of the process in the San Fernando Valley see Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley*, 26 -27.

reflected Wilson and Griffin's adaptation of this larger colonial project to previous cultural constructs. Wilson and Griffin utilized the new system, at the local level, to force Garfias into a situation where he had no choice but to give up his land as a way to resolve his debt. This experience was not unlike that of other landed men throughout the southwest; what made it somewhat different was the fact that Garfias and Wilson were part of a similar social and economic class. Within the Californio system, Garfias' experience seemed to take the shape of an economic denouncement, but within the context of American colonization, it was a delegitimization of Garfias' rightful ownership of the land. In the former instance, Garfias had failed because he was economically unfit, a condition in cases of economic denouncement, but in the latter situation, following the logic of Anglo white supremacy, Garfias failed because he was racially unfit. Although ideas of agricultural improvement framed the American colonial project, Wilson and Griffin based their ideas about land use on the desire to make the most profit they could from the land's sale. Because they obtained San Pascual at a moment when agricultural improvement defined proper settlement and optimal land use, they sold the land to would-be farmers; had they gotten the land a bit later, their motivation may have differed.

The discussion above looks at the use of Anglo American white supremacy and American colonization of San Pascual in an economic context. Culturally speaking, control of the land reflected a racialized rhetoric used to legitimize American settlement. Agricultural development, specifically the establishment of private farms and small homesteads on which to grow wheat, oranges and other crops, was the main impetus for development in areas throughout the southwest, including California. Americans' desires to establish these homesteads reflected long-held Euro American views premised on the Jeffersonian ideals of the yeoman farmer. The small farmer and his homestead were the backbone of the nation; they embodied Americans'

hard work and individualism. More importantly, the entrance of the American farmer, regardless of the region, exemplified the civilizing of the backward, savage society it replaced.⁶⁹⁴ In the San Gabriel Valley, of which San Pascual was a part, the middle-class, white “gentleman farmer” was the foundation of American settlement.⁶⁹⁵ As citrus growers and land speculators, Wilson and Griffin held designs for San Pascual that reflected these long-held ideas about land use and race and coalesced with the emerging export markets. The success of the citrus industry in the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valleys helped create an appealing image of the region’s landscape. As the region’s Edenic reputation traveled east on the orange crates shipped by the railways, Midwesterners suffering through another bitter winter and disillusioned with the decline of their financial options looked west toward sunny California. Industrialization and urban expansion during the latter part of the nineteenth century resulted in the decline of rural communities and farmers faced an increasingly desperate financial situation marked by falling crop prices, foreclosures, and exploitation in an increasingly corporate world. As some Midwestern farmers mobilized into political action through the Grange, others saw California and its emerging “gentleman farming” culture that mixed the best of the urban and rural worlds as the way to achieve financial stability and a middle class social status.⁶⁹⁶ As historian Laura Barraclough argued in her work on the development of the San Fernando Valley, a region that grew out ex-San Fernando Mission, Midwesterners, increasingly disconnected from the Jeffersonian yeoman vision by quick-paced industrialization and changing economic structure, looked to build a new life for themselves that based on a new “rural urbanism [that] took the form of gentleman farming which was envisioned as the foundation of a middle class white

⁶⁹⁴ Matt García, *A World of its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 21.

⁶⁹⁵ Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley*, 29; In her work on the San Fernando Valley, Barraclough defines the term ‘gentleman farming’ as small scale agriculture.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

settler society.”⁶⁹⁷ In California, the citrus economy and culture promised to provide Midwestern immigrants a chance to live culturally sophisticated lives while enjoying the fruits of agrarian life.⁶⁹⁸ The region’s appealing image encouraged many, including Daniel Berry and the Indiana Colony, to seek opportunity in Southern California.

The Indiana Colony 1873-1875

*“Knowest thou land where the citrus and olive is fairest of fruit and the voice of the meadowlands never is mute...it is Pasadena.”*⁶⁹⁹

The above passage included in the history of the San Gabriel Orange Growers Association by Thomas Balch Elliot, a former army surgeon, well-respected Indianapolis businessman, and president of the association, reflects the attitude of San Pascual’s first Anglo American settlers. One year after the Indiana colonists had moved to San Pascual from Indianapolis, Elliot sat down to record their story. Putting his pen to paper, still quite unsure of the colony’s future, Elliot wrote of the decision to move westward in search of land and a new way of life. The idea for a colony emerged in the winter of 1872-1873, when Elliott and a group of friends, suffering through a colder than usual winter, spoke about moving to a warmer climate. Elliott related in his narrative:

In May of 1872, a few warm blooded and adventurous persons could not endure the frigid cold Northern winter, gathered in Indiana and formed a society for removal to some more equable climate.⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁷ Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley*, 28-29.

⁶⁹⁸ García, *World of its Own*, 25.

⁶⁹⁹ Thomas Balch Elliot, History of the San Gabriel Orange Growers Association, unknown date, 1874, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., unknown date, 1874.

The men quickly organized the California Colony of Indiana and drafted an agreement that delineated the colony's rules and addressed issues about purchase price and land appropriation.⁷⁰¹ As stipulated in the agreement, members set up a committee whose approval was necessary for all expenditures related to the search and purchase of land. Each member's payment was not to exceed \$12.50 per month.⁷⁰² In addition to determining how the group would raise money and sustain itself, the agreement also limited members' minimum and maximum land ownership to 40 and 160 acres respectively.⁷⁰³ The colony set up these guidelines to keep the overall endeavor economical and to personalize land ownership based on individual economic circumstances. By setting limits to how much land a member could own it ensured that each member had access to a good amount of land at a price they determined reasonable. In the broader sense, the colony's 160-acre limitation reflected their understanding of the purpose behind land ownership during the mid- to late nineteenth century. In 1862, Congress had passed the Homestead Act, which distributed land to homesteaders in areas of the west in 160-acre allotments. The U.S. Government appropriated millions of acres of indigenous lands as part of American expansion. Congress gave Euro American settlers land as a way to populate the west with small-scale, white farmers; more importantly, the land appropriations extended the idea of private land ownership, a long-standing tenet of Manifest Destiny.⁷⁰⁴ Limiting the maximum amount of land a person could own at 160 acres, the federal government indirectly attempted to eradicate what they saw as a flaw of the Mexicano/Californio land system; too much land owned by one person was not productive. By limiting how many acres an individual member could

⁷⁰¹ Thomas Balch Elliott, *The Articles of the California Colony of Indiana*, unknown date, 1873, Box 2, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁰² This is the amount that the colonists were willing to pay in monthly installments for the entire colony. Berry was only authorized to look for land that was no more than \$5.00 per acre.

⁷⁰³ Elliott, *The Articles of the California Colony of Indiana*.

⁷⁰⁴ Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) 143-148.

own, the Indiana Colony helped perpetuate the idea of small-scale private land ownership in San Pascual while at the same time keeping it within the limits of what the American government had sanctioned as proper land use. This restriction on land ownership indicates that broader societal ideals of land use and purpose informed the actions of the Indiana Colony. The colony held that their purpose in southern California was to establish a small agricultural community comprised of “persons of good moral character.”⁷⁰⁵ After setting up the colony, Elliott and ten others committed themselves to purchasing an allotment of land there.⁷⁰⁶ With this began their search for land that met their needs: land with an agreeable climate, opportunity to own a homestead, and the potential for improvement.

In contemplating where they should establish their new colony, members spoke of a variety of states. At first they considered an array of sites that fit their desire to escape the harsh winters; the areas included Texas, Florida, and Louisiana. Aside from their desire for a warm climate, health seemed to be another motivating factor for the Indiana Colony. It seems that having been in weather-induced ill health for some time, Mrs. Helen Elliott strongly pressed her husband to find a warmer place to live. With these factors in mind, the colony quickly decided that Southern California provided the best options, stating that the place represented “the tropics without the heat.”⁷⁰⁷ Elliott wasted no time and contracted his brother-in-law, Daniel M. Berry, a former schoolteacher and journalist, to go west and find land.

During the 1860s and 1870s, a variety of travelers had written about the multitude of benefits California had to offer. During the last half of the nineteenth century travel accounts touted the Los Angeles region, including San Pascual, as providing a variety of health benefits ranging from a treating consumption and asthma to achieving overall relaxation. Travel writers

⁷⁰⁵ Elliot, *The Articles of the California Colony of Indiana*.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, unknown date, 1873.

⁷⁰⁷ Thomas Balch Elliott, *History of the San Gabriel Orange Growers Association*, unknown date, 1874, Box 1.

and doctors alike claimed that the climate could improve one's health or at least ease a condition; this served as a major lure for migrants looking to escape the cold, damp areas of the east and mid-west.⁷⁰⁸ Aside from health benefits, travel writers and journalists such as Charles Nordhoff, who traveled throughout California in 1871, wrote about the variety of pleasures a traveler could enjoy:

Certainly in no part of the continent is pleasure traveling so exquisite and unalloyed a pleasure as California. Not only are the sights grand and wonderful, and surprising in the highest degree, but the climate is exhilarating and favorable to an active life; the weather is so certain that you do not lose a day.⁷⁰⁹

In the fall of 1873, Berry, well versed in Nordhoff's detailed accounts of his travels, made his way to California. Upon his arrival in San Diego in August of 1873, Berry entered a world of land speculators, men who sold land by creating visions of its potential uses. Berry's frequent letters to T.B. Elliott, as many as two per day, over the course of a few months indicates the visions of land use as presented by land speculators throughout Southern California during the 1870s. More importantly, they illustrate Elliott's and the Indiana Colony's ideas and perceptions about the land they sought to purchase. Berry's reports on his travels throughout southern California confirmed what Nordhoff described in his travel accounts.

Berry's letters discussed a variety of topics pertaining to the different places he considered for the colony. Arriving at Cajón Ranch in San Diego in late August of 1873, Berry reported that the "ranch contains 25,000 acres of the most beautiful bottom land, much of it cultivated for grain." Aside from the acres of tillable land, Berry very early on described the quality of the fruit he found in California. After four days of visiting farms and gardens he

⁷⁰⁸ For a discussion of Los Angeles' place within this health movement see, John E. Baur, "Los Angeles County in the Health Rush, 1870-1900," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 31 (Mar., 1952): 13-31.

⁷⁰⁹ Nordhoff, *California for Health, Pleasure and Residence*, 19.

related that “I am now eating big peaches, pears and grapes that I picked with my own hand and all I have to say is that they are as good as the best and finest I ever saw.”⁷¹⁰ Berry’s interest in the region’s agricultural production and the possibility for cultivation of more fruits and grains continued throughout his visit in the region. A week after his visit to San Diego, Berry arrived in Los Angeles with the purpose of looking at the Rancho Santa Anita, located east of the city’s center, bordering Rancho San Pascual. In his discussion of Santa Anita, Berry’s letter focused on the region’s accessibility to water, described the land as “kingly” and referred to the expansive orange groves produced on the land. To support his contention that the land was indeed valuable Berry stated that the “orange trees produce as much as \$1,500 per acre, with a potential of increasing to \$2,000.”⁷¹¹ Berry added that the income from the fruit cultivation could supply, “two cities like Indianapolis with fruit and food.”⁷¹² This letter, although focused on Santa Anita’s agricultural potential and its relation to colonists’ survival, it also hinted at Berry’s interest in how valuable the land could become commercially by mentioning the construction of the railroad in his closing:

Very important fact has just come to light. The Southern Pacific Railway from Bakersfield via Los Angeles to San Bernardino is located throughout the San Gabriel Valley. You have the map in our office. This of course puts an increased value on the place.⁷¹³

This letter is significant because here we gain a glimpse of Berry’s transition from tourist, albeit one with a goal of permanent settlement, to land speculator. From this point onward, Berry looked at the land through a slightly different lens; he focused on profit from agricultural

⁷¹⁰Letter from D.M. Berry to Thomas Balch Elliot, San Diego, August 30, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷¹¹Letter from D.M. Berry to Thomas Balch Elliot, Los Angeles, September 5, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷¹²Letter from D.M. Berry to Thomas Balch Elliot, San Diego, August 30, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷¹³Letter from D.M. Berry to Thomas Balch Elliot, Los Angeles, September 5, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

production, not simply subsistence farming for the sustenance of the colony's individual families. Very impressed with the land, Berry reluctantly related that the colony could not purchase this land because it cost \$20.00 an acre, unless the committee unanimously approved it. Disappointed with the fixed price, Berry continued on his trek.

After his visit to Rancho Santa Anita, Berry continued northward toward the San Fernando Valley. Berry was not impressed with the location because it lacked an easy source of water. He stated that although the purchase price of \$2.00 per acre was well below the colony's limit, it is not a feasible option because it would "cost a great deal to build reservoirs to hold water for irrigating trees." Although not taken by the land, Berry stated that it was possible to produce a profitable crop of wheat and rye on the land utilizing the rainy season, but quickly brought the conversation back to the issue of orange tree cultivation. Berry's focus on the need for available water to grow oranges revealed that the Colony's main vision for their newly acquired land was based on their desire to grow oranges, not wheat or grain. Berry recognized that in order to produce the crop they wanted, the colony needed to funnel in money that they did not have; he stated that if a larger company bought the land and established an irrigation system, the colonists could then afford to purchase several tracts to subdivide.⁷¹⁴ Berry did not provide a positive image of this location, indicating that it might be better to "get consent of the colonist to pay \$10.00 per acre where water was plenty." Berry left the San Fernando Valley bound for Los Angeles in the hopes of finding land that would fulfill the colony's desire of a warm climate, easy accessibility to water, easily tillable land, and access to a railroad. The next place that Berry visited would be the crown gem he was looking for.

⁷¹⁴Letter from D.M Berry to Thomas Balch Elliot, Los Angeles, September 9, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

On September 12, 1873, Berry wrote to Elliott about his stay at a ranch in the “heart of the orange tract,” the ranch home of Albert Sidney Johnston’s widow. The ranch home where Berry spent the night was Eliza Johnston’s Fair Oaks Ranch. By the time of Berry’s arrival, Judge Eaton was the owner of the ranch. Immediately taken by the land, Berry related the region’s value by providing an inventory of the trees located in the immediate area. Berry described the growth of “30,000 grape vines, 260 walnut trees, 150 lemon trees, 700 orange trees, as well as an “old orchard of pears, peaches, apples, apricots, and olives.” Berry’s description is not only of the Fair Oaks Ranch, but also includes an account of the remaining land of San Pascual; he described the 2,800 acres of land as having a “heavenly climate and scenery.”⁷¹⁵ Impressed by the land, Berry worked hard to get the colony to authorize paying \$10.00 per acre. Berry’s letters to the Indiana Colony over the course of the next couple of months illustrate his attempts at convincing Elliott to see the potential for the land; by this point, Berry has become a land speculator utilizing a variety of tactics to sell San Pascual to Elliott.

In his letters, Berry focused on San Pascual’s rich soil, its variety of crops, and the volume of its production. Aside from emphasizing its potential agricultural value, the scout also emphasized the health benefits provided by the region’s climate. Others such as Nordhoff had written about Southern California’s health benefits, but Berry focused primarily on San Pascual and distinguished the land from Los Angeles. Agreeing with Nordhoff’s contention that the area around the “Mission San Gabriel has a better climate for consumptives than the city itself,”⁷¹⁶ Berry wrote,

The climate in the city is sometimes bad. Some nights the fog gathers thick and pestiferous and the air is heavy with slow but sure coming death. I have seen

⁷¹⁵ Letter from D.M Berry to Thomas Balch Elliot, Los Angeles, September 12, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷¹⁶ Nordhoff, *California for Health, Pleasure and Residence*, 117.

some such and want to get out of this dead level spot with its decaying vegetation and motionless air, and thousand provoking stenches...⁷¹⁷

He noted that San Pascual's "unvaporous air of the elevated land up nearer to God and the mountains," had provided him the "sweetest sleep of years," and he had "awoke to the music of a thousand linnets and blackbirds in the evergreen oaks."⁷¹⁸ Berry was very impressed by San Pascual's crisp air because as a severe asthma sufferer he rarely slept the whole night through, often awaking in the middle of the night to sleep sitting up in order to breathe better. His detailed description of his restful sleep and San Pascual's clean air was crucial to his account because he aimed to show Elliott that San Pascual could provide a healthy place to live, something he believed beneficial to Elliott's wife, Helen. Indicated through his language, Berry placed San Pascual ahead of all the other areas he had looked at during his time in California, making San Pascual, with its vast acreage of viable land, succulent fruits, and unparalleled climate, the standard within which he judged other possible locations.

Berry knew that his discussion of the land's viability alone would not be enough to prompt Elliott and the Indiana Colony to purchase the land, so he began to look at social and economic opportunities available in San Pascual. In several letters, Berry described the life of the gentleman farmer, often emphasizing the potential for social mobility in region in comparison to the social structure of the east and Midwest. In a letter dated September 18, 1873, Berry stated:

Fruit growers here [Los Angeles area] are a much more prosperous class than the commercial men. The same time and labor devoted to fruit here that we give at home to business would make us happy and rich in a short time.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁷ Berry to Elliot, Los Angeles, September 12, 1873.

⁷¹⁸ Letter from D.M. Berry to Thomas Balch Elliott, Los Angeles, September 12, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷¹⁹ Letter from D.M. Berry to Thomas Balch Elliott, Los Angeles, September 18, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

At the micro level, Berry's statement indicated an interest in augmenting colonists' personal wealth, but within the larger national context of the 1870s his statement illustrated colonists' shift in perspective about agriculture. As established earlier, urbanization and industrialization prompted the decline of agriculture and the displacement of farmers in the Midwest region. In his letter, Berry seemed to frame San Pascual's agricultural possibilities within a new commercial structure that looked at large-scale agricultural production as a prosperous commercial business that provided an avenue for social mobility rather than declension. This supports the contention that in Southern California rural, agricultural endeavors could exist in a less urban space, creating the new "gentleman farmer."

Berry often discussed the land's potential for effecting change in a person's identity and class status. In a letter written to his sister, Helen, Berry wrote about the potential changes that San Pascual could engender in her husband Thomas:

You will have to re-construct the Doctor, he will have to do as others here and go to work, burn up his newspaper, get out of schools and public life and live for himself and family. The aristocracy here work and raise fruit. People who come here expecting to have a social status and good living from their antecedents in the East will find that they are d--- fooled and have to [make] their way by work.⁷²⁰

Berry described breaking the notions of propriety afforded by one's middle-upper class status. To illustrate his point, Berry related the experiences of several easterners that he met during his travels in the region:

Sunday night as I was coming from San Pascual the damned wagon wheel [document torn] in the dark and the foothills. The chap who was driving the wagon was a lawyer once in Boston and a graduate of Harvard with the consumption and rich besides. He runs a vineyard. The chap who went for a wrench at a ranch was nephew of Edward Atkinson, the great free trader, a graduate of Harvard and keeps sheep for a living. The chap who owned the

⁷²⁰Letter from D.M. Berry to Mrs. Helen Elliott, Los Angeles, September 23, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

wagon is an ex-judge, and was a student of Judge Storey and Parsons at Harvard Law School, once an editor in Missouri, now runs a vineyard. The chap who lifted the wagon was a senator for Nebraska. The chap who fixed the wheel and killed a tarantula was myself [I].⁷²¹

Berry's story related the changes that the place and landscape prompted in men who were once affluent easterners. The fact that eastern commercial and professional success did not immediately translate into a high social status in the west was something that many migrants had not considered when moving into the area. For example, Elliott, a trained doctor and well-known Indianapolis businessman, would need to change his entire way of life in order to succeed in the region. Although Berry was responsible for reporting his travel experiences and observations to Elliott, this topic of discussion was something that Berry only shared this with his sister. None of the letters to Thomas Elliott ever addressed the topics mentioned above and instead always steered towards discussion of economics. The fact that Berry discussed the landscape's effect on migrants speaks to broader ideological notions about westward expansion and land use.

Within this framework of westward expansion, Berry's words support the American vision of the west at the end of the nineteenth century. In the Turnerian sense, the process of moving west represented the opportunity for Americans to create the characteristics of individualism, hard work, and the image of the self-made man who regardless of his lineage had a chance to be successful.⁷²² Within this narrative, the west provided an opportunity that the east and midwest did not, a chance to create oneself anew. For Berry, the west represented a place for economic improvement and social mobility. Through his letters, Berry tried to convey the possibility for improving one's life through farming. Berry's challenge was that most

⁷²¹ Ibid., September 23, 1873.

⁷²² For more on this concept see, Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C: GPO and American Historical Association, 1894), 199-227; Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (Los Angeles: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963).

Midwestern transplants were not experienced, professional farmers but “usually [came] after having made a success in some other vocation.”⁷²³ The new arrivals faced a temporary downward social mobility during which they attempted to build their homesteads and establish “republican democracy, and civilized rural life” in their new homes.⁷²⁴ This new semi-rural region required these professional and skilled men to become California’s new farmers.⁷²⁵ The temporary change in their social class required a negotiation of rural and urban ideals. As historian Laura Barraclough found in her work on the San Fernando Valley, “many of the people who migrated to the region were middle-class, upwardly mobile, and culturally sophisticated whites from the Midwest and the East.”⁷²⁶ The prosperity enjoyed by landed Californios encouraged the idea that a “return to the farm did not require a choice between the luxuries of the city and the social advantages of agrarian life.”⁷²⁷ In Southern California, these culturally sophisticated migrants could find the affluence of the city and the keep their rural, Midwestern values. It is within this context that Berry’s repeated references to money, status, and opportunity through his letters reflect his and potential settlers’ desires to maintain their white middle-class standard of living while engaging in Southern California’s agricultural pursuit of citrus farming.

The standard of living and the landscape were not the only topics Berry wrote about in his letters. Although his letters provided a detailed understanding about settlers’ ideas about land, they also provided a glimpse of the region’s racial and ethnic landscape as well. Throughout his travels, Berry spoke of specific white ethnic groups who purchased land in the region. Through the 1860s and 1880s, ethnic whites from the Midwest and Eastern areas of the country slowly

⁷²³ Russell Richardson, “The Drama of the Soil,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1929, G3 quoted in Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley*, 33.

⁷²⁴ Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley*, 30.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷²⁷ García, *World of its Own*, 35.

became the majority of the population in Southern California. Germans comprised a significant number of the white population entering the area. In a letter dated August 21, 1873, Berry stated that Germans had purchased Santa Margarita Rancho near San Diego and that the land was developing rather quickly.⁷²⁸ The growth of other German settlements near Los Angeles substantiates Berry's claim of the German presence in the region. For example, German colonists established the City of Anaheim on land that formerly belonged to the illustrious Yorba family.⁷²⁹ This city quickly became a major contributor to the region's citrus production.

Ethnic whites were not the only groups that Berry mentioned in his letters. On various occasions, he spoke of different non-white racial groups, their appearance as well as their social position and contribution to the growth of California's agricultural economy. Berry wrote of the diverse peoples that populated the Los Angeles area and described them in an overtly racialized way:

The differences of this part of the country from all other are utter and complete. The average color of the people is about that of 10-cent sugar, with hair invariably black. Mexicans, Peruvians, Chileans, Spaniards, Chinese, Kanakas, and every kind of southern Indian that is left.⁷³⁰

Through this statement, it is clear that he described the local populations as being dark skinned and having darker features than whites. Interestingly, Berry differentiated between the different Spanish-speaking populations, citing their specific nationalities; he makes an obvious distinction between these populations and Spaniards. His use of the term "Spaniard" here is important because it may serve as an indication that the distinction between the Spanish landed classes and

⁷²⁸Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, San Francisco, August 21, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷²⁹For a discussion on the Anaheim's German heritage see Lucile E. Dickson, "The Founding and Early History of Anaheim, California," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 11, no. 2 (1919): 26-37.

⁷³⁰Letter from D.M. Berry to Mrs. Helen Elliott, Los Angeles, September 19, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

lower landless classes still existed in the early 1870s. In terms of labor, Berry designates two groups as workers. First, Berry referred to Kanakas, a term used to describe the Polynesians that arrived in California during the mid to late nineteenth century. In California, under both the Mexican and American systems, the Kanaka, or Rapanui people, worked as contract labor as agricultural workers, seamen, fur-trappers, herders and domestics.⁷³¹ After their three-year contracts ended, they often married into local the Mexican and indigenous populations.⁷³²

Berry's second reference to a racialized labor force is through his description of the area's Chinese population:

The number of Chinamen here is great. One reason of the great prosperity of California is the cheap labor of John. He has done great work here for little pay and his employers have gotten rich. Here the labor is cheap.⁷³³

Berry seemed to recognize Chinese labor's value to the regional economy, but also to the maintenance of an individual's standard of living. In a letter to his sister, describing the potential for income from citrus cultivation, and in an attempt to have her convince her husband to purchase San Pascual, Berry stated: "With one Chinaman, doctor [T.B. Elliott] could do all the work and make a handsome living."⁷³⁴ This statement is indicative of Berry's understanding of the region's labor. Berry was not alone in looking at the Chinese as a necessary and reliable labor force; a few years earlier, Charles Nordhoff dedicated an entire chapter of his book to the role of Chinese workers in California. In comparison, Nordhoff's work provided more details and pointed to characteristics that made the Chinese perfect laborers for Anglos. Nordhoff described

⁷³¹Howard Lamar, "From Bondage to Contract: Ethnic Labor in the American West, 1600-1890," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America*, ed. Steve Hahn et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 309-310.

⁷³²Despite their presence in the region, the padrones and census do not list them as Kanakas or Rapanui; this may be a result from their classification as Indians or landless Mexicans.

⁷³³Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, San Francisco, August 21, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷³⁴Letter from D.M. Berry to Helen Elliott, San Francisco, September 23, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

“Johns” as “best trained and [the] quickest witted servant[s] in the world, who have made housekeeping a pleasure and after cooking, does not object to washing and ironing,” a servant who is “economical and does not make a fuss,” making every Anglo “wish that their life could be comforted by such a John.”⁷³⁵ Nordhoff stated that what made the Chinese such great workers was their docile, passive character. Furthermore, he argued that they made more efficient workers because, as “heathens,” they did not observe the Sabbath, allowing them to work every day, including Sundays.⁷³⁶ Berry and Nordhoff framed their discussions about Chinese labor around the convenience of Anglos; they discussed how Chinese workers could make life easier for middle-class gentleman farmers and wives. Berry in many ways supported and confirmed Nordhoff’s observations and used racialized ideas about the Chinese to encourage his sister and brother-in-law to migrate. Berry’s discussion focused solely on Chinese laborers, a labor force that was considered malleable and could be easily controlled by Anglos.

Although Berry’s observations often speak of California’s Chinese laborers, what is overtly absent from his letters is any mention of Mexican workers. Review of Berry’s correspondence to Elliott does not provide any examples of his description of Mexican workers. Conversely, Nordhoff’s work does provide a chapter describing the labor of another of California’s population, Indians; interestingly, Mexicans are also absent from his discussion. A closer reading of his work, within the racial ideas of the time, indicates that he may have categorized landless Mexicans as Indians. For example, looking at the occupations he listed for this group shows that they very well could have been comprised of both Mexicans and Indians.

The farmers are chiefly Indians. These people, of whom California still has several thousands, are a very useful class. They trim the vines; they plough; they do household chores; they are shepherds, vaqueros, and helpers.⁷³⁷

⁷³⁵ Nordhoff, *California for Health, Pleasure and Residence*, 85.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., 89-90.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 155.

Nordhoff made no distinction amongst this minority population, but he did reassert the group's subordinate status to whites by referencing Franciscans' knowledge of working with the Indigenous people. In his book, Nordhoff quoted a local man as saying that "those old fellows knew better how to manage the Indians than we do," indicating that Anglos were not successful in controlling Indigenous populations. This attitude may explain why Anglos did not consider Mexicans and Indians to be good laborers—they were not docile like Chinese workers. It is important to note that although Nordhoff pointed to Anglos' lack of control over the Indigenous population, he included a reiteration of white supremacy by stating that "being white, and of the superior race, you [Anglos] have the privilege of entering any Indian's house and you will be kindly received."⁷³⁸ Inclusion of this statement reifies Anglo Saxon superiority over the entire non-white population.

Nordhoff's privileging of whiteness in his discussion on what he termed Indian labor is evident through the manner he addressed the region's "old Spanish Californians."⁷³⁹ In supporting the white / non-white racial binary, the author emphasized the differences that existed between the Indian and the Spaniard. For example, Nordhoff praised the Spaniards' civilized adobe houses, in comparison to Indians' homes made of "reeds and laced barley straws."⁷⁴⁰ Furthermore, he referenced the influence of Spanish culture amongst the Indians by citing the continuation of fandangos, where Indians claimed themselves civilized because they danced only in the Spanish style.⁷⁴¹ Despite Spanish efforts at civilizing indigenous populations, Nordhoff claimed that the Spanish Californians never succeeded in creating men that reached the "men of

⁷³⁸ Ibid., 157.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 156.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 156.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 158.

our [American] century.” Again, reiterating Anglo Saxon supremacy, Nordhoff described the remnant culture of the “old Spanish Californians” as unable to compete with Anglo civilization.

The privileging of whiteness over non-Anglo populations is evident in Berry’s avoidance of the Californio period in its entirety. Although Berry’s letters did not discuss Californios or their landless brethren, he did mention “Dons” Benito Wilson and John Forster, Anglo landowners, who had at one time assimilated into the Californio society.⁷⁴² Berry’s mention of these rich American men supported the idea of Manifest Destiny by showing that it took white Americans to make something of the land. Additionally, the fact that Berry did not refer to Californio landowners showed that by the 1870s, Anglos had taken control of most of the areas around San Pascual. This reiterates the point that by the late 1870s, despite their continued political power, Californios had experienced significant land loss.

Through their personal letters and travel books, both Berry and Nordhoff created the region’s image and that of its people. Those who read their observations, be it T.B. Elliott and the Indiana Colony or tourists interested in coming to California, the accounts penned by these men perpetuated the ideas of Manifest Destiny and Anglo Saxon racial superiority; those who believed their words came into California with the belief that they, white middle-class men, comprised the region’s future. For Daniel M. Berry, after he set foot on San Pascual, the future became clear; San Pascual was the Indiana Colony’s new home.

⁷⁴²John Forster married Isadora Pico, Pío Pico’s sister. Through this marriage he acquired portions of the ex-Mission San Juan Capistrano lands and later as a result of loans he made to the Pico family, he was able to acquire other Pico land holdings. Upon his arrival to Southern California, Berry met with Forster to discuss the possibility of purchasing land around San Diego. Berry described him as “rich as a pirate.” For information on Forster’s assimilation into Californio society see Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Amongst Strangers: The Making of Mexican American Culture in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 160; for Berry’s statement about Forster see Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, San Francisco, August 21, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The Indiana Colony Arrives

After having spent a crisp September night at the Fair Oaks estate in 1873, Daniel M. Berry knew that this was the prime land for the Indiana Colony. The day after he began writing about the land's beauty and endless possibility. Berry frantically wrote to the Elliotts as well as other potential buyers about the opportunity at San Pascual. He demanded that the colony send the necessary capital to secure the land purchase, often stating that Griffin would readily sell the land to another buyer if the colony did not act fast. Elliott, taken by Berry's argument, authorized him to pay \$15 per acre, an amount above what the colony had originally intended to pay. Berry prepared to make the offer but Griffin's and Wilson's land manger was out of town. Unable to make the offer, Berry waited for the land manger to return and worked to collect the necessary monies. One day after Elliot authorized the offer, the U.S. economy collapsed, plunging the country into the Panic of 1873.⁷⁴³ After the collapse, Berry worried about the panic's effect on the Indiana Colony, specifically the colonists' sale of their homes. A letter written to T.B. Elliott two days after the collapse conveyed his fears:

I fear the financial crash in New York will stop movement in real estate in Indianapolis. I hope to hear that you have sold, but fear you have not.⁷⁴⁴

In spite of his fears and frustration with the situation, Berry continued to look for land, using San Pascual as the standard for comparison. Despite his search, Berry continued to write Elliott about San Pascual and the possibility the land held, never straying from his optimal vision of a community of gentleman farmers.

⁷⁴³ One of the primary causes for the Panic of 1873 was over-speculation of railroad profits after the Civil War. In the attempt to establish the most profitable routes, railroads sold billions of dollars' worth of bonds and stocks. It soon became clear that the profit estimates had been too high. Railroads could not pay their debts, leading to the financial panic. For more on the Panic of 1873 see Elmus Wicker, *Banking Panics of the Gilded Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16-33.

⁷⁴⁴ Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, September 20, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

On October 8, lacking a reliable source for the money, Berry told Wilson and Griffin that his group would purchase the available lands. He arranged to pay a \$200 deposit on the following day; he wired Elliott and requested the funds stating, "If he did not secure the land for the Indiana people it will probably be too late."⁷⁴⁵ Despite the urgency of Berry's request, he did not hear from the Indiana Colony for one week. Angry with the lack of response, Berry wrote a frantic letter to Elliott requesting remittance for San Pascual as well as for his services.⁷⁴⁶ Four days later, Berry requested \$1,000 for a deposit on the land. By October 19, after only having received \$200.00 of an expected \$500.00 deposit, Berry angrily wrote:

People here will think I represent a d----- small set of capitalists who can't raise \$500 on a trade of \$20,000. Isn't it very thin? I am ashamed, I am. I have spent two months hard work and worn out clothes, boots, and cash for \$300 more than I charged the colony, equal at least \$600.00 to me. I want to get some land and go to work and be free from doubt and distrust and financial earthquakes... I shall hunt no more for land for the colony, unless I am paid for it.⁷⁴⁷

In his disillusionment with the colony, Berry's personal view about San Pascual shone through. His statement indicated that he wanted freedom and a security that he, as an individual, could produce for himself. This is quite significant for this period; in an age where industrial capitalism had constructed a new masculinity that made men dependent on factory owners and markets for survival, the return to land ownership and farming could restore men's power and control over their lives. By shifting the discussion away from citrus groves and climate, Berry candidly expressed his desire to control his own future and stability. Berry's desires were not unlike those of the Californio men before him who during the 1820s and 1830s called for mission

⁷⁴⁵Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, October 8, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁴⁶Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, October 14, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁴⁷Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, October 19, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

secularization as a way of obtaining land and controlling their own futures. Here, in the American Period, Berry wanted to escape the bonds of the industrial capitalist order that often kept people from controlling their own financial futures.

As October dragged on, Berry waited for word from the colony. By November 8, it became clear that the Indiana Colony could not produce the money to purchase San Pascual.

Berry wrote Elliot that he had stalled the surveyors as much as he could but that they needed to raise the money somehow.⁷⁴⁸ Refusing to give up on his vision, Berry organized a group of local investors interested in purchasing land in the region. Together, Calvin Fletcher, Thomas Croft, Judge Eaton, W.T. Clap, and A.O. Bristol raised the additional money needed for the Indiana Colony to purchase San Pascual. As a result of Daniel Berry's determination he and the contingent of western investors formed the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association [SGOGA], establishing their capital stock to be 100 shares at \$250.00 each for a total sum of \$25,000.⁷⁴⁹

Rather than solely relying on the Indiana Colony to purchase the land, Berry pooled all the interested men he could find and then invited T.B. Elliott and the remaining Indiana Colonists to be part of the SGOGA. Ten days after Berry and his cohorts formed the association he received a \$3000 draft from Indianapolis. The SGOGA spent the rest of November and early December making the purchase. On December 18, Wilson deeded 3,962 acres of land to Griffin; this acreage included the 2,516 acres in the heart of San Pascual as well as 1,386 in the upper area.⁷⁵⁰

Upon reaching the agreement, Berry sent Elliott a newspaper clipping of the deal:

⁷⁴⁸Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, November 8, 1873, Box 1. From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁴⁹Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, November 12, 1873, Box 1. From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁵⁰Berry and the SGOGA only wanted the 2,516 acres at the center of San Pascual. Griffin, wanting to secure the deal, added the additional 1,386 acres of land that ran at the base of the San Gabriel Mountains. This land later became the city of Altadena. For details on the arrangement, see Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, December 18, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The San Gabriel Orange Grove Association have purchased from Dr. Griffin 2,500 acres of land lying four to six miles north of the city, which is to be divided among the members of the association (mostly eastern families) and settled and improved immediately. The Doctor [John Griffin] sold the land to the colonists at a very low figure in order to encourage the settlement, and by thus uniting they will be able to bring water on the tract at a mere nominal cost to each, and secure many other advantages not enjoyed by parties purchasing and settling alone. We expect to see a thriving and prosperous community.⁷⁵¹

This newspaper clipping, taken from an unidentified newspaper and included with Berry's letter, reflected the local region's ideas and expectations regarding the colony. On December 26, Thomas Croft, a wealthier member of SGOGA, secured the down payment on San Pascual and received the deed to the land.⁷⁵² A few days later, the association reimbursed him and he transferred the title to the SGOGA. The Indiana Colonists finally had their land; the land that Elliott later wrote was the "Paradise of Southern California, the gem of the world as to climate, health, productions, and air,"⁷⁵³ was finally theirs. During the mid-1870s members of the first Anglo American settlement in the region, the Indiana Colony, were enticed by the possibilities that the land held for them. Within the next year, visions of land use rooted in the cultivation of citrus and other crops prompted them to migrate west in search of a place different from their Indiana homes. Finding the land "new and unfinished," settlers quickly began to claim their land parcels and build their new homes and their new colony.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵¹Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, December 26, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁵² John S. Griffin to Thomas Croft, Deed to San Pascual, December 26, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁵³Thomas Balch Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Growers Association, unknown date, 1874, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁵⁴Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 28.

Water

Almost immediately, Calvin Fletcher became the person responsible for planning the colony's layout. With an eye towards aesthetics, Fletcher designated a 1,500-acre area between the Arroyo Seco at the west and present-day Fair Oaks Boulevard on the east. The land was one mile north of the now-famous Colorado Boulevard. Fletcher chose what he considered San Pascual's most beautiful land as the place for residential development and worked to divide the land into one hundred plots of fifteen acres each.⁷⁵⁵ Within a little over a month, on January 27, 1874, members and non-members of the association, friends and families of the colonists, came to participate in the designation and distribution of lots. As organizers called out names, people indicated what plot they wanted. In about twenty minutes, everyone present received their desired land and officially founded the Indiana Colony of California.⁷⁵⁶

With the land divided, colonists began building their homes and developing their lands. The first crops the settlement cultivated were wheat and barley; citrus trees and grapes shortly followed. Comprised mostly of middle-class professionals, the inexperienced farmers met some obstacles that made it difficult for them to grow their crops. First, unaware of planting cycles, they planted the seeds for the wheat and barley too late in the season, not allowing time for the crops to flourish. Secondly, in June 1874, a plague of grasshoppers attacked the fruit trees and grape vines, destroying their efforts but not their will.⁷⁵⁷ The obstacles presented by their inexperience and nature complicated the colony's initial growth. Despite these setbacks, colonists continued to work and improve their lands. The Indiana Colony's burgeoning small agriculturalists came in search of a place that could provide aesthetically pleasing surroundings,

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 29.

⁷⁵⁶ Hiram Reid, *History of Pasadena, Comprising an Account of the Native Indian, the Early Spanish, the Mexican, the American, the Colony, and the Incorporated* (Pasadena: Pasadena History Co., 1895), 125-126.

⁷⁵⁷ Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 35.

viable land, and a secure future. One crucial element to the creation of the American landscape was the control of water. This issue was important since the colony's early days. During his search for a place to settle, Berry disqualified a number of locations because they lacked steady, reliable access to clean water, for drinking and irrigation purposes. San Diego and San Bernardino were places that Berry disqualified because getting access to water would prove to be expensive.⁷⁵⁸ At San Pascual, Berry found water to be in abundant supply. He wrote that in some areas there was "no need for irrigation because the water supply was only five feet beneath the surface."⁷⁵⁹ In other places on the land, zanjias or ditches brought water into the valley and kept the land moist.⁷⁶⁰ When Berry showed serious interest in San Pascual, Griffin and Wilson offered to help facilitate the colony's access to water by drawing the property's boundaries in a way that included specific streams and in some cases defrayed part of the cost of building a water system.⁷⁶¹ When the colony began to take shape, one of the colony's investors, Judge Eaton, began building a water system. Eaton was no stranger to matters of water control. As the former owner of Fair Oaks, he ably controlled the water in a nearby canyon and established a rudimentary irrigation system for the ranch's large crops of grapes, oranges, figs, and peaches.⁷⁶² Now, to help the colony, Eaton planned building a three-mile pipeline that could bring water from the Arroyo Seco into a small reservoir in the heart of the Indiana Colony, at the intersections of Orange Grove Avenue and Colorado Street. From February until May, colonists, including Eaton

⁷⁵⁸ Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, September 9, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, September 26, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁵⁹ Letter from D.M. Berry to Helen Elliott, Los Angeles, September 28, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., September 28, 1873.

⁷⁶¹ Letter from D.M. Berry to Helen Elliott, Los Angeles, October 18, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁶² Benjamin C. Truman, *Semi-Tropical California: Its Climate, Healthfulness, Productiveness, and Scenery* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Company, 1874), 180.

and Berry, worked to build the pipeline; they completed their work on May 15, 1874.⁷⁶³ The completion of this water system was a landmark moment for the colony because it brought them water for crop irrigation. This water system propelled the colony towards achieving their agricultural vision for the land, but it also created a financial hardship that deeply affected the colony's development.

The colonists were to pay the majority of the cost for the system; the colony estimated their expense at about \$2,500, a ten percent assessment on the \$25,000 stock. The SGOGA expected Wilson to follow through with his initial commitment to pay half the cost. When the time came to pay, Wilson reneged on his commitment, instead allowing the colonists unlimited access to Arroyo Seco for three years.⁷⁶⁴ Wilson's refusal to pay resulted in a twenty percent assessment, meaning that the colony would have to pay \$5,000 for the system. At this early point, the colony only had \$2,862 on hand and was unable to pay for the water system. Colonists intended on borrowing the money from Wilson, but this loan did not materialize.⁷⁶⁵ The financially better off members of the community, mainly Calvin Fletcher, paid the majority of the costs of building the water system and waited for the community to reimburse him.⁷⁶⁶ Other colonists found it difficult to raise the money for their part of the payment and they opted to sell portions of their plots to recently arrived friends and relatives.⁷⁶⁷ Although the cost of the water system created a financial setback that caused many to sell portions of their lands, the situation contributed to the colony's growth and expansion during its first year; by the end of 1874, the colony grew by more than a dozen families. After resolving a few of the initial problems,

⁷⁶³ Ann Erdman, Public Information Officer for Pasadena, "PIO Mystery History," *Pasadena PIO Blog*, October 15, 2009, http://pasadenapioblogspot.com/2009/10/mystery-history-solved_15.html (accessed March 21, 2013).

⁷⁶⁴ Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 36.

⁷⁶⁵ Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 411.

⁷⁶⁶ Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 37.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

including funding a water system, the colony experienced little trouble with their water supply. The original organization of water distribution remained in place until early 1882, when the Pasadena Land and Water Company replaced the SGOGA.⁷⁶⁸ The colonists' control of water was a major step in the colony's growth. Within the narrative of westward expansion and growth, colonists had triumphed over nature; their vision of an agricultural community was now a reality.

Muscat Becomes Pasadena

As the colony grew, many were concerned with the fact that the colony did not have what they defined as an appropriate name. In his correspondence with Elliot while looking for land, Berry often referred to the colony by two names, the Indiana Colony and Muscat. The former directly referred to the loose organization of Midwesterners who wanted to migrate to California. The latter term, Muscat, referred to the Muscat grape that grew in Southern California. Since the time of the mission, the Muscat had grown in the region. Either black or white in color, the Muscat could be used to produce wine or be eaten as raisins and table grapes. In one of his early letters to T.B. Elliott, Berry illustrated his captivation with the Muscat, stating that that he would "not touch an eastern grape as long as I could get the white Muscat, the most delicious fruit my palate ever encountered."⁷⁶⁹ In later letters, because the grape grew in the region of San Pascual, Berry began referring to the location as Muscat.⁷⁷⁰ As the colony grew, Berry and other colonists felt the need to designate a name for their community. Despite his high opinion of the grape and his use of the name Muscat, Berry disliked the name because he believed the "name sounded too

⁷⁶⁸ Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 411 -413.

⁷⁶⁹ Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, San Diego, August 30, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁷⁰ Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, October 8, 1873, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

much like muskrat,” and hoped that Elliott could help think of a name that reflected the land’s “beauty and fertility.”⁷⁷¹ Elliot, in cooperation with a friend who had worked as a missionary amongst the Chippewa, came up with a variety of names.⁷⁷² Below is a list of the names, with their meaning, they considered for the colony:

From the Chippewa Dialect
Weognan Pasadena – Crown of the Valley
Gishkadena Pasadena - Peak of the Valley
Tapekaegun Pasadena – Key of the Valley
Peuadena Pasadena – Hill of the Valley
Accent the last syllable of word ⁷⁷³

The names above describe the area’s landscape. The first Chippewa words in these phrases are topographical indicators referencing the low-lying San Gabriel Valley and most likely Mount Wilson, one of the highest peaks on the San Gabriel Foothills. The second word in each phrase, Pasadena, means Valley. After much debate, the two men settled on Pasadena as the name for the settlement. By mid-1874, the colony adopted its new name. As Page indicates, colonists who liked the name used it; those who did not simply continued calling it Muscat.⁷⁷⁴ The settlement’s name indicated its value and its landscape, as the Crown of the Valley. Berry and Elliott had defined the place as the center of and most valued part of the region.

The colony’s success and growth throughout the 1870s solidified Berry’s and Elliott’s vision of Pasadena as the Crown of the Valley. In January 1876, a new tract of land opened in the region. The Lake Vineyard Land and Water Association, owned by Benjamin Wilson and operated by his son-in-law J. DeBarth Shorb, was located on the east of the Indiana Colony tract.

⁷⁷¹ Letter from D.M. Berry to T.B. Elliott, Los Angeles, January, date unknown, 1874, Box 1, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

⁷⁷²Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 38.

⁷⁷³ T.B. Elliott, Possible Names for City, unknown date and year, Box 2, From the Papers of Thomas Balch Elliott Collection, 1873-1874, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

⁷⁷⁴ Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 43.

Although distinct from the Indiana tract, many identified Wilson's subdivision, which sold for \$75 an acre, as part of Pasadena. The combination of these two tracts created Pasadena's present-day boundaries. Over the course of the next few years, the settlement grew, gaining a store, a church, a school, mail service, and a stagecoach service. In addition to infrastructural growth, the settlement planted and cultivated citrus groves and grape vineyards.⁷⁷⁵ To highlight its fruit the community held its first citrus fair on March 24, 1880. Due to the festival's success, Pasadena soon gained a reputation for its citrus and became known as one of California's best fruit-growing districts.⁷⁷⁶ The community's rapid growth and its successful cultivation of oranges defined Pasadena as a success. In a speech given at the Citrus Festival, prominent Pasadenan Donald M. Graham stated that the community had "ceased to be an experiment," and was "an acknowledged success."⁷⁷⁷ Settlers' successful pursuit of gentleman farming, control of a reliable water source, and rapid regional growth signified the foundation of white middle-class society. The Pasadena of the 1870s and the early 1880s reflected the strengths of Manifest Destiny, white racial supremacy and the superiority of the small farmer, above the burgeoning industrial capitalists of the time. Whereas farmers in the eastern areas of the country experienced an overall decline, gentlemen farmers in places such as Pasadena "domesticated the Wild West and created a civilized and productive society," along their own terms.⁷⁷⁸

Pasadena was the physical materialization of the American farm perfected. A viable, productive region, Pasadena's success was the manifestation of the nineteenth-century Anglo visions of land use. During the mid-1880s, Pasadena's settlers' growing affluence and need for services and conveniences combined with the expansion of the colony to create a dynamic that

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., 43.

⁷⁷⁶ J.W. Wood, *Pasadena California, Historical and Personal: A Complete History of the Indiana Colony* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1917), 137.

⁷⁷⁷ Dolland M. Graham, quoted in Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 48.

⁷⁷⁸ García, *World of its Own*, 21.

forever changed Pasadena's development and vision of land use. Slowly, over the course of fifteen years, the agricultural settlement transformed into a city based on a vision far from the agricultural roots of the previous decade. Ironically, the railroad, the technology that allowed citrus farmers to increase their wealth and reputation by shipping their crops to markets throughout the country, spelled the death-knell for their agricultural way of life.

Railroad and Tourism

During the nineteenth century, the completion of the transcontinental railroad influenced the expansion of the western settlements. The construction of the railroad and its possibilities brought thousands of people to the west in search of work and prompted many to purchase lots near the railroad. After its completion, the railroad opened up markets that facilitated trade, allowed for the construction of towns and opening of businesses, and brought both tourists and settlers into the southwest. These consequences were true for places throughout the west and most certainly true for Pasadena. Part of San Pascual's appeal was the fact that land speculators mapped a route through the San Gabriel Valley for the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Benjamin Wilson knew about the construction of a railroad in the region before 1870. As an entry in Margaret Wilson's diary indicates two surveyor parties for the Pacific railroad appealed to her husband Benjamin Wilson for support as early as 1868.⁷⁷⁹ Four year later, in 1872, she recorded that Wilson and his son-in-law attended a railroad meeting in Los Angeles.⁷⁸⁰ This meeting, held one year before Berry offered to purchase San Pascual, promised to make the region's land more valuable than it already was. Berry's knowledge of coming of the railroad

⁷⁷⁹ Margaret Wilson, Diaries, Letter book, and School Notebooks, January 22, 1868, Box 38, From the Papers of Benjamin Davis Wilson Collection, 1836-1894, The Huntington Library, San Marino California.

⁷⁸⁰ Margaret Wilson, Diaries, Letter book, and School Notebooks, July 24, 1872, Box 38, From the Papers of Benjamin Davis Wilson Collection, 1836-1894, The Huntington Library, San Marino California.

may explain Berry's urgent letters about San Pascual. Regardless, despite their intention to establish an agricultural settlement, it is quite clear that the Indiana Colony's founders were well aware of the benefits of having a railroad nearby.

Prior to the completion of the railroad connecting Pasadena to Los Angeles in 1885 travel between the two places took 1 ½ hour by stage, assuming that weather conditions permitted. The rough road and long trip did not stop settlers from conducting business in Los Angeles, nor did it dissuade people from visiting Pasadena.⁷⁸¹ As Pasadena grew in reputation people traveled to the area to get a look at its beautiful landscape. Increased travel to the town prompted newly affluent settlers, with money to spare, to establish boarding houses at first, and later, hotels to host visitors. The first two hotels established in Pasadena during the early 1880s were the Pasadena House and the Lake Vineyard House. Both of these early hotels were small-scale, two-floor dwellings that offered visitors a quaint place to stay while in Pasadena. By the mid-1880s, these hotels paved the way for larger scale, resort-like hotels such as the Raymond Hotel, established by wealthy Boston businessman Walter Raymond. When completed in 1886 it was the first grand hotel in Pasadena; its estimated cost was \$200,000.⁷⁸² The motivation behind this grander project was to provide a place for his wealthy easterners to stay while they visited the area in the cold winter months.⁷⁸³ Raymond's success came at a time in which Pasadena's local community flourished. Many local residents took the money they made from their citrus cultivation and established businesses that benefited tourists and locals alike. They established shops, restaurants, schools, banks, and the town's first billiard hall and saloon in 1884.⁷⁸⁴ The

⁷⁸¹ Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 57.

⁷⁸² *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷⁸³ Wood, *History of Pasadena*, 467 -468.

⁷⁸⁴ The billiard hall and saloon were a major source of conflict amongst residents. Many wanted Pasadena to be a dry community free of alcohol. After months of disagreement, Pasadena kept it saloon and residents against the idea split from the town and established the City of South Pasadena. See, Page, *History of Pasadena*, 59-61.

establishment of these first two hotels and their larger counterparts, as well as the growth of local businesses, slowly altered visions about proper land use. When the railroad finally opened in 1885, and travel into Pasadena became easier, the city needed more and more space to accommodate tourists. Furthermore, the growth of commercial and recreational places marked a shift in which Pasadena began its transition from an agricultural community to a tourist and commercial based district.

The growth of tourism and commerce alone did not end Pasadena's agricultural era. These factors in combination with the opening of the railroad between Los Angeles and Pasadena in 1885 prompted a subsequent land boom during the second half of the 1880s. By 1886, land speculators A.O. Porter, H.G. Bennet, P.M. Green, F.M. Ward, W.E. Ward C.S Martin, and B.W Bates, enthusiastic about the railroad and the construction of the Raymond Hotel, bought twenty acres of land for \$15,000.⁷⁸⁵ These men took their land and created a subdivision of eighty-four lots; they sold these lots to the highest bidder at auction on February 23, 1886. People were brought in from Los Angeles to participate in the auction. The land speculators treated them to lunch and entertainment on a hill overlooking the construction of the palatial Raymond hotel. At auction, bidders paid prices ranging from \$180 to \$520 for their plots of land, and the land speculators made \$22,140.⁷⁸⁶ The frenzy with which people bought land that day indicated that Pasadena had viable land for the taking; the possibilities for development were endless. The man who paid the \$520 price for a plot of land that day was J.W Wood, a local druggist turned land speculator and author of the memoir *Pasadena California, Historical and Personal*. In his memoir, Wood discussed how the land boom affected people's attitudes about land in Pasadena:

⁷⁸⁵ Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 57.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 70-71.

It was a strange overturning that began in 1886 and drove hitherto placid minded, contented citizens to acts of frenzy and drew up the village of Pasadena thousands of boomers and speculators, turning the ordinary topsy-turvy and firing the imagination of the most phlegmatic. It was a rabid procession of men – that crossed the horizon and for a brief period filled it to the exclusion of all normal affairs and transactions. The professional left his office, the mechanic his shop, the merchant his counter and the farmer abandoned his plough, all to engage in that mad quest for quick wealth which obsessed them and was for a time their ruling passion.⁷⁸⁷

As described by Wood, for two years, from 1886 to 1888, land speculation, the possibility of wealth and land development engulfed people. Wood stated that for many “the song of the robin in the Arroyo was forgotten and the orchestration of the mocking-birds was unheeded, because the siren cry of the dealer in lots and the flubdub of speculators on the street corners drowned out those sweet carols in more unusual and now attractive strains.”⁷⁸⁸ The passage above illustrates how people interested in making money from simply owning land moved away from the small-scale farming that had been Pasadena’s foundation. The city and its industrialist capitalist system had finally caught up with Pasadena’s settlers, leaving agriculture by the wayside. When the railroad opened, tourism increased and a tourist-based service industry developed. At this point, the buying and selling of land for a profit became commonplace. With all these changes, Pasadena’s novice land speculators envisioned a golden future in the Crown of the Valley. Wood estimated that over the course of two years, Pasadena’s population rose from 4,000 to 12,000.⁷⁸⁹

The new population that came did not share the Indiana Colony’s values of and emphasis on gentleman farming. Despite the colony’s short fourteen- year existence and its success as an agricultural society, the age of the orchard and grove had passed. Pasadena slowly moved away

⁷⁸⁷ Wood, *Pasadena California*, 144-145.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 146.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 146.

from its agricultural roots and became a commercial tourist destination. The aspiring gentleman farmers from Indiana who settled the region were relegated to a pioneer past; they, similar to the Spanish missionaries, pobladores, and Californios before them, were rendered a remnant of the past and a casualty of progress.

In late 1887, the land boom collapsed as a result of over-speculation. Many of the new land owners could not afford the payments on their lands and defaulted on their loans, leaving many “putative ‘millionaires’ financial wrecks – dazed and amazed at the sudden tragic conclusion of their dreams.”⁷⁹⁰ The physical landscape bore the marks of the financial collapse. Slowdown in construction left subdivisions overgrown with weeds, orchards lay dry and abandoned, and once prosperous groves lay “neglected with fruit rotting on the ground.”⁷⁹¹

Storefronts were left vacant and the streets, no longer bustling with activities, allowed weeds to grow, indicating “that the pace was reverting to the slow and unhurried times known before the boom.”⁷⁹² Many spent the last two years of the 1880s trying to rebuild their homesteads. Settlers recognized that speculation had taken them away from their vision of land use and they attempted to return to their horticultural roots. They planted orange trees, wheat and barley, and worked towards regaining their freedom and security. By 1890, the region’s citrus production had recuperated and Pasadena once again became the main exporter of oranges in Los Angeles County.⁷⁹³ Despite agriculture’s renewed success, Pasadena would not remain a horticultural society for long. The 1890s introduced a new land boom, one that saw the influx of wealthy easterners looking for land on which to build their winter vacation homes. The steady flow of

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 145.

⁷⁹¹ Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 108.

⁷⁹² Ibid., 109.

⁷⁹³ Ibid., 146.

tourists continued to develop the tourist industry, making sure that it never went dormant; eventually the continued profit reaped from tourism would sideline agriculture again.

The Incorporated City of Pasadena

In 1887, Pasadena became an incorporated city. Incorporation provided for the election of local government officials and the creation of the city's overall civic life. The step of incorporation signified the final step in the process of expansion. By establishing a local democratically elected city council, Pasadena's citizens paved the way for the improvement of city infrastructure, including the construction of roads, schools, post offices, and a central library. Pasadena's incorporation gave the town legitimacy and indicated a higher level of Euro- American civilization.

As Pasadena entered the 1890s, it began a new epoch in which the agricultural past was framed within the idea that gentleman farming was the city's heritage. In 1891, Pasadena held the first Tournament of Roses Parade to highlight the natural and physical beauty of the land and its products. While the roses, fruits, and animals- the first Tournament of Roses included ostrich races- reflected the beauty of its land and natural resources, the city's inhabitants looked forward to growth through tourism. Unlike the previous boom of the 1880s, Pasadenans entered this boom more cautiously, and did not forget their pioneer antecedents, recognizing that their influence was crucial to achieving their own distinctive vision of optimal land use.

Conclusion

The Pasadena of the early 1890s reflected a different perspective from the settlers who established the Indiana Colony in the early 1870s. The optimal vision of land use had shifted from an agricultural society to one based on tourism and land development. Throughout the nineteenth century San Pascual- later Pasadena- grew within a variety of social and cultural structures that determined the land's specific use during each period. After the U.S.-Mexico War ended in 1848, the ideologies of Manifest Destiny and American white supremacy prompted incoming Americans and elite Californios to negotiate the new politics of land within a racialized system. Both groups viewed land as something that provided benefit and enrichment; for Californios the benefit was social status, while for Anglos, it fulfilled the vision of the yeoman farmer. Both groups, Californios and Anglos, contested their positions in society, and sought to use class as a means to integrate themselves into the new socio-cultural and political circles. As racialized others, Californios could not compete and slowly experienced the erosion of their land rights and political power. For Anglos, taking control of the land signified the success of Manifest Destiny and white supremacy as well as the establishment of civilization amongst savagery.

It was within this context that Rancho San Pascual changed hands and became American. Through the work of Benjamin Wilson and John Griffin, Americans gained access to San Pascual's rich lands. In 1873 the Indiana Colony's land scout Daniel Berry came to San Pascual and became enamored by the landscape and its potential. The Indiana Colony purchased the land and established their settlement, basing it on the idea of the gentleman farmer. They developed their homesteads and created an implicitly racialized landscape reflective of American success

and innovation. Citrus groves and the American homestead replaced the rancho, erasing the historical presence of the Californio population that had built the area.

In the 1880s, the completion of the railroad brought a steady flow of Euro Americans into California. Many of these migrants did not hold the Indiana Colony's pioneer agriculturalists in high regard, but rather they believed that they were no longer optimizing their use of the land. By 1890 despite the Colony's popularity and profit, the time of the farmer had passed. The railroad, facilitation of trade, a new land boom and the ease with which people could travel brought visions of a Pasadena based on commerce and tourism. The Indiana Colony slowly moved away from its agricultural roots towards becoming a commercial tourist destination. This vision of optimal land framed Pasadena's future into the twentieth century and beyond.

Conclusion

Competing Visions of Land Use: Rancho San Pascual and Historical Memory

In 2011, the City of Pasadena celebrated its 125th birthday. Exhibits, newspapers articles, and Old Town walking tours helped commemorate the event and highlighted the city's "pioneer history."⁷⁹⁴ Renowned for its Tournament of Roses Parade, Rose Bowl, and its high-end shopping district, Pasadena has moved far away from its agricultural roots in the Indiana Colony. Despite the celebration's emphasis on its "pioneer roots," the festivities, photographs, and history focused on the city's incorporation, not the 1870s establishment of the Indiana Colony. The Indiana Colony's marginalization and exclusion from Pasadena's celebration and historical narrative reflects the historical displacement of a group whose contributions were essential to the city's founding. Interestingly, Pasadena's history identified its pioneers as the men and women who established the city in a time framed within the discourse of modernity and progress. By the end of the nineteenth century, farmers were no longer the pioneers of westward expansion and growth; the new industrialized order identified the modern business minded industrialists, interested in profiting from a tourist-based economy, as Pasadena's pioneers.

The Indiana colonists' marginalization in Pasadena's history is part of a long list of historical erasures. The Indiana gentleman farmers who came to Pasadena in the 1870s constituted only one of the many displaced peoples whose experiences are imprinted into the physical landscape, yet are excluded from the historical narrative. Framing the history in a way that privileges Euro American arrival and regional settlement fails to account for the land's history before the American conquest. Defining the region's history within the spatio-temporal

⁷⁹⁴ Laura Monteros, "Pasadena's 125th Birthday," *Examiner.com*, June 25, 2011, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.examiner.com/article/pasadena-s-125th-birthday-find-all-the-photos-videos-and-articles-here>; City of Pasadena, "City to Celebrate its 125th Year with Birthday Party, Fireworks, Concerts, and More," *City of Pasadena Website*, May 26, 2011, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://cityofpasadena.net/EkContent.aspx?theme=Navy&id=6442455725&bid=2970&style=news>.

parameters of American history creates a history that looks at Pasadena and the surrounding region as part of the United States after 1848. Fitting the region's history into this limited frame rendered the indigenous, Spanish, and Californio pasts as insignificant and contributes to the longer cycle of historical displacement and erasure.

Within the context of the mission, Californio, and American periods, San Pascual represented the larger contours of each group's optimal vision of land use. The mission period imprinted the landscape with the Franciscans' agricultural vision. The secularization of mission lands transferred the land into the hands of aspiring landowners responsible for developing it in accordance with governmental land policy. The Californio period was marked by land use as part of an emerging and quickly growing rancho economy. Creation of large homesteads and ranchos sustained California's pastoral image. During the Californio era, Rancho San Pascual changed hands several times, with each attempt ending in economic denouncement. In 1853, Manuel Garfias obtained Rancho San Pasucal and worked to develop it into a competitive regional rancho. In his attempt to build and maintain an impressive homestead, Garfias obtained loans against the property. Over a short period, Garfias became more indebted to assimilated American and local landowner Benjamin Davis Wilson. As a way of settling Garfias' debt, Wilson accepted the rancho as payment. Garfias' sale of San Pascual did not end his financial troubles. The last mention of him in the historical record came in the form of an advertisement selling his property in the center of Los Angeles. Garfias' loss of San Pascual and the subsequent sale of his in-town property spoke to the changes in visions of land use after the U.S.-Mexico War. It also contributed to the displacement of the region's indigenous, Spanish and Mexican past. Once Wilson gained San Pascual, he parceled it out to various buyers. At this point Mexican San Pascual ceased to exist and disappeared into history.

In the 1870s, Wilson sold a significant portion of San Pascual to a group of Indiana settlers who called themselves the Indiana Colony. The colony's land agent, Daniel Berry, found the ranch to be rich and full of potential. After purchasing the land, the settlers established their colony based on a vision of land use framed by gentleman farming. The establishment of the Indiana Colony occurred during a period of regional expansion and tremendous economic change. The 1870s completion of the railroad in the area surrounding Los Angeles facilitated the area's link to the larger national market economy and allowed for participation in the agricultural trade. As a horticultural society, the Indiana Colony embodied the agricultural principles of Manifest Destiny. The colony's settlement in the region contributed to Euro Americans' displacement of Californios' visions of land use. During the early years, the colonists' settlement of small homesteads and participation in the market economy allowed the colony to thrive. Unfortunately for these homesteaders, the colony's growth and development was short-lived, and soon another American vision of optimal land use would replace the yeoman farmer's vision.

In the late 1870s and 1880s, the area around the Indiana Colony experienced a land boom that forever changed the landscape. Increased land speculation resulting from the arrival of the direct rail line into the San Gabriel Valley brought a flood of people into the region. Everyday farmers and small businessmen, who fancied themselves large landowners, bought up hundreds of acres of land in the hopes of becoming wealthy. The completion of the railroad resulted in increased tourism into the area and prompted new landowners to establish large resort-like hotels highlighting the area's beauty. The growth of a tourist industry left the Indiana Colony's agricultural pursuits by the wayside. As the landscape developed according to this new vision, tourism displaced the Indiana colonists' vision of agriculture development.

By the end of the 1880s, the land boom had collapsed due to over-speculation, and settlers attempted to save their settlement through a resuscitation of agricultural production. In 1887, the region's settlers voted to incorporate the City of Pasadena as a way to develop its infrastructure and complete a crucial part of its expansion. Incorporation proved beneficial and the city grew rapidly. By the 1890s, Pasadena's economy had improved and it became one of the region's largest citrus producers. Pasadena's success in citrus production and quick development of infrastructure prompted another land boom during the 1890s. This second land boom was essential in solidifying the city as a tourist town because it produced more hotels and brought more people into the area. As some of these tourists became permanent settlers, stories about Pasadena's agricultural past gave way to the tales of an Edenic landscape with a Mediterranean climate, great for rest and relaxation. As this story gained popularity, the city's narrative changed to explain the origins of this modern Pasadena. Similar to the histories of the region's Spanish missionaries and Californios, the Indiana pioneers were not part of this new Pasadena story. Presently, Pasadena's historical narrative rarely includes mention of the Indiana Colony, privileging the story of the city's more modern settlers.

Cycles of Historical Displacement and Erasure

The Indiana Colony's historical displacement as an outdated pioneer past replicates the erasure of the region's previous inhabitants. In "Competing Visions," I set out to recover the region's indigenous, Spanish, and Mexican history as means of disrupting a narrative that focused solely on Pasadena's Euro American past. In shifting Pasadena history's spatio-temporal boundaries to include the larger area beginning in the late eighteenth century, I discovered the multiple and layered histories that exist in the shadows of Pasadena's historical

narrative. These histories are buried by the continuous and multifaceted process of colonialism and the (re)defining of culture during the Spanish, Californio, and American periods. Although each period is distinct and reflects its own social and historical reality, broader themes emerge that make it possible to interrogate the materialization of power during each era and, more importantly, show the dynamic continuity of this power over time. I use the term “dynamic continuity” to refer to the shared commonalities amongst missionaries, rancheros, and gentlemen farmers across each period and how they used their power to create their respective landscapes and socio-cultural identities.

Looking across the region’s different historical eras, the physical land is what unified the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans who entered the area. Despite the fact that each group had differing visions of optimal land use, the land itself served as the crux of each colonization process and influenced the social behavior, cultural construction, and economic systems of the people who owned and controlled the land.. Multiple watershed moments within the region’s history demarcate this dynamic continuity. Although there are several significant moments in the region’s history, dynamic continuity amongst the region’s various groups is best looked at within the disruptions caused by the establishment of the mission system, Mexican Independence and mission secularization in the early nineteenth century, the U.S. – Mexico War in the mid-nineteenth century, and the land booms of the late nineteenth century. Each of these events prompted significant shifts in how regional inhabitants defined optimal land use and influenced the construction of their socio-economic and cultural identities.

Franciscans

In the mid-eighteenth century, as part of Spain's colonizing process in Alta California, Franciscan missionaries worked to establish Christianity among local indigenous populations. Basing their mission project on religious indoctrination and the use of labor regimentation to change Indians' behaviors, Franciscans sought to civilize the Tongva by teaching them the tenets of Spanish Christianity and work ethic. When studying the mission institutions' role in Alta California the focus often lies on missionaries' religious and cultural efforts in the region. Aside from these efforts, the mission institutions played a crucial role in the development of the regional economy. As one of the wealthiest missions, San Gabriel's connection to land is an important part of Pasadena's and the San Gabriel Valley's overall economic growth. Not unlike other Alta California missionaries, San Gabriel's Franciscans controlled thousands of acres of land and used Indian labor to establish it as the center of the regional economy.⁷⁹⁵ Defining a vision of optimal land use based on the cultivation of a variety of crops and the grazing of cattle, Franciscans used Tongva labor at the San Gabriel Mission to increase the mission's wealth during the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century. As missionaries successfully controlled mission lands and Indian labor, the mission helped shape the contours of Spanish society and culture within this frontier region. Throughout California, as the missions became the representation of Spanish society, people increasingly defined themselves using the identities produced through the mission project. Structuring their identities within the language of colonialism, frontier settlers defined themselves as Christian and heathen, neophyte and *barbáro*, and later Spaniard and Indian. Although the relationships in the mission do provide a glimpse into the construction of regional identity, the fact that California was on the frontier

⁷⁹⁵ Because the San Gabriel Mission followed the larger trends within Alta California, this discussion reflects the general history of Alta California's mission system.

influenced how colonialism functioned because Spanish colonial power was not strong as in areas of the Mexican interior.

In California, as in other frontier areas, colonialism was not as pervasive as is believed. As Julia Barr has shown in her work on Texas, colonialism was quite limited because Spanish frontier society did not have the population or the power to exert or maintain control over local indigenous populations.⁷⁹⁶ This power imbalance allowed native peoples to keep control over the region and sustain their societies in spite of Spanish colonialism. While this is a logical assertion for Texas' nomadic indigenous groups such as the Comanche and Apache, it does not fully translate to the Alta California frontier or to the San Gabriel region because the Tongva were a seasonally semi-sedentary population. Whereas nomadic groups were difficult to subjugate because of their continued mobility, Spanish presence among more sedentary populations provides a more in-depth understanding of indigenous groups' negotiation of colonialism. Barr's findings in her study of the sedentary Caddo people illustrate several similarities and differences with the San Gabriel Tongva population.

In eighteenth-century Texas and California, imperial rivalries framed the relationship between indigenous populations and European powers. The Spanish entered these regions with the intention to protect their lands from foreign encroachment. On the Texas frontier, the Spanish feared French settlement, whereas in California, Russian intrusion served as the impetus to colonization efforts. On both frontiers, the Spanish intended on using the mission institution as a means of solidifying a Spanish presence and regional dominance. The establishment of Spanish colonialism and indigenous groups' interaction with colonial power manifested itself differently based on regional specificities that influenced the level of Indians' agency.

⁷⁹⁶ For a discussion on the limitations of Spanish colonialism in frontier areas see Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

In Texas, missionaries attempted to use the established indigenous / Spanish trade relationships as a way to proselytize among the Caddo and convert them to Christianity.⁷⁹⁷ Between 1691 and 1693, Franciscan missionaries established two small missions amongst the Caddo as a way to gain continuous access to the Indians. The Caddo, focused on extending their trade relations, largely ignored missionaries' efforts at conversion and continued their indigenous religious practices. Caddoans' desire to expand their trade markets does not constitute the sole reason for their agency in relation to Spanish colonialism and conversion efforts. Caddoan resistance and agency emerged out of their negotiation of the European rivalries in the region. A French presence in the region gave the Caddo access to guns, horses, livestock, and the larger trade economy.⁷⁹⁸ Buttressed by their large population and participation in a regional Indian confederacy, the Caddo were able to establish and maintain economic and political dominance in the region. Spaniards quickly found themselves marginalized within Caddoan society and faced with the need to accommodate or risk losing their small presence in the region.

Similarly, in California, concern over increased Russian incursions into the region prompted Spain to settle the northern frontier. The Tongvas' semi-sedentary settlement patterns facilitated Spanish efforts to use the mission system as a way to have continuous access to the region's Indians. The conditions of colonialism on the Alta California frontier differed from those in Texas because, unlike the Caddo people, the Tongva did not have the advantage provided by the presence of other Europeans. Although the Russians controlled trade and commerce in the North Pacific throughout the eighteenth century and had established over sixty colonies throughout the region, their colonization of Alta California did not begin in earnest until

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., 59.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., 87.

the early nineteenth century.⁷⁹⁹ In 1812, the Russian America Trading Company established the settlement of Fort Ross, near San Francisco. Although the colony's settlement worried the Spanish government and military, it did not pose a threat to Spanish colonialism in the southern areas of Alta California. In contrast to the Caddo, whose continued contact with the French inhibited the implementation of Spain's dominance, for the Tongva the Russian presence was too far north to be of any aid to them. The lack of immediate imperial competition in San Gabriel allowed the Spanish to implement colonial institutions such as the mission and impose greater control over the region and its resources. Recognizing the opportunities provided by the San Gabriel Mission and its missionaries, the Tongva used the institution to gain access to things such as food and shelter despite missionaries' religious conversion program. Similar to the Caddo, the Tongva utilized the structures of colonialism, as they existed in the San Gabriel region, to create a beneficial relationship to the mission while maintaining a certain level of cultural autonomy.

Barr's example of the Caddo and this work's study of the Tongva indicate Indian groups' agency within colonialism. This scholarship provides a new understanding of the limits of colonialism's power in defining socio-cultural identities in these frontier regions. The Tongva people encountered by Franciscans, Spanish military, and pobladores built their identity based on a unified negotiation of colonialism according to their specific context. Creating their identities based on social specificities allowed Indians to negotiate the mission in a way that helped benefit them and helped them avoid the complete decimation of their cultural identity. "Competing

⁷⁹⁹ Russians' activities in the North Pacific began in the 1740s with an expedition to southeastern Alaska, the Aleutian Islands and the Bering Islands. Through the second half of the eighteenth century, several Russian trading companies competed for profit in the sea otter pelt trade. By 1799 the most successful of these trading companies, the Russian America Company, gained exclusive rights over the Russian trade activities in North America, as well as the sole right to found and administer colonies in the Americas. For more on the Russian Colonization of the Alaska and California see Kent Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 114-125.

Visions” recognizes that the mission institution did not eradicate Indian culture or completely replicate Spanish culture in the region. This work contributes to the scholarship by showing that Indians’ and settlers’ identities stemmed from their ideas of land use and not solely from the politics of colonialism. Land played a crucial role in defining socio-cultural identity.

Relationship to the mission and to its lands helped produce the socio-cultural identities that permeated Alta California’s Spanish colonial society. As the region’s population grew in size, this distinction became increasingly important and defined the boundary between Spaniard and Indian.

Californios and the War for Independence

During the early nineteenth century, as the colonial period continued and the region’s population increased, the San Gabriel Mission reached a level of self-sufficiency that successfully allowed it to dominate the region’s economy. The establishment of the Pueblo de Los Angeles in 1781 and the coming of the Mexican War for Independence prompted a reliance on the mission that increased pobladores’ resentment of Franciscans’ control of the region’s premier lands. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, aspiring elites saw land as the key to social status, mobility and wealth; they increasingly pressed for governmental secularization of mission lands and Indian emancipation as a way to affirm their social and cultural status.

California’s aspiring elite used liberalism’s social and economic principles to justify their critique of colonialism and the archaic mission institution. Using the language of Mexican liberalism, aspiring oligarchs challenged the mission system’s power to control the region’s best lands and indigenous labor. Achieving independence in 1821, this group of men came to form the new social and political elite. Accessing political power at the local, state, and federal level,

these new *políticos* worked to gain control of mission lands. After the local government implemented the federal mission Secularization Order in 1834, California's aspiring landowners gained access to a tremendous amount of ex-mission lands. As Californios gained access to more lands and increased their wealth, they came to form an oligarchy class that kept the best lands within elite circles. Calling themselves Californios, these men linked their identities to the region and more specifically to their newly attained lands.

Throughout the early nineteenth century, Californios formed their social and class identities through their relationship to the region's land. Because most elite families could trace their origins to the mission in some way, either through their direct military service to the mission or as descendants of mission soldiers or Indians, the mission influenced the formation of social and cultural identity. Framing their identities within the colonialist structure of *de razón* or *sin razón*, Californios founded their own identities in relation to the power dynamics present in the mission system. Californios, similar to the Franciscans, soldiers and *pobladores* of the mission era, distinguished themselves from Indians through their relationship to land. As secularization physically displaced Franciscan missionaries, Californios used their land ownership as a means of emphasizing their wealth and social status in contrast to the landless classes. This parallels the manner in which Franciscans defined Indians as racial others through their labor on mission lands. Over the course of these two eras, land played a crucial role in the formation of cultural identity. Franciscans and Californios, as the region's dominant groups, held control over the land and determined how to use it. The commonalities that existed between missionaries and landowning elites show that the land played an important role in defining the place and culture in which they lived. Despite the specific goals of colonialism and Californio identity, both rooted in Alta California's physical landscape, the specifics of the land itself

determined the manner in which Spanish, and later Mexican, society evolved. In other words, regardless of how Franciscans and Californios wanted to shape their lands and cultures, the land itself created culture.

Utilizing things such as material culture, Mexican Californios created a distinction between themselves and their lower class compatriots. The development of their homesteads, the upkeep of their ranchos, the control of labor, and the displays of wealth through fancy clothing and luxury items defined them as part of society's upper echelon. Additionally, Californios' new class distinction separating them from the landless classes highlighted their Spanish cultural roots. The whitening of their *casta* origins was part of a larger process in which aspiring oligarchs created a narrative where they, not the archaic Franciscans or the uncivilized populace, controlled the region's land and its future. In this narrative, the landless classes figured as lower racialized classes.

Despite Californios' distinction between classes they still attempted to keep a working relationship with the landless classes, who provided much-needed labor and social legitimization of their class status. Using community fiestas framed in ritual and representative of paternalism, elites allowed the lower classes to partake in some of the wealth they help make for the *rancheros* through their labor. Additionally, elites and the lower classes entered into the fictive familial relationship of *compadrazgo*. The *compadrazgo* system created a bond between the social classes meant to insure the landless classes' loyalty to the *rancheros* while providing the *rancheros* the opportunity to provide paternalistic support for the lower class. These social rituals and relationship helped connect the distinct classes and interestingly enough helped maintain social distinctions.

Assimilated Americans

In the early nineteenth century, the availability of land and quick-paced economic growth encouraged immigrants from as far as South America to make their way to California in the hopes of finding wealth in the thriving rancho economy, as well as the tallow and hide trade. A small number of Americans were among the number of immigrants who came into California in this period. During the Mexican period, Americans gained access into Californio elite circles through their participation in the regional economy. Repressing their beliefs in American Anglo Saxon superiority, they used Californios' racialized class structure as a way to gain status and land in Mexican California. Americans assimilated into Californio culture, converted to Catholicism, became naturalized Mexicans, and married the daughters of California's elite landowning families. These actions allowed Americans to function amongst the elite class and participate in the region's political environment and economic system. As members of the elite class, Americans gained large amounts of land and political influence in the region. Americans' increased participation in elite circles began to influence Californios' interactions with the lower classes.

After the U.S.-Mexico War, Californios reconceptualized their racial, class, and ethnic identities within the new American structure. Changes in the government and land policies resulted in the slow disintegration of class ties between Californios and Americans. Seeing their social and political status decline, Californios attempted to integrate themselves into the new race-based structure. Slowly, Californios realized that the new Anglo elite did not fully welcome them into their circles and that their land ownership bought limited tolerance but not acceptance. As Californios lost their lands through policies such as the Land Act of 1851, they also experienced a loss of economic wealth and political control.

Americans and Manifest Destiny after the U.S.-Mexico War

By the 1860s, California's American population had increased. Americans' settlement in the region fulfilled the Euro American ideals presented as part of the grander narrative of Manifest Destiny and racial progress. In addition to Anglos who aspired to own large acreages of land, many smaller-scale farmers, representative of the Jeffersonian ideal of the white yeoman farmer, also migrated in the hopes of obtaining land. Studying their settlements within the framework that historian Linda Barraclough described as gentleman farming, it is clear that these small-scale farmers sought a future rooted in agricultural pursuits in less rural areas. Due to its short distance from the developing City of Los Angeles, and its position within the emerging national economy created by the railroad, this pursuit functioned well for Pasadena's early inhabitants. During this early phase of American settlement, the Indiana Colonists defined their identities in relationship to the land. They saw themselves as small-scale farmers seeking to escape the rural isolation and severe conditions of the Midwest.

The 1870s and the 1880s marked a shift in land use amongst Pasadena's Euro American population. A widespread land boom and speculation changed the structure of land ownership and brought into region people who saw land as a commodity to be bought and sold for profit. Among these new owners, land ownership provided an opportunity for social mobility and increased social status. In the larger frame of Manifest Destiny, the actions of this new landowning class reflected the linking of the Anglo American ideals of racial progress and the physical land. The link between land and status in the American period was not unlike the Californio elites' relationship to land. Both groups wanted to develop the land as a means of obtaining and maintaining social status and wealth. By interweaving ideas of race and cultural identity with ideals of land use, Californios racialized land ownership. Similarly, Americans

included a racial structure into their policies of land ownership and exclusion. What differed between these two groups were the specifics produced through two different national projects. The racial dynamics of Mexican Independence produced distinction between the classes based on economics, which was reflected through land ownership. Because the area's regional identity emerged from the intermixing of various groups, societal divisions were based on perceptions of culture and class. In the period following the U.S.-Mexico War, a conflict based on Americans' perceptions of Mexicans as racially inferior, led to the slow decline of Californios' economic and political power in the region.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Anglos controlled California's land and developed it according to their visions of optimal land use. In the decades of the 1880s and 1890s, the American racial structure based on white Anglo Saxon superiority combined with economic development to whiten land ownership. Racial difference subsumed the class cooperation enjoyed by Californios and early American settlers during the era immediately before and after the U.S.-Mexico War. Within this new exclusively racial structure, the land's development was tied to the white Americans who settled and developed it, not to the previous groups who simply inhabited the region. Political changes, the solidification of Anglo control, and development of Pasadena's lands relegated the region's indigenous, Spanish, and Californios to a distant past. These groups, the region's original settlers, were seen as a people who failed to properly develop the land and were subsequently overtaken by progress and a much superior group. With the dawn of industrialization and the large-scale expansion of a capitalist market economy facilitated by the railroad, the physical landscape bore the marks of modernity. Through hotels established for leisure and rails built for traveling into these newly developed regions, the pioneer heritage of

the Indiana Colony became a quaint memory of a place that developed into symbol of American progress.

Pasadena's Mexican Past and Historical Amnesia

In 2010 as part of its bicentennial celebration, Mexico sponsored a float in the Tournament of Roses Parade. According to the Mexican Consul General in Los Angeles, Juan Marcos Gutiérrez, the reason behind the elaborate float was a matter of pride “for Mexicans living in Los Angeles, it’s announcing to the world: ‘It’s our 200th birthday.’”⁸⁰⁰ The float’s design reflected several key symbols and moments from Mexican history. The front of the float contained a replica of the Ángel de la Independencia,⁸⁰¹ and portraits of revolutionaries Padre Miguel Hidalgo and Francisco Madero. Aside from highlighting its war for independence and the 1910 Mexican Revolution, the float also emphasized Mexico’s indigenous roots by including a sculpture of an eagle perched on a nopal cactus with a serpent in its mouth⁸⁰² and a large replica of an Aztec pyramid and codex. At the center of the 55-foot long-float “50,000 roses spelled out the ‘Mexico – 2010’ under red, white, and green pennants.”⁸⁰³ The day of the parade, Mexican immigrants, Mexican Americans, and their families, who had helped build the float, stood alongside each other on it, while thirty-six Aztec and baile folklórico dancers performed to traditional music as the float traveled down Colorado Boulevard.

Historically, the bright and vibrant float was not out of place, but rather was a step towards recognizing the region’s Mexican past. Within the contemporary context of anti-

⁸⁰⁰ Anna Gorman, “Rose Parade Float will Pay Tribute to Mexico,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 2009, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://articles.latimes.com/2009/dec/16/local/la-me-mex-float16-2009dec16>.

⁸⁰¹ Located in Mexico City, El Ángel de la Independencia, or the Angel of Independence, is the official monument commemorating the War for Mexican Independence in 1810.

⁸⁰² This symbol was the Aztec deity Huitzilopochtli’s indication to the Mexica people to settle at Tenochtitlan, the site of present day Mexico City. For an detailed discussion of Huitzilopochtli and the foundation of Tenochtitlan see Manuel Aguilar Moreno, *Handbook to Life in the Aztec World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 142-146.

⁸⁰³ Gorman, “Rose Parade Float Will Pay Tribute to Mexico.”

Mexican and anti-immigrant sentiment, the float prompted a flurry of nativist responses. The most vocal responses came from anti-illegal immigration organizations such as Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) and the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR). For example, members of ALIPAC referred to the float as an underhanded way for the Mexican government to “put its stamp on their invasion.”⁸⁰⁴ The CCIR’s leader Barbara Coe worried that due to the massive discontent over the float, based on the “few emails and some calls” she received regarding the float, the “high tensions associated with the escalating immigration debate may spill over onto the parade and create problems.”⁸⁰⁵ Responses such as these reflect the anti-immigrant sentiment that has permeated the U.S. for several years now.⁸⁰⁶ What is more troubling is that aside from targeting immigrants, these statements have broader implications about American’s perceptions about Mexican Americans. For instance, one ALIPAC member stated that the float was “not really a gift to any other culture in California. Just an in-your-face flaunt about overwhelming the rest of us with their numbers.”⁸⁰⁷ What is particularly problematic about this statement is that it makes no distinction between Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. I highlight this lack of distinction not to support the stigmatization of Mexican immigrants nor to legitimize xenophobic and nativist attitudes against them, but rather to show the consequences of historical erasure and the pervasiveness of historical amnesia.

⁸⁰⁴ Anonymous ALIPAC Reactions quoted in Immigration Clearinghouse, “Mexico to Have Entry in Rose Parade-First in 40 Years,” December 26, 2009, Immigration Clearinghouse, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://immigrationclearinghouse.org/mexico-to-have-entry-in-rose-parade-first-in-40-years/>.

⁸⁰⁵ Barbara Coe quote in Cindy Carcamo, “Rose Parade Float to Celebrate Mexico’s Bicentennial,” *Orange County Register* December 29, 2009, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.ocregister.com/articles/float-226168-parade-mexico.html>.

⁸⁰⁶ Art Pedroza, December 31, 2009, “Racists Rush to Condemn Mexican Entry in the 2010 Rose Parade,” *The Orange Juice Blog*, <http://www.orangejuiceblog.com/2009/12/racists-rush-to-condemn-mexican-entry-in-the-2010-rose-parade/>.

⁸⁰⁷ Anonymous ALIPAC Reactions quoted in Immigration Clearinghouse, “Mexico to Have Entry in Rose Parade-First in 40 Years,” December 26, 2009, Immigration Clearinghouse, accessed March 1, 2009, <http://immigrationclearinghouse.org/mexico-to-have-entry-in-rose-parade-first-in-40-years/>.

The protest against the 2010 Mexico float provides a great example of the erasure of the region's racialized past. The fact that the controversy arose from a float in the Tournament of Roses Parade in the region studied in "Competing Visions" provides an insight into the consequences of the Mexican and indigenous past's erasure from the city's collective memory. Framed within a Euro American perspective, Pasadena's history failed to recognize the pivotal roles played by the region's racialized populations, specifically Mexicans, in the historical and contemporary era. Over the course of Pasadena's one hundred and twenty-five year history, thousands of Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants labored to build the city's infrastructure, from the railways that ultimately displaced them and the water plants that provided the water for its citrus growth. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Pasadena's Mexican population built many of the city's definitive buildings and attractions. Mexicans living in one of the city's nearby segregated Mexican quarters went to work every day and constructed the buildings in Old Town Pasadena, presently the city's premier shopping district. They constructed the now world famous Colorado Boulevard, the street on which the Tournament of Roses travels every New Year's Day. They labored to build the Rose Bowl, City Hall, and a variety of other well-known Pasadena attractions, which frame the city's identity. Despite their pivotal role in building the modern Pasadena, the city's Mexican story remains largely untold. This speaks to the larger erasure of the region's racial past discussed in "Competing Visions."

Studying the region over the course of more than one hundred years, I found that Pasadena's contemporary roots lay within the history of interactions between the region's indigenous, Spanish, Mexican, and American inhabitants during specific historical moments. The cycles of displacement and historical erasure described above manifest themselves through a

form of historical amnesia that does not allow the region's rich story to be told. In Pasadena, each group's vision for the land led to the exploitation, exclusion, erasure, and subsuming of groups not in line with majority beliefs about land use. The continued combination of land use and racial identity over one hundred years served to establish and (re)create a specific regional identity and reputation of the Pasadena region. Continuously reconceptualizing identity through competing visions of land use and economics fashioned regional and social identities, shaped social interactions, power dynamics, and historical memory. Through "Competing Visions" I hoped to provide an understanding of how the past, regardless of how distant, still affects the way we remember our spaces and places, as well as how we view ourselves within them.

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Curriculum Vita

Yvette J. Saavedra was born in Lynwood, California. The eldest daughter of Jorge O. Saavedra and Leonor Huerta Saavedra, she graduated from Pomona Catholic High School in in 1996. In the fall of 1996, she entered Pitzer College, a member of the Claremont Colleges Consortium. In December 2000, she received her bachelor's of arts degree in History and Chicana/o Studies. In spring 2001, she began an M.A / Ph.D. program in History at the University of Texas at El Paso. In 2003, she received her master's degree in Borderlands History from UT El Paso and advanced to Ph.D. candidacy in the fall of 2006. Her fields of specialization are U.S. History, U.S. - Mexico Borderlands History, Gender and Sexuality, and Colonial Latin America.

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