LOS ANGELES WESTERNERS CORRAL

The Branding Iron

J. GOODMAN

WINTER 1995 LOS ANGELES CORRAL NUMBER 202

Drawing of San Gabriel Mission. *Courtesy of San Fernando Archives.*

Myths, Mythologists and the California Missions

by Msgr. Francis J. Weber

If it is true that "good history drives bad history out of existence," then students of Clio must be scrupulously accurate, precise and, above all, truthful in their writings. Especially is that true of the California missions.

There might be a place for myth, legend and folklore in fiction, but not in history. The challenge about the so-called "mission myth" is that of determining what is myth and what is not; this is always difficult because many people tend to romanticize the past by canonizing "the good old days."

In 1974, John Ogden Pohlmann wrote a

(*continued on page 3*)

The Branding Iron
THE WESTERNERS
LOS ANGELES CORRAL
Published Quarterly in
Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter

Address for Exchanges & Material Submitted for Publication:
The Publications Editor, Robert Blew
12436 Landale Street, Studio City, CA 91604
The Branding Iron solicits articles of 2,500 words or less, dealing with every phase of the Old West. Contributions from members and friends welcomed.

Publication Design & Layout by Katherine Tolford

THE MONTHLY ROUNDUP

NOVEMBER 1995 MEETING

Timothy Brandt, AIA, a project architect with Leo A. Daly in Los Angeles, presented a lively discussion of the problems, tribulations and successes in historical preservation in Los Angeles.

Many factors impact historical preservation in Los Angeles or any other city. The most obvious is the mere cost of preserving a building. In addition to the economic factor, there are other man made obstacles to the preservation of historical buildings, such as riots, building subways or freeways, fires or alterations. In addition to man, nature

Photograph by Frank Q. Newton

Timothy Brandt, November meeting speaker

(*Continued on page 20*)

superb dissertation at UCLA on *California Mission Myths,* which this author recommends highly; it is still available at University Microfilms in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Pohlmann observes, at the very outset, that "even those instances where myths and legends are revealed by modern scholarship to be totally unsubstantiated, they should never be regarded as complete falsehoods, for frequently they reflect more about the culture which circulates the myth or legend than they reveal about the previous event or era they specifically describe." Hence, the temptation to disregard totally the books of Helen Hunt Jackson, George Wharton James and Charles Fletcher Lummis must be avoided.

Perhaps the story of the California missions has been overtold. It resembles an old country barn that has been painted too many times. The layers of paint become almost as thick as the walls to which they adhere. Maybe it is time for a sandblaster to remove all the paint and allow the original surface to reflect its natural luster.

My personal opinion, after thirty years of research and reflection, is that the mission system as it unfolded in California needs no apologists and certainly no mythologists. What the objective historian of the future must do is re-study (a) the missions as they operated under the *Laws of the Indies;* (b) the Mallorcan society where most of the early friars were raised and educated; (c) the demographics of the Native Americans before, during and after the so-called "conquest"; (d) missionary procedures in other areas of the world; (e) the academic credentials of purported experts; (f) the veracity of oral traditions among indigenous peoples; and, perhaps most importantly, (g) what, if any, were the alternatives to the mission system.

One is confident that when such an in-depth investigation has been made, the mission system will emerge as accomplishing what it attempted to do, namely, sharing the Christian faith with an aboriginal people. Nothing less. A good deal more. There is no place, no justification and no need for myths when telling the story of the missionary foundations along *El Camino Real.*

What is concerning and distressing today, however, is a whole new generation of "myths" that have arisen in the last dozen or so years, none of which is any more reliable or creditable than the yarns spun during California's "Romantic Revival" of the 1880s, and many of which are malicious, mean-spirited and untrue. Let us address the veracity or lack thereof in some of the more prominent of these myths.

(1) MYTH:

The missionaries violated the human rights of their neophytes, both before and after their conversion.

FACT:

Philip II issued directives on December 24, 1580, entrusting the viceroys, missionaries and *audiencias* with the duty of looking after the Indians so that they may be protected, favored and placated. He stated "we desire that the injuries they suffer be remedied so that they may be without molestation or vexation. The Indians are to be defended from all harm, and the laws of the *Recopilación* are to be observed exactly. Transgressors are to be punished."

The king concluded by charging missionaries "to work for this objective as true spiritual fathers of Christianity preserving for the Indians their privileges and prerogatives." These were the laws of the land, and they were observed scrupulously by the friars.

Serra personally journeyed to Mexico City in 1773 to demand and receive from the Viceroy a declaration of Indian rights which were threatened by the military. No one then or since can equal Serra's concern and action for the rights of the California Indians.

(2) MYTH:

The accelerated death rate of native Americans in the years after European penetration was due primarily to the diseases acquired from Hispanics or poor living conditions at the missions.

FACT:

The story of the past is forever being updated and re-interpreted. History will never stay written as long as scholars are unearthing fresh evidence and re-evaluating the old. An example at hand is the traditional explanation given for the accelerated death rate among Native Americans in the years after European occupation. Not only have statistics been misused and exaggerated, but discoveries in medical science are providing wholly new and convincing theories.

Historians have long believed that European diseases were the only cause for the heavy death toll on American Indians, but recent studies demonstrate how at least one mid-western tribe, the Omahas, was ravaged by a totally different source.

Karl Reinhard, an anthropologist at the University of Nebraska, examined the chemical contents of skeletons exhumed forty years ago from Omaha tribal graves. More than half were found to be heavily laced with lead, a substance known to have decimated ancient Romans.

Unlike such other tribes as the Sioux and Pawnee, the Omahas had more extensive contacts with Europeans from whom they obtained lead in trade for a variety of uses.

By the early nineteenth century, the Omahas had become the first gunsmiths of the Plains. They avidly exchanged items for lead with which to make musket balls. Artifacts found at grave sites also suggest that traders supplied the Indians with such items as wine bottles and food tins sealed with lead solder. Additionally, some skeletal remains showed signs of lead-based paint on their faces. Once ingested, lead was absorbed into the bones and did not readily dissipate. Depending on the quantities and the age of those exposed, lead is known to have caused retardation, developmental problems and even death.

In the case of the Omaha skeletons, twenty-two of the remains exhibited lead in dangerous to lethal quantities ranging from eighty to 400 parts per million. The skeleton of one child measured 1,000 parts per million.

The Indians in question were buried between 1789 and 1820 in north-western Nebraska. During that time-span, the population of the Omahas began to dwindle from about 1,700 until it leveled out at about 300. Previously, tribal historians had blamed the decline on epidemics spread by white traders and settlers, but according to Reinhard's studies, the chemical analysis conducted with mass spectrometers and other high-tech gear, showed surprisingly little evidence of infectious diseases on the Omaha skeletons.

Whether lead poisoning affected other tribes of the period is unknown and would not have been discovered in the case of the Omahas had it not been for an unusual resolution of a long custody fight for the skeletal remains. What happened to the Omahas could easily have happened elsewhere. In their case, history has now spoken through science. Reinhard said that "the findings have implications for the broader population as well... Here we have a culture that almost went extinct because of the toxic elements they were coming into contact with."

Could not something like that have occurred in California? Surely such a discovery would keep a whole new generation of historians off the streets.

(3) MYTH

Native Californians were looked down upon and treated by the friars as irrational, sub-human and animal-like beings.

FACT:

This myth revives one first posed after the fall of the Aztec capital, on August 23, 1521. Then it was asked whether the Indians of the New World were rational or even human beings, capable and worthy of becoming and living as Christians. Obviously, this question had enormous practical implications: if the natives were not rational, then they possessed no human rights and could be treated like animals, with no property claims or governmental obligations.

Bishop Julian Garces placed this vital question before Pope Paul III, who in 1537, issued his declaration, *Sublimis Deus*, wherein he stated unequivocally that native peoples throughout the world were to be con-

sidered rational, capable and worthy of the Christian faith. The Pope had spoken, the matter was closed.

(4) MYTH:

The missionaries should have stayed at home and their presence was a negative factor in Alta California.

FACT:

Those who contend that nothing in the Indian way of life should ever have been disturbed deny the inevitable progression of humankind. In a changing world, no portion of the Spanish American dominions could have been preserved in hermetical isolation. The natives were destined to change for better or worse, and the missionaries dedicated themselves to helping them change for the better.

(5) MYTH:

The presence of the Franciscans at the California missions was directly responsible for accelerating the death rate.

FACT:

Much of the criticism now directed at Fray Junípero Serra and the missions concerns the dramatic upsurge in the death rate among the Indians of Alta California after the arrival of the European missionaries. Actually, the soldiers, sailors and settlers (not the friars) spread disease wherever they went in the New World. Precisely when this started in California is a moot question, but likely the earliest expeditions left those hidden reminders behind.

It must also be remembered that none of the earliest memoirs spoke of Indian families with more than two or three children. In 1752, Father Jacob Baegert, a Jesuit pioneer in Peninsular California, noted that in Baja California,"two or three children are a great burden." Reading through Baegert's letters, it is clear that he and other eighteenth-century Jesuit missionaries believed that they were dealing with a native population already on the decline. Baegert observed, for example, that few youngsters survived childhood diseases.

Baegert, who attributed the rapid decline of the Indian population in Baja California between 1700 and 1752 to "sickness and rebellion," later opined that abortion and parental neglect accounted for the low rate of live births, as well as the high infancy mortality rate. Likewise, Father Baegert stated based on personal observation that poor diet, inadequate attention to the ill and outright killing of infirm people contributed heavily to the decline of the adult native population.

Admittedly, during the earliest years of European presence in Alta California, the Indian population declined at an alarming rate. There were recurring epidemics of

Father Duran leading the Indian orchestra which he spent twelve years instructing.

Cattle Brands of the California Missions

Name of Mission	Founded	Brand	Cattle
San Diego de Alcalá	1769	D	8,000
San Luis Rey de Francia	1798	5	26,000
San Juan Capistrano	1776	CA	10,000
San Gabriel Arcangél	1771	G	20,500
San Fernando Rey de España	1797	4	12,500
San Buena Ventura	1782	AB	17,300
Santa Barbara	1786	B	3,600
Santa Inés	1804	S	7,300
La Purísima Conceptión	1787	♀	10,500
San Luis Obispo de Tolosa	1772	S	8,600
San Miguel Arcangél	1797	3	9,000
San Antonio de Padua	1771	A	5,000
Nuestra Señora de la Soledad	1791	Y	6,600
San Carlos Borromeo del Carmelo	1771	MR	2,050
San Juan Bautista	1797	A	11,000
Santa Cruz	1791	A	3,500
Santa Clara de Assisí	1777	A	9,000
San José de Guadalupe	1797	J	12,000
San Francisco de Assisí	1776	F	4,200
San Rafael Arcangél	1817	L	1,200
San Francisco de Solano	1823	F	2,500

Misión La Purísima Concepción de María Santísima

Cattle Brands of California Missions showing date of founding and size of herd. *Courtesy of San Fernando Mission Archives.*

smallpox, measles and dysentery, but the greatest killer of all was syphilis, a disease passed on to children. Three out of four children succumbed the first or second year.

It is not possible to state with certainty whether the Indian population at the missions declined at a greater or a lesser rate than the uncoverted Indians, for which there is no available evidence and who accounted for at least three-quarters of the Indian population during mission days. Also, it must be remembered that the friars often came across or were called to administer the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to people already at the point of dying, a factor that would inflate the normal death rate of baptized Christians in proportion to the general native population.

There were other reasons for the accelerated death rate, many of them not thoroughly understood then or now. Yet, this is not something for which the Franciscans should be singled out for blame. There is no way that the disease factor and all the other related effects of colonization could have been avoided in California. Even though statistics can be over and under estimated and possibly misevaluated, their basic thrust remains fairly consistent. Indians did indeed die, but the causes of death are still in question.

(6) MYTH:

The Indians attached to the California missions suffered dreadful deprivations and punishments during the mission period.

FACT:

The so-called Serra controversy has revealed a shocking lack of understanding not only of the mission program and its role in California, but also of the chronology of California history in general. The time sequence is vitally important: the worst violation of Indian rights in California came after, not during, the mission era. Those suffering most from the encroachments of the gold rush days were the descendants of Indians never attached to the missions.

(7) MYTH:

The statistics of Sherburne F. Cook are a reliable instrument of determining the death rate at the missions of Alta California.

FACT:

Few, if any, studies about the death rate during mission times have been based on the original records. Researchers have relied either on copies and summaries of the originals or on doubtful estimates, guesses and assumptions by anthropologists. The often quoted statistics of Sherburne Cook have not withstood the scrutiny of subsequent research. Cook never utilized primary sources, but based his conclusions on transcripts made by Hubert H. Bancroft and extracts done by Thomas Workman Temple. He noted near the end of his life, in 1974, that "if time and opportunity were favorable, it would be desirable to make a definitive count of the actual entries in the register books." Indeed Cook himself, in a later study, reduced his earlier totals considerably and finally concluded that the infant mortality rate in Alta California should be "no worse than in other comparable societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." Francis Guest, archivist for the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, has suggested that a study and comparison of the death rate in Europe for the same period of time might well cast a wholly new dimension on what transpired in California.

(8) MYTH:

The catechetical program at the missions offered little challenge to the friars.

FACT:

Quite the contrary. Though Serra and other missionaries were former university professors, they found it very difficult to instruct the natives in abstract terminology. The children generally adapted easily to the rigid mission regimen, but many adult neophytes never fully embraced the Christian lifestyle. In 1830, Fray Narciso Durán wrote that even though the natives at San Jose Mission "are baptized voluntarily, they easily tire and change - because their character is

fickled and childlike." As mission Indians began adjusting to the new practices, they took to living in permanent adobes, ate regular meals, learned different ways to care for their youngsters, abandoned intramural fights, raised crops, cared for livestock, learned new arts and crafts and began mixing with settlers in the *pueblos, presidios* and *ranchos.*

(9) MYTH:

The prominence of Fray Junípero Serra in California is due primarily to such propagandists as Helen Hunt Jackson, George Wharton James and Charles Fletcher Lummis.

FACT:

The fame of Serra transcends his supporters, as is evident in the Sierra Gorda region of Central Mexico where he labored before coming to Alta California and where very little had been written about him until contemporary times.

The Franciscans were active in the Sierra Gorda for roughly a quarter century, where they succeeded in fulfilling their dual goals of converting the natives to Christianity and turning them into productive citizens of the Spanish empire. That Serra and the other Franciscans were successful in the Sierra Gorda is all the more impressive in light of earlier futile attempts at bringing the peoples there into the Catholic faith.

Serra's work in Central Mexico and that of his collaborators was crucial to the later activities in Alta California because the area was a training ground for many of the friars who subsequently worked along *El Camino Real.*

Today, Serra is the most remembered of all the early missionaries working in that portion of the Lord's vineyard. He was assigned to the Santiago de Jalpan in 1750 and remained there for eight years. Happily, the activities of Serra at Jalpan were carefully recorded.

Serra's success in his earliest missionary endeavors can be attributed to the policies upon which he based his ministry: teaching his marginally agricultural people new techniques of farming and caring for livestock.

The perfecting of their agricultural pursuits allowed the neophytes to improve their standard of living, thus giving them parity with other citizens of the empire. Unlike his predecessors who relied on translators, Serra actually learned the Pame language and was able to teach and converse in that tongue.

The missionary outposts in the Sierra Gorda are very much in place today. Visitors to that remote area can still see the churches built and cared for by Serra and his companions two and half centuries ago. What is more fascinating are the verbal traditions about Serra and the good work he and others did in that region. The people there long ago "canonized" Serra and, today, he continues to walk tall in the Sierra Gorda.

Serra's missionary policies were not so easily realized in Alta California even though the lands were more fertile and easily irrigated. The natives were still at the "hunting and gathering" stage and had no traditions of farming and husbandry.

There was no common Indian language in Alta California. Within that outpost of the empire were no less than sixty-four (perhaps as many as eighty) mutually unintelligible languages, along with numerous dialects. The linguistic perplexities often forced Serra and the other friars to encourage the Indians to learn Spanish.

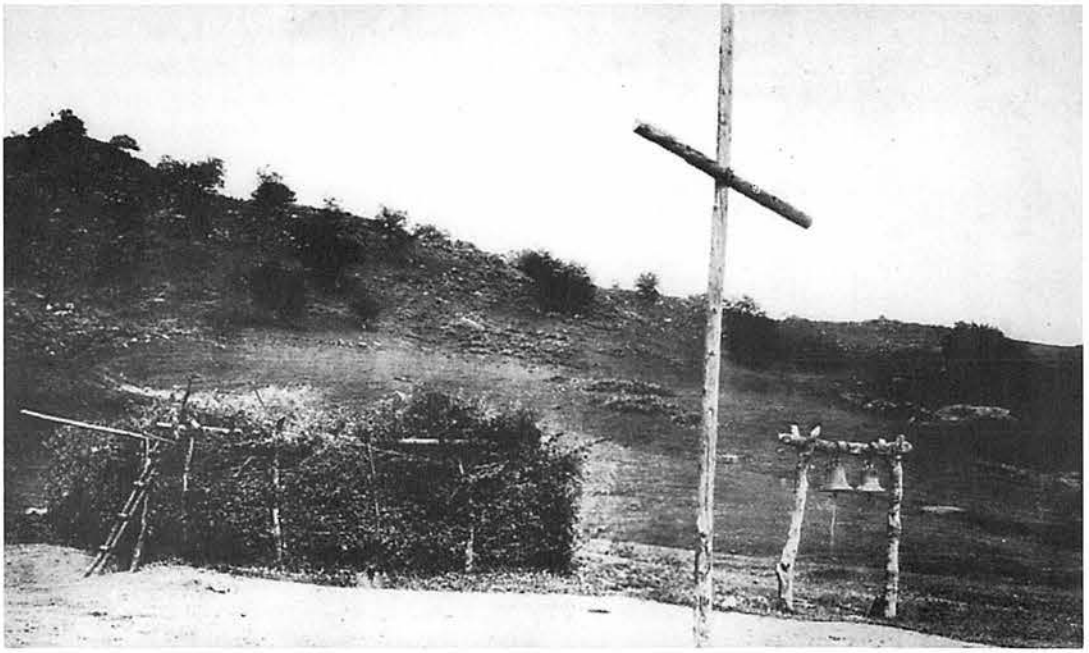
Despite the more challenging problems in Alta California, Fray Junípero Serra was able to establish nine missions along the coast of California, where, as earlier, he was loved and venerated by those brought into the embrace of the Catholic faith.

(10) MYTH:

The early missionaries came to California to further their careers, increase their wealth and advance their own agenda.

FACT:

Certainly the friars did not volunteer for California because they wanted to participate in the destruction of its peoples; they came to Christianize what they sensed was



Brush church, cross and bells. *Courtesy San Fernando Mission Archives.*

an inevitable trend. Like missionaries in every age, the Franciscans in 1769 were obsessed with adding a supernatural dimension to the quest for expanding the world's frontiers. Theirs was a spiritual conquest and their presence in California can only be explained in spiritual terminology. The mission friars provided what they believed to be the all-important and saving message of Christianity, and none of them profited personally, at least in the temporal order.

(11) MYTH:

The "lucky" Indians were those who never came into contact with Christianity, resisted its message or left the missions after conversion.

FACT:

The seemingly endless discussions about the impact of the California missions on the Indians have left some crucial questions unasked. For example, what happened to the sixty percent of the area's natives who were not assimilated into the mission system? Did their descendants prosper in later years? Did they have a lesser death and disease rate than their Christian counterparts? Did those not "contaminated" by the friars, continue to live in some aboriginal paradise? Lacking any death or other records for the non-mission Indians, only conjectural statements can be made about how they were affected by Europeans. Available evidence indicates that, if anything, the non-missionized Indians died and otherwise declined even more rapidly than the others.

(12) MYTH:

Because of the presence of the friars, the California native population was totally decimated.

FACT:

There are probably more people alive today with Indian blood in their veins than there were in the time of Fray Junípero Serra. In the years after secularization of the California missions, few of the neophytes reverted to the wilderness and their aboriginal way of life, partly because California had changed dramatically. By that time, there were relatively few areas isolated from European contact and influence. The *ranchos*

Catalina Lopez, a resident at San Fernando Mission during the 1880s. *Courtesy of San Fernando Mission Archives.*

owned in 1833 by Spanish, Mexican and (soon) American landholders controlled most of the native environment, leaving less room for a hunter-gatherer culture to survive, especially along the more fertile coast.

Many of the Christianized Indians remained at the missions for the rest of their lives while others drifted away to the settlements and *ranchos*. A small percentage of the Indians engaged in farming and ranching, occupations they had learned while still attached to the once-thriving missions. Others were assimilated and became part of the *gente de razón*, inter-marrying with Spanish, Mexican and, later, American colonists. As had occurred earlier, when Indians married members of the military detachments, they acquired a social standing superior to that enjoyed by the other neophytes. Since many of the soldiers received governmental land grants upon completion of their services, their Indian spouses also shared in whatever social and economical advantages accrued to property holders.

Interestingly, many of the soldiers in California already had high percentages of Indian blood in their veins, a factor not emphasized (and sometimes vociferously denied) because of the social pressures then prevalent in Mexican society. Because a large percentage of the soldiers who married Indian wives found it politically inexpedient to identify with Native American customs and practices, most of them avoided counting or otherwise considering their offspring as "Indians." The children of those "mixed" marriages generally tended to marry non-Indians, probably because their contact and association with other natives was minimal.

However considered, American's western "melting pot" certainly included a goodly percentage of California Indians, something not true along the Eastern seaboard, where marriage with natives was not encouraged and often forbidden. Descendants of these "mixed marriages" are generously represented in today's polyglot population though, more often than not, they have lost their Native American identity. This assimilation continued well into the American period.

(13) MYTH:

The missions were "concentration camps" in which the neophytes were incarcerated.

FACT:

Believing that the neophytes were as yet unready to compete with the general population under society's complicated game rules of the 1830s, the friars felt that dispersal of the Indians from the missions would be premature. In fact, after secularization of the missions, the natives quickly lost their property and virtually became slaves in the *pueblos* and *ranchos*. Almost without exception, the Indians asked that the friars be reinstated and that the secular administrators be removed.

In Alta California, the friars used the same methods employed with great efficiency in the Sierra Gorda regions of Central Mexico. When food supplies were meager,

the natives were encouraged to leave the missions, return to the wilderness and forage for themselves. As conditions improved, these absences became less frequent, although the average neophyte spent two months annually away from the mission with his or her unchristianized brethren.

(14) MYTH:

Fray Junípero Serra "beat" the Indians.

FACT:

Though the *Law of the Indies* allowed "spanking" of the natives for specified violations, the extant evidence indicates that most of the friars, Serra included, avoided that form of punishment whenever possible. The missionaries did not look upon themselves as disciplinarians and, with rare exceptions, left the "policing" of the neophytes to the military.

Every society has built-in sanctions to protect the commonwealth and the primitive communities functioning at the California missions were no exception. Whether punishments out-distanced violations has to be examined within the context of practices then in vogue in the parent society, which, in this case, was Spain. In that mother country, the penal aspect of communal life was primarily a governmental, not religious, function. While the friars in Alta California may have countenanced "spanking," most of them (a) doubted its effectiveness, (b) preferred other methods and (c) avoided whenever possible, any part in its execution.

(15) MYTH:

The "Black Legend" existed in the California missions and was epitomized by the friars.

FACT:

Contrary to the practice in the English and French settlements of colonial America, the relationship of Native Americans to Hispanic explorers and settlers along the Pacific Slope was minutely regulated by royal statutes.

To the early missionaries, the *Recopilación de las leyes de los Reinos de Indias* (first published in 1552, then subsequently revised and updated) was as familiar as their breviary. Copies of this multi-volumed handbook or manual were available in every mission library.

As agents for the crown as well as missionaries for the Church, the friars patterned their activity on the directives contained in the *Recopilación* where concern for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the native peoples was a recurrent theme. For example, in his edict issued in 1526, King Charles exhorted "priests"and religious who might participate in discoveries and in making peace (with the native tribes)...to try, with very great care and diligence to bring it about that the Indians are well treated, looked upon and favored as neighbors."

Missionaries were instructed not to allow "the Indians to be forced, robbed, injured or badly treated." The monarch went on to say that "if the contrary is done by any person, regardless of his position or condition, the justices are to proceed against him according to law; and in those cases where it is proper for us to be advised, let it be done as soon as the opportunity is available for justice to be provided and that such excesses be punished with all rigor."

(16) MYTH:

The early missionaries were intent on destroying the indigenous culture of California.

FACT:

The evidence clearly shows the exact opposite, namely that the friars came to the Pacific Slope to build on and expand the existing Indian cultures. Among the many examples of their endeavors to telescope the old with the new was their work with native languages. Where there was a single or predominant language, the friars endeavored to learn it, preach in it and preserve it. At practically all the missions, the friars compiled grammars, dictionaries and catechisms in the local language and dialects.

Examples that eventually found their

way into print were Fray Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta's grammar and phrase books at San Juan Bautista, both of which preserved the Costanoan language by allowing it to be handed down and eventually printed for new generations.

Fray Juan Cortes compiled a *Catechismo y Confesionario* for the natives at Santa Barbara and that, too, was ultimately published. Finally, Fray José Senan prepared a *confesionario* for the Chumash Indians which ultimately became something of a classic in the linguistic world.

In addition, there was the case of Pablo Tac, an Indian boy who was sent to Rome for ecclesial studies. As a means of preserving his own native culture, the professors at the Colegio de Proganda Fide suggested that he compile a "Record of Indian Life" outlining the beliefs and history of his people. That study was eventually published and today is regarded as a primary and unique source of Indian lore.

Another cultural area that the friars built upon and expanded were the indigenous artistic talents of the Indians. Among the litany of examples would be the Stations of the Cross painted by an Indian and still very much in evidence at San Gabriel Mission. The wall embellishments at various missions, including the masterful framed vintage scene painted above the door opposite the entrance to the convento at San Fernando, are primary indications of how the friars encouraged and preserved local talent.

Further examples of Indian art and how the friars encouraged its portrayal at the California missions are explained in an informative booklet by Lanier Bartlett. Norman Neuerberg has codified the decoration at the California Missions and has shown how skillful the Indian artisans were.

Native American costumery was featured in many early paintings by visitors to the missions. Among those paintings, enthusiastically encouraged by the friars, was a colorful scene of an Indian dance at San José Mission which is presently in the collection of the Bancroft Library at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. There are others still in existence.

The musical talents of the Indians were adapted and enhanced at the missions for choral and liturgical services and this field is now being studied by Dr. Craig Russell of California State Polytechnical University San Luis Obispo, who has produced programs of music once performed by the Indians.

One final example and one related to the preservation of native religious beliefs is Fray Gerónimo Boscana's historical account of the San Juan Capistrano Indians which bears the name *Chinigchinich.* Describing the strongly moralistic religious or cult beliefs, it is the longest and most scholarly ethnological document dating from the mission period. The aboriginal religion described in Boscana's book was based on fear. Medicine men deliberately kept the Indians in ignorance about their work. The rituals were in a language unknown to ordinary people. It goes almost without saying that the missionaries were not anxious to sustain such activities.

In conclusion there was indeed a clash of cultures in Alta California between 1769 and 1840.

The missionaries knew history. Though they did not always understand how or why, they pretty much anticipated what would happen in California which probably explains why they were not overly surprised when the death rate began its sharp climb upwards. They concentrated their energies on doing what they could to alleviate or ameliorate a bad situation.

It is unfair and wrong for contemporary commentators to use the yardstick of the 1990s to measure the society of 1769 and later. The time warp throws any such comparisons into utter disarray and further confuses a true appreciation of what really occurred.

Postcard showing location of California missions.
Courtesy San Fernando Mission Archives.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Archibald, Robert. *The Economic Aspects of the California Missions.* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1978).

Bolton, Herbert. *The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies.* (El Paso: Texas Western College Press, 1960).

Engelhardt, Zephyrin. *The Mission and Missionaries of California.* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1908-15), 4 vols.

Geiger, Maynard J. *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra.* (Washington, D.C.: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1973).

Guest, Francis F. *Fermin Francis de Lasuen.* (Washington, D.C.: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1959), 2 vols.

Jackson, Robert H. *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

Webb, Edith B. *Indian Life at the Old Mission.* (Los Angeles: Warren F. Lewis, 1952).

Weber, Francis J. *Series on the California Missions* (N.P.: various, 1975-1987). 19 vols. See Weber, Francis J. *The California Missions; Bibliography.* (Privately Printed, 1985) for exact titles.

Booms and Busts - A Short History of Los Angeles Real Estate Cycles

by Deke Keasbey

Throughout much of its history, Southern California has held an image as the land of golden opportunity and a place for new beginnings. It has also been perceived by much of the rest of America as a "laid back" economy known for speculative real estate promotions and Hollywood film-making.

Los Angeles grew out of the desert and the building of the city through its various stages has been largely the result of free market forces. Today, if the flow of imported water were stopped for a week, Los Angeles would be a hot and dry place like the desert out of which it grew.

From Spanish Haciendas to a Growing Coastal Town

The first shift of power away from the Mission culture and the Spanish land grant families occurred in the early nineteenth century. Ambitious Yankees married the daughters and hence into the families of the great cattle ranchos. They were handed a windfall with the beginning of the California Gold Rush in 1849. The thousands of miners who arrived during the subsequent decade created a large demand for beef. The price of cattle increased more than twentyfold. Then during the Civil War years, that is, the early 1860s, a terrible drought struck and hundreds of thousands of cattle perished. Southern California's cattle-based economy was destroyed.

Following the drought, land values in Los Angeles collapsed. An acre of land could be bought for about ten cents. The opportunity provided by depressed land values was seized upon by wealth created by the prosperity of the Comstock silver mother-lode and by the building of the Central Pacific Railroad. Southern California's bankrupt ranchos were gobbled up by wealthy railroad-connected investors from San Francisco. Once their investments were in place, a movement was initiated that was to set a pattern which would continue for a century: that is, a nationwide promotion of Southern California for its warm climate, wonderful beaches and valleys, and an easygoing life style.

Large tracts of Los Angeles land were now owned by an elite few Northern Californians; however, there was no market to sell off subdivided farm parcels and there was still no systematic irrigation system. Landowners dreamed of bringing irrigation to Los Angeles, but there was no local capital available to finance such a project. Irrigation would not be in place for another twenty-five years. In the meantime, sheep ranching succeeded for awhile, and then wheat and barley farming.

The first Los Angeles boom was in the late 1880s, when many people came to Los Angeles County seeking their fortunes and healthy sunshine. This land rush, kindled by railroad-sponsored promotion, was followed by a collapse. The depressed prices that followed motivated the region's largest landowners (including Harrison Gray Otis and his son-in-law Harry Chandler, founders of the *Los Angeles Times*) to launch a large-scale campaign to "sell Los Angeles" as a land of opportunity. For more than two decades there was a mass migration from the Midwest and the East Coast. Farmers, ranchers, and religious devotees came and brought their savings which were invested into Southern California real estate.

Railroads and Land Promotions

The coming of the railroads changed everything. The Southern Pacific completed its Los Angeles route in 1883, and only three years later the Santa Fe finished its Los

Angeles spur. With a huge investment in their new coast-to-coast rail lines and large Los Angeles land holdings, the railroads set forth a long-term plan for growth. Southern California citrus farming was born. Tourism and the building of towns were promoted to attract investors, to raise land values and to increase the value of railroad shipments.

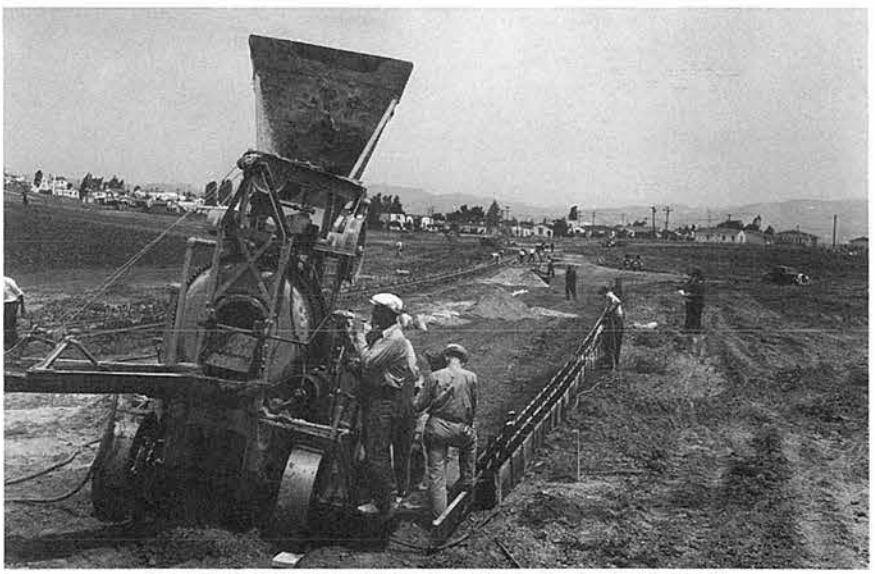
In the late 1880s there was a population boom as the promotions caught on. Thousands of tourists and land speculators hurried to Los Angeles. Lots were bought, sold and traded, and an almost instantly created industry of real estate agents transacted more value in land sales than the county's entire value of only a few years before. The boom proved to be a speculative frenzy that collapsed abruptly in 1889. Much of the newly created wealth went broke. The city as a whole, however benefitted. The build-up had created several local irrigation districts and numerous civic improvements. In addition, the Los Angeles population had increased from about 11,000 in 1880, to about 60,000 in 1890.

Becoming a Big City

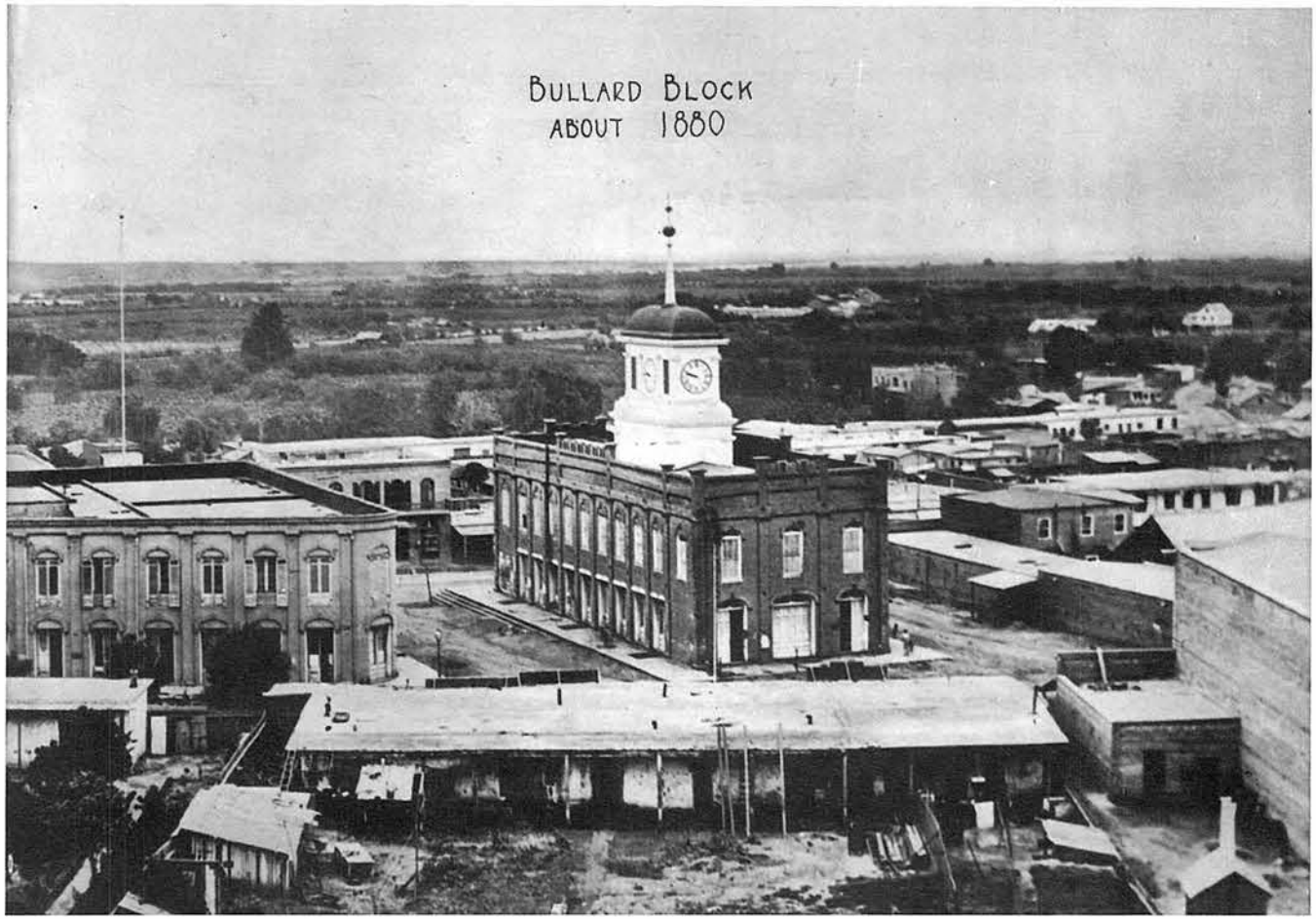
The 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century were highlighted by the construction of key city-building projects: the deep water port at San Pedro, the Los Angeles Aqueduct carrying water from the Owens Valley, and an intercity electric railway system. These and other projects were arranged and orchestrated mainly by two groups: Harrison Gray Otis/Harry Chandler and the railroad alliance between Isaias Hellman and Henry Huntington (creator of the Huntington Library and Garden in San Marino). These and other large landholders joined in partnerships to subdivide Hollywood, the San Fernando Valley, and northeastern Los Angeles.

In the early 1920s, after World War I, there was a real estate and oil boom. By 1925 there were more automobiles per capita in Los Angeles than in any other city in the nation. Suburban growth began. Property ownership became more decentralized. By the late 1920s numerous companies had opened manufacturing facilities in Los Angeles County, creating thousands of jobs. The Hollywood film business grew into a regional economic power. By 1930 an astounding ninety-four percent of all dwellings in Los Angeles were single-family homes. Today, by contrast, about fifty-two percent of all Los Angeles County residents live in rental housing.

The real estate speculations of the early part of the century transformed Los Angeles from a small town into a large metropolis. Then, unexpectedly, came the Great Depression. This protracted economic downturn shattered the dreams of most of the middle class.



Consturction of new track homes around 1940. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*



Central Los Angeles centered on new Bullard Block around 1880. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

The Post-World War II Boom

World War II marked the development of the defense and aircraft industries in Los Angeles. After the war subdivision housing became a mass-production industry. This process exploded in the 1950s into a great suburban boom. Suburbanization continued rapidly into the early 1960s.

A rivalry grew up between the affluent Westside and the Downtown establishment. Westside wealth came mainly from entrepreneurial home builders and from mortgage lending in the savings and loan industry. Downtown interests were incessantly revising efforts to enhance land values and the significance of the Central Business District. In the mid 1950s, Downtown leaders launched the plan to build Dodger Stadium in Chavez Ravine, and in the mid 1960s the Music Center was built.

In 1955, with a population of nearly two million, Los Angeles was the largest city in the West. Almost from its inception it has been a mecca for real estate investment.

By the late 1960s cheap and available land began to become scarce. As a result land prices escalated. As this trend continued, land prices skyrocketed in the late 1970s. Prices shot up again in the late 1980s. By the mid 1980s, affordable land, the original raw material of dream making in Southern California, had become an endangered species. Developmental activity shifted mainly to the metropolitan fringe and to infill of intercity pockets.

Astronomically high interest rates in the recession of 1981-82 halted most real estate activity for a while. The strong market and appreciating prices that followed the recession were so spectacular that many homeowners and investors were too busy gaining wealth to bother being concerned about the recently passed recession. From 1984 to 1989 Los Angeles real estate was the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

The Politics of Slow Growth and Foreign Investors

In 1986 Mayor Thomas Bradley established a committee, and with significant community support it produced the "L.A. 2000" report (1988) emphasizing growth management. The idea of endless growth was losing momentum. There is now a slow growth sentiment and anti-Downtown discontent in the suburbs.

Growth coalitions of Downtown and the Westside have had a long term rivalry to promote their respective business centers. The Westside power centers of Beverly Hills, Century City, and Westwood vied to attract business away from Downtown and into their fold. The Downtown establishment remained focused on redevelopment of the Central Business District.

Over the past decade and a half, there has been explosive growth in the Downtown business district. Between 1975 and 1990 over forty high-rise office buildings were constructed. About three-fourths of these are now foreign owned. The 1980s rush for trophy office buildings and the increase in international trade by Japanese, Canadian, and American capitalists made the Downtown high-rise landscape of 1991 second only to Tokyo as a financial center of the Pacific Rim.

The unending crescendo of prosperity felt the winds of change when the Japanese stock market began its nose dive in early 1990. Until then, Japanese capital had been a major factor in foreign investment in prime Los Angeles properties. It would soon become evident how much the price structure of local real estate had been supported by continuous infusions of foreign capital. Fresh capital at the top had acted as a partial support for the values of all types of property.

Beginning in the mid 1980s, homeowners began to become conscious of the problems of continuous development. The slow growth movement was born. For the past few years the land development industry, the most powerful economic interest in California, has been seriously encroached upon by a grass-roots ground swell of homeowners' associations intent on reining in the pace of development. The politics of controlled growth are now the order of the day.

Unique Social Structure

Scientists are one of Southern California's most important products. The aerospace industry and research firms have brought together the largest assemblage of engineers and scientists in the world. The downsizing of this industry in 1991 and 1992 is a large contributing factor to the region's present economic woes.

The population of Los Angeles continues to increase at a startling pace. About nine million people now live in Los Angeles County. This population is expected to increase by twenty percent over the next two decades. The overwhelming majority of these new residents are projected to be non-Anglos, steering ethnicity toward even greater diversity with steadily increasing Latino and Asian-American components. Los Angeles is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world.

In its history, Los Angeles has experienced several cycles of growth and several occurrences of decline. In downturn periods, property was exchanged from weak to strong hands. There were enormous rewards for those who bought property when prices were low, and who held long enough for the next growth cycle. The outlook for the future requires one to consider the present economic and social restructuring and to consider the region's ability to encourage new business expansion and opportunities for employment.

California History Vignette

Wells Fargo's Greatest Embarrassment

by Todd Peterson

In the decades before the great San Francisco earthquake, San Francisco was a colorful city, and the officers of Wells Fargo played a very important role in it. In this brisk coterie there was none more popular than Charles Banks, the dashing young cashier at Wells Fargo's home office. Banks belonged to the best clubs including the Bohemian, The Union and the San Francisco Art Association. He mixed well with the best people of the time and had a reputation as an "intellectual." In addition, he personally owned the only oil-immersed microscope west of the Mississippi that he loaned generously to scientific societies up and down the Pacific Coast. In return, the societies all elected him a honorary member.

Early in 1887, Banks went to Lloyd Travis, President of Wells Fargo and a close friend. Banks requested a few days off over the coming weekend so he could do a little-fishing in nearby Russian River country. "Take as many days off as you want," was Travis' answer followed by the comment "you've been working very hard and need to get away."

At the end of the week, Banks had not returned. Travis set bank inspectors on Bank's books and found there was a shortage of $80,000 to $100,000. Consternation reigned on Market Street headquarters as it seemed impossible that such a honored and trusted officer of the bank could have absconded with the money.

Lloyd Travis met with senior officers of the bank and made it clear that there was to be no publicity over the affair. There was to be no newspaper coverage or gossip along Market Street. General Manager John J. Valentine was put in charge of the matter and he called in James B. Hume, head of Wells Fargo police services. Valentine charged Hume to find Banks and bring him in. Valentine further commented that he was sure Banks was in the San Francisco area and it would probably be easy to locate him. Hume had the temerity to disagree with his chief: "We have already searched the city

WELLS, FARGO & CO'S EXPRESS.

$1,000 REWARD!

CHARLES WELLS BANKS, who up to November 1, 1886, was CASHIER of the Express Department of Wells, Fargo and Company, at San Francisco, Cal., on which date said Banks absconded, a defaulter in a sum exceeding $20,000.

Wells, Fargo and Company will pay $1,000 Reward for the arrest and delivery to me, at any jail, in any of the States or Territories of the United States, of the said Charles W. Banks.

In addition to above reward of $1,000, 25 per cent will be paid of all monies recovered from said Banks and turned over to said Express Company.

and he is not there." Hume further said he believed Banks was on a ship bound for the south seas, in fact I believe he sailed the day after he left the bank. Hume said his best guess was that Banks probably sailed on the *Star of India* and will probably turn up somewhere in the Cook Islands or some other location from where he cannot be extradited. Valentine disagreed with Hume and directed him to continue looking for Banks in the greater San Francisco area.

Some three months later, Banks turned up in Rarotanga. He had not sailed on the *Star of India* , but on a tramp barkentine, the *City of Pepeete*. Skipper Baruda on his return trip to San Francisco reported that on the memorable Saturday, an unexpected passenger, a Mr. Scard came on board at the last minute and sailed as far as Australia. "A lovely fellow," added Baruda. Hume produced photographs of his former cashier and the captain said, "that's him, that's Scard." He was a most pleasant chap. In fact the captain said on the crossing of the equator, Scard(Banks) gave every passenger a Five Dollar Bill.

Worldwide and, of course, in San Francisco, the story of Banks leaked out as Wells Fargo could no longer keep it under wraps. Wells Fargo immediately dispatched detectives to get Banks, however they returned empty-handed. They found Banks in Rarotanga living in a cabin on the beach protected from extradition as the United States did not have a treaty.

Banks had found his "Place in the Sun." Wells Fargo finally gave up the attempt to get Banks back for prosecution in the United States. From time to time there were rumors that if a ship's captain could shanghai Banks and return him to Wells Fargo, there would be a handsome reward. His final years were spent on the tiny island of Rarotonga as a South Seas Agent for a Bristol England Trading Company, and later he served as British Council to Rarotunga.

San Francisco newspapers reported from time to time that Banks had married Queen Matea or one of her princesses; however these rumors were not true. Banks had secret visits from many of his old friends and associates from Wells Fargo. They gave him news from the home front; after all Banks was a popular sort of fellow and very well liked by his fellow employees.

Monthly Roundup continued from page 2)
adds earthquakes, floods and termites.

Many factors contribute to the decision to invest scarce funds into any particular project. Age is not the most important factor; old might be just that - old. One must consider if the work is a worthy representation of the architect's work, and another factor is what is the role of the building in the history of the development of the city. Another factor to consider is the uniqueness of the structure. Are there other examples of the architect that might be restored? Before money can be committed, many other factors must be considered such as location, the future of the area in which it is located and the role of the building in the future. Will it be a relic representing the past or will it be a valuable addition to community life? Another factor is the simple question is restoration possible? Have previous alterations or restorations changed the structure to the point it is impossible to restore it?

There are many success stories of restoration in Los Angeles. Many structures have been brought back to life and usefulness. An excellent collection of slides illustrated the many steps and problems in restoring buildings and documented the successful endeavors.

Msgr. Francis Weber receiving the traditional outgoing Sheriff's painting from incoming Sheriff Tom Bent.

DECEMBER MEETING

Bill Everett, a retired California Highway

Bill Everett, December meeting speaker

Patrol officer, was raised with the "Big Red Cars." As a child in the 1920s, he rode them in the Covina area, and later in the 1930s, he rode them near his home in Altadena. After World War II, he started to collect Pacific Electric memorabilia, and in 1946, he started his own "0" scale electric car system.

The history of the street railroads in Los Angeles starts early and is important to the development of the region. The Pacific Electric lead the advancement of the city and contributed greatly to its economic growth. One frequently hears about the passenger car but frequently the long freight trains delivering goods from the harbor and other areas are overlooked.

Over the years, the concept of the "Big Red Car" developed, but there was no one "Big Red Car," but many different ones. Over the years, the electric locomotive developed and evolved due to technological improvements and engineering changes. Also, different locomotives were developed for different usage. The most obvious was the differences between the freight and passenger engines. Long distant interurban cars differed from those in more local service.

Distinguishing among the various types of cars was fairly easy for one who knew the signs. The numbers on the cars and the location and shape of the front windows were the major clues. The first number told what type of car it was, and the last two numbers told

what place that car occupied within the series. The easiest clue was the windows. Each type of car had a different number, size and placement of the front windows. Some of the series were known by city names such "Portland." This indicated where the car was developed or from whom Los Angeles purchased it. One of the most interesting was the "President" series,which were built from designs developed by the presidents of the systems. This series was the o ı r one that was used throughout the country.

A plethora of slides clearly illus ıted the point which Mr. Everett was discussing and clearly delineated among the types of cars used by the Pacific Electric. The speech brought back memories among the older members and gave the younger members and those not in Los Angeles during those wonderful years a glimpse of what riding the "Big Red Cars" meant.

JANUARY 1996 MEETING

Julian (Bud) Lesser addressed the Corral on growing up in the movie business. His father, Sol Lesser, was a film pioneer, founding the Motion Picture Welfare Pension Plan at a time when there was no Social Security program. Sol loved to tell jokes and stories. His motto was to do it good, enthuse, finish, get your share of what's coming, and remake the story when the opportunity arises.

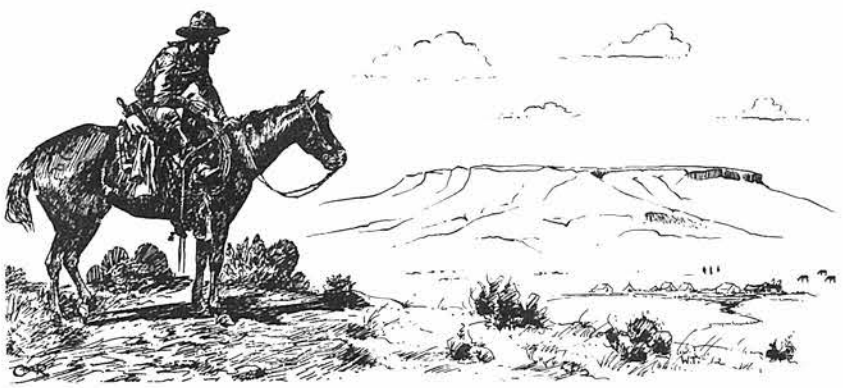
Sol Lesser entered the movie business when he was 25 years old, working at film studios in Sausalito. When the Bank of Italy loaned him the money to finish a film, he and A.P. Giannini became life long friends.

Photograph by Frank Q. Newton

Julian (Bud) Lesser, January meeting speaker

One of Sol's earliest motion pictures was *Oliver Twist*, made in 1919 with Lon Chaney and child star Jackie Coogan. During his long film career in Hollywood Sol made such movies as *The Winning of Barbara Worth* and was a friend of the story's author, Harold Bell Wright

Bud Lesser grew up in Hollywood as a contemporary of Jackie Coogan and Budd Schulberg. In fact, Budd's autobiography used a Bud Lesser photo with Schulberg's head superimposed on Lesser's body. Bud enjoyed going on movie locations, ranging from Death Valley to Catalina Island. His slide presentation showed many of the film locations he visited. After attending Stanford Bud made training films during World War II. Following in his father's footsteps, he made numerous motion pictures, including Westerns such as *Massacre River* and mysteries such as *The Saint's Girl Friday*.



Corral Chips

Arthur H. Clark Jr. and Associate **Gloria Lothrop** were recognized as Fellows of the Historical Society of Southern California for their lifetime contributions to the pursuit of history. Clark was recognized for his work as a publisher who has made many outstanding works in history available to scholars and the general public. Lothrop was recognized for her contributions as teacher, scholar, and civic activities.

Many of the Corral were present at the awards ceremony held at the Huntington Memorial Library including Ranger Active **Robert Clark** and his family from Spokane.

Other Corral members who have been recognized as Fellows of the Society are Glen Dawson, Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Martin Ridge and Msgr. Francis J. Weber. In addition to the present members, Neal Harlow and John Kemble were also honored.

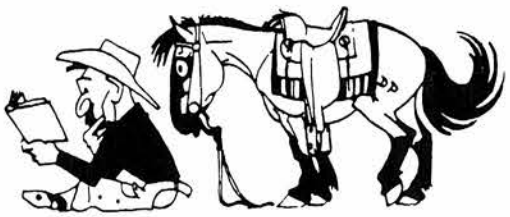
John Robinson was among the attendees of the Bear Flag Revolt Sesquicentennial celebration held in Sonoma.

Congratulations to **"Bud" Runnels** and **Gary Turner** for their recent elevation to Active status.

Ramon Otero, Jirayr Zorthian, Jeanette Weissback Davis, Gloria Lothrop, Eric Nelson and **Richard Thomas** have joined the ranks of Associates.

Sieg Demke has been made an Honorary Member for his many contributions to the Corral.

Associate **Gordon M. Bakken** was elected president of Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honorary society for a two year term.



DOWN THE WESTERN BOOK TRAIL . . .

Because I coud read, I have never been poor.
--Howard Childress

THE FIGHTING MARLOWS: *Men Who Wouldn't Be Lynched*, by Glenn Shirley. Fort Worth: Texas University Press, 1994. 188 pp. Illustrations, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Cloth, $24.95. Order from University Publishing, Drawer C, College Station Texas 77843-4354. (800) 826-8911.

If you liked John Wayne and Dean Martin in *The Sons of Katie Elder,* you will really enjoy this book. In the gifted hands of Glenn Shirley, the records of the United States circuit and district courts for the Northern District of Texas come to life describing the tribulations of the Marlow family and the permutations of Texas justice. This is a very readable narrative of another sordid legal event in early Texas history, but another example of how legal documents can be used to reconstruct even the most bizarre events of the past.

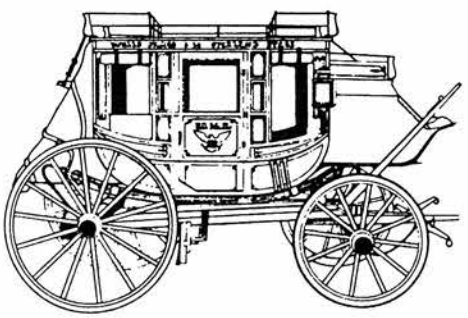
The Marlow brothers, George, Boone, Alfred (Alf), Lewellyn (Epp), and Charles ran afoul of a local sheriff who needed to catch horse thieves and found the Marlow boys to be available. Falsely swearing to a

judge, the sheriff obtained warrants and brought the brothers to justice, but the evidence did not stand up to scrutiny. What to do? The sheriff and fellow travelers decided upon an ambush to kill the brothers before trial. Four of the five brothers were held in chains in a wagon and in federal custody when the conspirators rose and fired. The Marlows, though chained, put up a mighty stand, giving as good as they got. Two of the brothers were killed, and several of the conspirators lost their lives.

The Marlows then made their escape by cutting off the foot of a brother and forting up at a local ranch house. The blood bath at Dry Creek became the siege at the Denson farm, but then the workings of the legal system took over. The Marlows [only George and Charles survived the Dry Creek fight and Boone was later poisoned] then entered the legal system. They won acquittal, but now the law turned on their assailants. After numerous legal maneuvers, the surviving co-conspirators were found guilty, but won on appeal. George and Charles both recovered damages in a subsequent civil suit and lived to ripe old ages [80 and 89].

This book sets the record straight on the Marlows and does so with a good deal of previously undiscovered evidence. Beyond the fleshing out of a well-known incident in Texas history, this book gives us a glimpse of the workings of our legal system, reminding us how much it has changed.

Gordon Morris Bakken



GO WEST YOUNG MAN: *Horace Greeley's Vision for America*, by Coy F. Cross II. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. 165 pp. Notes, Bibliography, Index. Cloth, $27.50. Order from University of New Mexico Press, 1720 Lomas Blvd. NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1591.

Horace Greeley is best known as a promoter of westward expansion, a historical personality who was characterized by the simple phrase --"Go West." The New York journalist, politician, and anti-slavery advocate was not only a booster, but a visionary in the larger context of the westward movement, and he articulated popular ideas on American expansion that dominated his era. Coy F. Cross' *Horace Greeley, A Vision for America* is an engaging work, detailing the New York journalist's influence on westward migration, and his influential role as spokesman of the expansionist sentiments which dominated his time.

Greeley believed in the Jeffersonian concept of the safety valve theory: an agrarian-centered view of America intended to diffuse social tensions in the East through westward expansion. The New York editor advocated free land to induce the urban poor of the eastern cities to migrate west. He also supported Henry Clay's American System, a partnership of free enterprise and favorable government policies which promoted railroad development, canal building, land subsidies, and communal ventures of settlement and growth. To Greeley, the West was a grand experiment in the egalitarian principles of the American dream, as a unique opportunity to redistribute wealth, generate economic prosperity, and promote democracy on the frontier.

Greeley however, embraced many unrealistic and impractical ideas concerning westward settlement. He championed utopian communities in the tradition of Robert Owen, and recognized the environmental impact of settlement on the wilderness, suggesting re-forestation and irrigation as considerations in dealing with the arid land. Cross provides an even analysis, noting the New York journalist miscalculated about western climate and underestimated the economic resources needed to sustain new towns and communities.

The author approaches his subject from a topical rather than a chronological context, providing a coherent analysis of Greeley's ideas as representative of American sentiment. The University of New Mexico Press has fashioned an attractive hard-bound edition, although expensive considering the brevity of the text. The problem of a high unit cost due to limited printings has plagued university publications in recent years, and this new addition highlights that economic handicap. Still *Horace Greeley, A Vision for America* is a worthwhile analysis of national figure who personified the enthusiasm and sentiments of a nation on the move West.

Ronald C. Woolsey

THE NAVAJO - HOPI LAND DISPUTE: *An American Tragedy* by David M. Brugger. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. 307 pp. Illustrations, Notes, Sources, Index. Cloth, $35. Order from University of New Mexico Press, 1720 Lomas Blvd. NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1591.

The Southwest is a land of harshness and beauty. A land that has often inspired writers and artists; unfortunately it has also produced one of the most bitterly fought land battles of this century, resulting in the largest relocation of people since the Japanese internment of World War II.

Hired by the Navajo Nation to assist in research for their land case against the U.S. Government, anthropologist David Brugge provides an in-depth analysis of this extremely complex case. Freely admitting his pro-Navajo bias, Brugge presents their case eloquently while not necessarily portraying the Hopis as the enemy.

Brugge provides adequate background with chapters exploring the Navajo-Hopi relationship from its historical perspective. He also discusses in detail the complex steps that led to Stewart Udall's 1958 statute, Public law 85-547, which allowed the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation to sue one another through their tribal chairmen before a panel of the U.S. District Court of Arizona in Prescott. This case was, of course, *Healing vs. Jones* named after tribal chairmen Dewey Healing and Paul Jones. The *Healing vs. Jones* repercussions are still being felt as it helped to bring about three federal statutes, close to twenty federal lawsuits, and a dozen state court cases."(Benedek, Emily, *The Wind Won't Know Me,* Vintage, 1993). Nearly 10,000 Navajo and 100 Hopis were relocated. Numerous magazines and news articles have been written along with numerous books. Both tribes employed public relations techniques to promote their side, and tribal politics both influence and were influenced by the land dispute.

However, Brugge overstates the role of stereotyping and anti-Navajo prejudicial roles in the land dispute. Navajos are latecomers to the Southwest, compared to the Hopis and their ancestors. The Navajos were raiders. Highly adaptive, materialistic, and intelligent, much of their culture is an adaptation of Pueblo culture. To deny this, as Brugge does, is to deny historical facts.

All in all, though, *The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute* is thoughtfully written and researched. Not for the casual reader, it will provide knowledge and understanding for those seeking a detailed, factual account of this all too sad chapter of Native American affairs in the Southwest.

Jeanette Davis

CHIEF JOSEPH AND THE NEZ PERCES: *A Photographic History*, by Bill and Jan Moeller. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1995. 81 pp. Map, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. Paper, $15. Order from Mountain Press Publishing Company, P.O. Box 2399, Missoula, MT 59806. (800) 234-5308.

When Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. published in 1965 his *Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, it apparently foreclosed the need for more scholarship on the subject. Now thirty years later come the Moellers with this modest volume which at first glance appears to be superfluous. Containing only eighty-one pages in an odd size, it looks more like a children's volume than serious history.

A closer inspection reveals an excellent map depicting in a clear manner the extent of the Nez Perce's travels in relation to water courses, mountain passes, and the continental divide. The text is arranged chronologically with more than sixty excellent color photographs. Each photograph depicts an important site on the journey. While the accompanying text is little more than extended captions, it does provide a vehicle for understanding the photos. The Moellers pro-Indian, anti-Army bias permeates the captions.

This book is produced in an attractive slick finish with stiff paper binding. While it does not advance the scholarship on the subject, it is an interesting addition to Josephy's seminal work.

Don Franklin

INDIANS, FRANCISANS, AND SPANISH COLONIZATION: *The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*, by Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. 213 pp. Illustrations, Tables, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Cloth, $32.50. Order from University of New Mexico Press, 1720 Lomas Blvd. NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1591.

Bernard Baruch was fond of observing that "everyone is entitled to an opinion, but no one is entitled to be wrong with the facts." In that vein, this reviewer finds no fault with the authors of this book for having a negative view about the impact of the California missions on Native Americans, but he does strongly object to their invention, misuse and distortion of evidence. Their book is riddled with factual errancy. Even the essay on sources is flawed. For example, the register books for San Buenaventura, La Purisima and Santa Ines are not in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, nor have they ever been! The last time I looked at Bancroft's *History of California*, there were seven volumes, not six (p. 169).

The book purports to offer "an interpretation of the history of the Alta California missions that draws upon a long and contentious literature," but it does not. The bibliography, though lengthy, has enormous

gaps of basic sources that would have answered or at least shed considerable light on many complaints made or suggested by the authors. The eighteen citations to their own works could have been omitted in favor of equally or probably more substantial studies by Maynard Geiger, Francis Guest, Clement Meighan and Michael Mathes. The authors claim to have "drawn on previously unused sources," yet this reviewer finds nothing in the book, beyond unsubstantiated generalizations, that is either new or revealing.

Potential readers need to be alerted that Jackson and Castillo are practitioners of what is often called "pyramiding." A dubious, misleading or otherwise unsubstantiated statement is made or alleged by the author who later, in another context quotes himself. Blatant examples occur in Chapter One where Jackson quotes Jackson no fewer than six times in the first fifteen footnotes. Another form of this practice comes about when statements attributed to recognized authorities like Herbert Howe Bancroft are really quotations from third parties. Finally, they reproduce charts and figures based on the research of others as proof for their own convoluted and often unrelated theories. (the chart in page 182 looks most impressive until one notices that grand old wiggleword, "estimate.")

While admitting that many question Sherburne Cook's findings, specifically the results of his initial research in the late 1930 and 1940s at both the popular and professional level, the authors, nonetheless, anchor much of their study to Cook's findings which he himself discounted near the end of his life.

Jackson and Castillo violate basic historical methodology by equating folklore with fact, legend with truth and oral with evidential history. Much of their work is anchored to preposterous stories by such discredited sources as Lorenzo Asisara, who claimed to recall Fray Ramón Olbes examining the reproductive organs of an Indian woman believed to be sterile and then making her stand in front of the mission church with a small wooden doll.

The mission system was not without its flaws, and there are those who honestly disagree with the whole rationale of missionization. But critics need to attack the system for what it was, not what they make it out to be. Distorting the facts, misinterpreting the evidence and validating fourth-hand oral tradition is not a scholarly, honest or fair way of proceeding.

If this book were a spaceship, mission control would have shut it down half-way through the first chapter. Not alone are the facts askew and often plainly manufactured and/or wrong, the basic design is flawed. There is quite enough available about the shortcomings of the mission system without creating more. "No one is entitled to be wrong with facts."

Msgr. Francis J. Weber

(Borein)

GENERAL M.G. VALLEJO AND THE ADVENT OF THE AMERICANS: *A Biography*, by Alan Rosenus. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. 292 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $42.50; paper, $22.50. Order from University of New Mexico Press, 1720 Lomas Blvd. NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1591.

It is a disappointment to realize that it has been fifty years since such an important person as Mariano Vallejo has had a major biography. But when one considers the numbers of important Californians about whom no biography has been written, it

becomes more understandable. This highly satisfactory work is not a full scale biography since the major thrust of the volume is the period of 1841-50, but it gives enough about the balance of Vallejo's life to at least serve as an introduction to his complete life.

Mariano Vallejo, the son of Sergeant Ignacio Ferrer Vallejo, was born at the Monterey Presidio July 4, 1804. At the age of eleven, he witnessed the attack of Hippolyte Bouchard and his Argentine privateers, memories of which led him later to encourage the strengthening of the coastal defenses when he was the commandant general.

Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola became the youngster's mentor along with Mariano's young friends, Juan Bautista Alvarado and José Castro, and saw that the three received the best education possible. Later, the three young men would play an important role in the history of California. At the age of fourteen, Vallejo was the secretary of Governor Luis Arguello which gave him knowledge of and insight into the problems of California and its government. His later experiences and dissatisfaction with the operation of the province's government encouraged him to advocate American control of the territory.

In spite of his pro-American stance, when the "Bear Flaggers" took over Sonoma, they decided to take him prisoner. The author goes into great detail about the events of the revolution, especially the inter-personal relationship among the leaders on both sides. These relationships led the Americans to take a stupid action - they sent Vallejo to Sutter's Fort as a prisoner.

At Sutter's Fort, John C. Fremont entered into the act and had Vallejo placed under close security instead of being treated as an honored guest which he had been under Sutter's control. The author never fully uncovers Fremont's motivations for his actions, but what he does disclose will not leave Fremont supporters happy. One is left with the feeling that Fremont took his actions because of his personality problems and desire to be important.

In spite of his imprisonment, Vallejo welcomed the conquerors and actively participated in the establishment of the new government. He so strongly supported the new government that he offered to pay the costs of establishing the new capital. Of course, if successful, he would reap financial benefits, but nonetheless, he did more than others to place the new government in operation.

The last quarter of the book takes up the final forty years of the General's life and reversals of fortune. He lost most of his lands and for the most part was out of the main stream of California politics. The author finds that Vallejo, like many of his generation, had lost his powers to cope with the rapidly changing affairs. In spite of his reduced conditions, he was honored in death: flags flew at half-mast, obits appeared in most of the state's papers, and later in 1921, he received the most votes to select the person to be honored as one of the two to represent California in a niche in the National Hall of Statuary.

This book is a must for all interested in California history. Not only does it clear up many points about the Bear Flag Revolution, it gives glimpses into many of the problems that would develop between the two major ethnic groups in the state.

Robert W. Blew

TRIBES AND TRIBULATIONS: *Misconceptions About American Indians and Their Histories,* by Laurence M. Hauptman. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995. 164 pp. Illustrations, Notes, Index. Cloth, $37.50; paper, $15.95. Order from University of New Mexico Press, 1720 Lomas Blvd. NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1591

Laurence Hauptman is a professor of history at State University of New York. His area of expertise is the history of Native American Indians, particularly those of the eastern United States. This book compiles a series of independently written articles and papers about various aspects of the historical plight of Indians. Although the common subject thread is there, as with most anthologies is suffers a bit from being somewhat disjointed in its approach. Each individual article is quite interesting in its own right however.

Dr. Hauptman deals with nine separate subjects:

1. Genocide - a comparison of the European Holocaust with the American Indian experience. While not as concentrated in its approach, the Euro-American onslaught on the Native American has been just as deadly and as devastating.

2. The Hero - the myths surrounding those white men who went about systematically hunting and destroying Indians. The model of John Underhill in colonial America is used. The picture of an anti-social, moral deviant emerges and is then portrayed to his fellow-whites as an heroic "Indian Fighter." Better known but similar individuals followed Underhill.

3. The U.S. Constitution - many historians and political scientists now attribute much of the background and philosophy for our constitution to the basis and framework of the Iroquois Confederation. Hauptman seeks to consign this notion to mythology and in the opinion of this reviewer fails to convince. He hangs his thesis on the relationships with certain Indians of one man involved in the writing of the document, James Wilson. Although important, Wilson was by no means the only nor even the most influential member of the Constitutional Convention.

4. Indian removal - the heartbreaking and genocidal policies of removal from their homelands, formulated and executed by President Andrew Jackson are recounted here. The Five Civilized Tribes were forcibly removed from their historic homes in Tennessee and the Carolinas along the "Trail of Tears" to Florida and Indian Territory. Others in northern states such as New York were also forcibly removed, all of which gave rise to a pattern of events which followed throughout the nineteenth century, affecting tribes throughout the country.

5. Indians and the Civil War - destroys the myth that Indians never fought in the Civil War. In fact this watershed event in our history saw numerous American Indians on both sides of the conflict, some individuals rising to high rank and important command responsibilities.

6. Paternalism - details the legal history in the pursuit of citizenship status for Indians without their giving up the sovereignty of tribal nations.

7. Indian imagery - recounts the case history of two famous Indians who made their way in the white man's world. Louis Sockalexis who was an early baseball player for the Cleveland Spiders. Following his death, the team was re-named the "Indians," supposedly in his honor. The other celebrity is Jay Silverheels, who was featured player in numerous motion pictures, but is best known as Tonto in the Lone Ranger TV and film series.

8. Federal recognition - details the struggle both inside and outside the Indian community to gain Federal recognition (and thus financial aid) for numerous small tribes, particularly in the east.

9. Attorneys - an account of both Indian and non-Indian who have taken the most recent "Indian Wars" to the court room, with positive results for the Native Americans.

Overall an interesting book with more of an "eastern" than a "western" slant. Nevertheless, it should have an appeal to those who are interested in American Indian History. The articles should be read and accepted for what they are: independent, separate articles. Do not try to read the book as one story; it is not that, but there is certainly a thread which weaves through it all.

Jerry Selmer