

caution and limitations), Hinton sees this discourse as “destabilizing genocide,” which seems to suggest that there is something stable about genocide studies over indigenous peoples—and there’s the rub. The entire field is wide open and unstable as any earthquake fault line, particularly when discussing North America. First, there is the Churchill problem of “a little matter of genocide” that sees the entire process as genocide, rather than periodic genocides, genocide events, and lots of policies and practices that appear genocidal but do not meet rigorous definitions. Too many times I have run into analysis that starts with looking at Churchill’s claims and ends with dismissing them, and the entire field, by his systematic global overreach. By typologizing the state as purely genocidal, as Lindsay does in “Murder State” about California, identifying how genocide is employed becomes a more difficult task.

Hinton discusses this problematic as underscored by “hidden genocides” that comprehensively include boarding and residential schools, political or cultural erasure, and destruction of lifeways. I will not argue with those claims, but will focus on clear, pure, applied policy-driven genocide hidden in plain sight, namely California, when it is a new state in the United States. Even applying Fein’s intensive, rigorous conditions, California qualifies as genocide at every level, with the governor calling for “extermination” and local, state and federal governments supplying militias, soldiers, and financial support for genocide. Yet the state of California is in denial and not only averts any such discussion in its curriculum at any level, but subverts genocide analysis with a focus on the Mission system in the standard fourth grade curricula, with strong support from governmental institutions and the Catholic Church, which has canonized its founder, Junipero Serra. When Native activists claim the Mission system is genocide, most academics and political analysts easily dismiss this as overreach and abuse, thus not even arriving at an examination of the clear genocide that followed a few decades later.

Colonial Genocides in Indigenous North America contributes to a growing chorus of indigenous scholars, genocide analysts, and Native leaders who are bringing this most important topic into greater clarity, and makes an excellent resource for academics and university courses to launch that discussion. I encourage you to read and utilize the work, continuing the rise of indigenous voices about genocide.

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A Cross of Thorns: The Enslavement of California’s Indians by the Spanish Missions.
By Elias Castillo. Fresno: Linden Publishing, Inc., 2015. 235 pages. \$19.95 cloth.

Written amid Junipero Serra’s impending canonization, *A Cross of Thorns: The Enslavement of California’s Indians by the Spanish Missions* was also inspired by the reaction to a 2004 *San Francisco Chronicle* op-ed piece that author Elias Castillo wrote criticizing a proposed US Senate bill that would help restore the California missions by providing \$10 million in matching federal funds. In this book Castillo

now documents many of the atrocities towards California Indians that took place under Serra's care, detailing historic accounts as told by early travelers, friars, and church and government letters during the rise and fall of the mission era. As Castillo's preface notes, his *Chronicle* opinion advocates that mission restoration funding include the provision that the truth about the Indians' treatment "be presented at each of the missions" (xii). Excellent in its intentions but wanting in many significant aspects, this position is an early indication of how *A Cross of Thorns* will unfold. Castillo argues for a colonial authority to keep the funds within the earliest institution of colonization in California, rather than advocate that allocation of those funds to be determined by those Natives whom the missions still impact.

As an introduction to and overview of the treatment of California Indians under control of the missions, chapter 1 offers a compelling invitation to unveil the atrocities previously hidden by the myth that Franciscan friars and California Indians lived in a mutually loving environment. While other historians such as Sherburne Cook, Robert Jackson, Steven Hackel, and James Sandos have provided more thorough documentation of this period, Elias Castillos digs deeper into the archives to successfully find some primary sources not revealed in the other historical accounts that include damning evidence against Serra. Throughout, however, while at times his sources are referenced, Castillo seems to exclude footnotes except those that come from direct quotations, and a more methodical approach to footnotes would have been helpful in locating some of his sources. If Castillo's goal is to disrupt the canonization of Junípero Serra, those sources should be painstakingly footnoted.

Chapters 2 through 5 provide rich historical context that reveals the author's thorough understanding of how shocking and detrimental it was when Spanish and California Indian worlds collided. This in-depth context is helpful for understanding the disturbing and relentless nature of Spanish colonial ideology that California Indians were up against throughout the entire period of his book. Castillo journeys through the destruction of Mexico and Central and South America prior to the arrival of the Spanish on California soil, to precontact California and the events in Junípero Serra's life that led to his masochism. When possible, Castillo is careful to distinguish between Native names and Spanish given names when introducing and discussing California Indian individuals and communities. Unfortunately, in a disservice to Native communities located in the rest of the early United States, Castillo claims that English settlers "did not accept the dogma of fatalism" in the way the Spanish did, and applauds English contributions to the blossoming of creativity and the "free exchange of ideas, science, philosophies, technology and entrepreneurship" (16, 21). This unfortunately reads as though white, European hegemonic scientific belief systems justify indigenous conquest and displacement—acts that, in contrast, become slavery and genocide when enacted through the lens of Catholicism and its inefficient improvements to capitalistic production. This is clearly not the intention of the author, but nonetheless, such unfortunate wording appears often.

Chapters 6 through 9 then delve into the treatment of California Indians at the hands of Spanish authorities, going to the heart of his goal of exposing the California missions as death camps and Serra as the authoritative leader who allowed for the

devastating eradication of many California Indians. Castillo makes many new and significant contributions that bolster these claims. For example, Castillo documents the intention to keep neophytes illiterate, in addition to forms of torture for which the missions, and those affiliated with them, must be held accountable. Priests would brand California Indians with a cross and slowly suffocate them in the hides of calves.

While such contributions should be highlighted, there are some omissions. Despite the documents available at his hands, Castillo only passingly mentions the sexual violence under the watch of Spanish Franciscans—a mere three times. Several of the author's cited sources do relinquish this information, as do Serra's letters, which complain, after years of exasperation, that Spanish soldiers were uncontrollable. Scholars such as Antonia Castañeda and Barbara Voss have shed light on this aspect of Spanish rule in California. Castañeda considers the sexual violence towards California Native women as part and parcel of the experience of Spanish conquest and as a legitimate aspect of war and conquest. Voss examines archaeological remains of late prehistoric and colonial California architecture to investigate the sexual consequences of missionization on Native Californians. Absent the understanding that sexual violence was one of the major factors contributing to any successes of Spanish colonization, it is virtually impossible to understand this temporality or hold it accountable for wrongdoing. Castillo's withholding of this aspect of Spanish rule is not for lack of knowledge. He heavily cites James Sandos, whose work on the missions, while flawed, does a comparatively good job of documenting sexual violence. Additionally, while he accounts for an uprising that occurred in 1824, Castillo leaves the oral narrative of two California Indian women who were born at the tail end of the mission era as a only footnote, prioritizing the typical male colonizer's voice that dominates the archives over the women's alternative oral histories (191).

With the exception of the "Rebellions" chapter, Castillo's focus throughout the book on Serra and the abuse that took place does not allow much room for the agency of California Indians. In vivid, lengthy accounts, "Rebellions" details a handful of uprisings that occurred during the missions' tenure, which allows his readers to know full well that California Indians were neither complacent about nor content with their relationships to the priests or the missions. Had Castillo presented the less visible conspiracies that disrupted Franciscan ideas of order within the missions—infanticide, running away, feigning illness, or maintaining Native cultural practices as expressions of mass discontent and also as forms of rebellion—readers could have further understood how California Indians found ways to fight in spite of the asymmetrical forms of power that are Castillo's focus.

In light of an emerging body of work by non-Native historians and journalists that documents the missions' atrocities, the book's epilogue is an excellent contribution. With the negative impacts and legacies of the missions too many to count, Castillo focuses on how the immense erasure of Native culture that took place through loss of land and refusal of federal recognition of California Indian tribes was a direct result of the mission period's mass murder and displacement. To understand how colonization continues to function today, it is key to tie lack of federal recognition together with the erasure of culture and to the difficulties Native communities face in recovering "those

facets that once made them distinct tribes, each with one language and one history tied to a specific area of land” and trace this back to the ideology of Catholicism that forced California Indians into the missions (216). Castillo’s is a much appreciated perspective. From a California Indian women’s perspective, Deborah Miranda’s *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (2013) offers more information on the legacies of the California missions.

Despite the imperfections pointed out here, Castillo retells enough new primary source material to make this book worth the read. Prioritizing Native voices, holding the Franciscans accountable for the sexual violence that occurred, and making room for California Indians’ agency would have greatly contributed to this new account of the missions of California. Regardless, if this book does anything to contribute to destroying the myths behind Junípero Serra and to disrupt the elevation of his status, then *A Cross of Thorns* should be considered a success.

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A Deeper Sense of Place: Stories and Journeys of Collaboration in Indigenous Research. Edited by Jay T. Johnson and Soren C. Larsen. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2013. 248 pages. \$22.95 paper.

This is a diverse, yet loosely thematic collection of essays composed by a group of indigenous and non-indigenous scholars I will somewhat inaccurately refer to as “cultural geographers,” among them geographers; professors of indigenous studies, education, or environment; cultural resource managers; and Native research collaborators. Many of the authors take lessons from Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) and Margaret Kovach’s *Indigenous Methodologies* (2009). While I am unaware of a strictly similar collection in cultural geography, *A Deeper Sense of Place* is reminiscent of Anne Water’s *American Indian Thought* (2004), an edited collection of essays by indigenous philosophers. And while it differs somewhat in tone from Devon Mihesuah’s collection of essays by Native scholars, *Natives and Academics* (1998), it considers a number of similar issues with respect to a range of indigenous communities around the globe.

It has been long observed that, at least by contemporary western lights, indigenous people have an almost incomprehensible connection to place. This series of essays seeks to explore various facets of this connection so as to come to “a deeper sense of place” of the book’s title. In so doing, the authors convey the challenges and rewards of negotiating and collaborating with Native communities, come to respect both indigenous traditional ways of knowing and western research methodologies, explore the connections between language and landscape, illuminate Native ontologies and epistemologies, champion indigenous self-determination, and reflect on being an indigenous academic.