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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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Southern California's Unique Museum-Hotel:
Consuming the Past and Preserving Fantasy at Riverside's Mission Inn, 1903-2010

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Emily Ann McEwen

June 2014

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Molly McGarry, Chairperson

Dr. Catherine Gudis

Dr. Jason Weems

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The Dissertation of Emily Ann McEwen is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Southern California's Unique Museum-Hotel:
Consuming the Past and Preserving Fantasy at Riverside's Mission Inn, 1903-2010

by

Emily Ann McEwen

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
University of California, Riverside, June 2014
Dr. Molly McGarry, Chairperson

This dissertation examines the significance of the National Historic Landmark Mission Inn Hotel in Riverside, California, through the lens of public history. This interdisciplinary work considers how history has been made and remade at the Mission Inn throughout the long twentieth century, in so doing connecting the hotel's local narrative to the broader national and transnational processes of consumerism, tourism, imperialism, urban redevelopment, and the contemporary politics of historical interpretation.

First, this work firmly places the Mission Inn within the historiography of Southern California, positing that although the site is largely missing from the major works on the region's history, through its architecture, advertising campaigns, and historical pageants staged at the hotel, the Mission Inn was as an integral site in the growth of the Southern California tourist industry that was based on a mythic mission past.

This dissertation then shifts to explore the Inn's object collections and their central role in the hotel's enterprise within the context of the nation's burgeoning consumer culture. The hotel's elaborate exhibitions are linked to the larger development of the nation's public and proprietary museums that were used for education, entertainment, and, in cases like the Mission Inn, as moneymaking enterprises. The avenues allowing hotel proprietor Frank Miller to acquire his international collections during the early twentieth century are also inextricably bound to U.S. imperial designs, which gave him access to places around the world to collect exotic treasures for his hotel.

From midcentury onward the Mission Inn's popularity waned and it slowly decayed from years of delayed maintenance. Purchased by the City of Riverside in 1976, the Inn was a contentious hallmark of the city's redevelopment initiative, mirroring the larger state and national push to renew downtown urban cores.

Today, the Mission Inn is a study in the perils of public/private partnerships in the public history field. While the hotel is run as a for-profit hotel a non-profit is responsible for educational programming and stewarding the Inn's historic collections. The fragile relationship is continually tested based on the organizations' fundamentally different goals. Interpreting the hotel's history is always a political quagmire.

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Introduction

On May 5, 1977, the National Park Service officially designated the Mission Inn Hotel in downtown Riverside, California, a National Historic Landmark. The hotel, a defining site of the sprawling residential metropolis located sixty miles east of Los Angeles, was already a City of Riverside Cultural Heritage Landmark (no. 1, February 5, 1969), a California Historical Landmark (no. 761, October 21, 1961), and listed on the National Register of Historic Places (added May 14, 1971).¹ The Inn, a massive four-wing stucco and concrete patchwork comprising an entire block in the city center, was a vivid physical reminder of Riverside's past as a wealthy citrus town and resort for health seekers, snowbirds, and rail tourists in the early twentieth century. The National Historic Landmark designation placed the Mission Inn in the highest echelon of historic sites deemed by the federal government as integral to the understanding and interpretation of American history. In 1977, the Inn was one of only a small number of other historic hotels granted landmark status; the Mission Inn, however, was not actually operating as a hotel, but was embroiled in a preservation battle that had already been waged for twenty years and would continue for another fifteen. The landmark designation came at a time of uncertainty for the Inn, granting the hotel greater protections against demolition and solidifying its place within the nation's history.

Wisconsin native Frank Augustus Miller built the Mission Inn over three decades from 1903-1931. Miller first latched onto the burgeoning popularity of California's mission tourism industry to construct his hotel as an amalgam of identifiable

mission architectural elements, patterning many of the Inn's arcades, arches, and domes after the twenty-one Franciscan missions dotting the state's coastline. Miller's enterprise was about more than merely copying mission exteriors. He and his staff worked tirelessly to transform the Inn into, essentially, a twenty-second mission, fabricating mission links where there were none through historical pageantry, romantic poetry, and displays of "real" mission artifacts. By the 1920s, the newly constructed hostelry had become "California's Mission Hotel" and Frank Miller, a Midwestern transplant, was a "genuine Californian," declared by the local Chamber of Commerce as one of Riverside's "first citizens" for his efforts promoting the city.²

The Inn's mission motif was just the beginning of the thematic layers Miller would gradually add to the hotel as he traveled throughout the U.S. and around the world, injecting international architectural flair to the Inn's later wings and filling the interior with an array of artworks and objects from afar. The hotel was a lavish labyrinth of landscaped courtyards, rambling arcades, open-air balconies, and meandering hallways that led to galleries brimming with historic canvases shipped from Europe and Mexico and exotic artifacts theatrically displayed in special exhibit rooms. The Mission Inn, in essence, was both a luxury hotel *and* a museum, the "unique museum-hotel of Southern California," as one *Los Angeles Times* journalist phrased it, further exalting that "Southern California may save itself the trouble and expense of building a museum or collecting its art treasures so long as the Mission Inn is within reach of Los Angeles."³

During Miller's lifetime the Mission Inn entertained a privileged clientele of wealthy vacationers, politicians, businesspeople, diplomats, and foreign royalty, gaining

fame for its one-of-a-kind accommodations and surroundings of restful beauty. These were the characteristics architectural historian Carolyn Pitts focused on when preparing the Inn's National Historic Landmark nomination, citing the hotel's Mission Revival architecture, art and artifact collections, famous guests, and connections to the region's citrus industry as reason for inclusion to the prestigious list. As Pitts concluded, in the Mission Inn, Miller created "a kind of idyllic setting" that had "long been one of the most famous hostels on the West Coast."⁴

Following Frank Miller's death in 1935, his survivors, wife Marion Clark Miller, daughter Allis Miller Hutchings, and son-in-law DeWitt Hutchings, took over the Inn's management, finding renewed success during World War II after the lean Depression years by catering to the region's new military population. In the postwar period, however, Riverside's popularity as a sought-after tourist destination bottomed out and so, too, did hotel occupancy. After the deaths of Allis and DeWitt Hutchings, in 1956 the hotel was sold outside the Miller family to San Francisco hotelier Benjamin Swig who attempted a drastic program of modernization and stylistic streamlining, including an auction of nearly a thousand hotel artworks and artifacts, to reignite hotel business and finance renovations. Swig's midcentury redecoration did little to improve the Mission Inn's financial prospects, launching the hotel into a two-decade spiral of real estate roulette marked by multiple owners, bankruptcies, and ill-fated attempts to turn a profit by adapting the Inn into a retirement home, college dormitory, and an apartment complex. The years of failed private ownership spurred the City of Riverside, through its Redevelopment Agency, to purchase the hotel in 1976, operating the site through the

non-profit Mission Inn Foundation and hoping to extensively renovate the quickly deteriorating property for eventual sale. The Inn's revitalization through public funds was the signature project of a concerted Redevelopment effort to renew downtown Riverside's economic vitality, but was also politically divisive as the city poured an ever-increasing amount of money into propping up the ailing hotel.

The 1977 National Historic Landmark designation was the culmination of efforts by local Mission Inn advocates and the National Advisory Council convened by the Mission Inn Foundation to gain wider support and publicity for the Inn's preservation and revival. Landmark status affirmed the City of Riverside's contentious decision to purchase the hotel and was marked by a daylong community celebration on October 30, 1977 to unveil the Inn's National Historic Landmark plaque at the hotel's front entrance, which simply stated, "This site possesses national significance in commemorating the history of the United States of America." Nearly 2,000 visitors toured the Mission Inn that day with volunteer docents leading groups through the hotel and guests treated to orange juice and cookies by the pool. Over five hundred people crammed into the hotel's Music Room banquet hall to hear California Governor Jerry Brown deliver the event's keynote address where he praised the Inn's rehabilitation as "at the forefront of a move to move back into the cities...to find a rich and diverse urban space."⁵ For Brown, the Mission Inn project signaled "the renaissance of Riverside and the revival of California."⁶

The City of Riverside's public ownership of the Mission Inn, however, was not the solution to the hotel's problems. The Redevelopment Agency's nine-year tenure devolved into a quagmire of poor management, crime, financial struggles, political

debates, and the continued decay of the hotel the agency had pledged to rebuild. With no funds to complete costly renovations, in 1985 the city sold the Inn to Wisconsin-based developer Carley Capital, a firm known for their adaptive reuse of historic buildings in struggling urban centers. After three years and tens of millions of dollars' worth of restorations, Carley, too, filed for bankruptcy, leaving the Mission Inn vacant and its fate unsure for over three years until Riverside entrepreneur Duane Roberts purchased and reopened the hotel in December 1992.

The Mission Inn's induction as a National Historic Landmark supposedly cemented the hotel's place in the national historical narrative, yet its interpretation has persistently remained a local one. No less than ten Mission Inn histories written between 1938 and 2013 meticulously detail the hotel's chronology, the life of Frank Miller, and the importance of each to the economic and cultural development of Riverside.⁷ These histories, narrowly defined in scope to only the Mission Inn site and Miller's Riverside enterprises, largely neglect to forge links to broader historical processes. The Mission Inn was a destination for elite guests from around the world and was filled with collections from across the globe; its history is not solely local in significance, but is a national, and often transnational, story. The purpose of this dissertation is to interrogate these wider historical connections and to situate the Mission Inn within these broader contexts. Taking the idea of the "museum-hotel" as the initial inspiration and grounding theme, this project analyzes Riverside's Mission Inn as a site of interlocking historiographies that moves outside the confines of the hotel's walls, the geographic borders of Riverside, and the intellectual boundaries set in previous treatments. This

dissertation positions the Mission Inn as the starting point to investigate the larger historical concerns of tourism, collecting, material culture, empire-building, urban renewal, and the making of mythographies, including the construction of a regional “Spanish fantasy past” and Miller’s own fabled life, now firmly ingrained in local lore.

This project was born from my time as Curator of History at the non-profit Mission Inn Foundation and Museum where I worked from February 2008 to September 2011, hired after completing a three-month internship the previous summer in fulfillment of requirements for my M.A. in Public History. As Curator of History I spent nearly four years brainstorming and scheduling the Foundation’s public programming series, researching and designing temporary exhibits, and working on several community outreach initiatives. The Foundation acted as my teaching laboratory for the problems facing small museums and non-profit organizations, problems compounded by the Foundation’s necessarily close relationship to the hotel’s corporate entity and the City of Riverside. The early iterations of this dissertation were framed by the questions and frustrations arising during my term as curator: Why was Frank Miller idolized to the point of local beatification with few interpretations problematizing his life or his role in the Inn? How could the Inn’s collections be interpreted in new ways that did not focus only on their aesthetic value, curious nature, or prestigious origin? Why was the intricate history of city ownership predominantly glossed over in favor of examining the Inn’s earlier years? Were these issues a product of the interpretive limitations stemming from the public/private partnerships that currently operate the hotel? While my curatorial work at the Mission Inn Foundation informs this project, it was necessary for me to leave my

post in order to get the mental distance I needed to critically analyze the Inn's history and form my own opinions about the site's historical significance, opinions that often run counter to those promulgated by the Foundation, hotel management, and previous Mission Inn historians.

The subsequent chapters follow a roughly chronological timeline, tracing the Inn's history from the opening of the first Mission Wing in 1903 through the end of my work as Curator of History in late 2011. The goal, broadly defined, is to explore the construction, production, and interpretation of the Mission Inn's specific brand of history that was and continues to be at the center of the hotel's business model. Each chapter focuses on the different methods through which Miller, his staff, and later Inn stakeholders crafted and utilized their vision of history to promote the hotel. In so doing, these chapters connect the Inn to a diverse array of theoretical and historiographical frameworks to push the boundaries of the hotel's previous historical treatments. The Mission Inn's history does not fit cleanly into one academic discipline. This project is interdisciplinary in scope, drawing on works from the fields of history, American studies, art history and visual culture, museum studies and material culture, and anthropology.

Chapter one includes the Mission Inn more fully into the literature on the creation of Southern California's mythic past that was centered on the molding of the state's Spanish heritage and Franciscan mission system into a marketable identity by regional boosters. The rich historiography, anchored by the early work of Carey McWilliams and Kevin Starr and updated by William Deverell and Phoebe Kropp, stretches the formation of what McWilliams first termed the "Spanish Fantasy Past" from the 1870s through the

1920s, exploring case studies in Los Angeles and across the Southland from San Diego to Santa Barbara. This mythic past remade the mission period from one of conflict, disease, and violence into an idyllic time in the state's history where jovial and pious Franciscan padres gently aided their Native American neophytes to become industrious Christians. Save for short descriptions of the hotel as an odd collage of mission iconography, the Mission Inn is missing from these previous examinations, when, in fact, the Inn is an exemplar of this mythmaking agenda.

Miller and his architects' decisions to design the hotel in the image of the missions, with later expansions evolving to include ornate Spanish eclectic elements, were a response, on a grand scale, to trends already in motion. The fabricated interpretations of mission history and earlier Spanish exploration presented at the Mission Inn added new and distinctive localized layers to this regional myth, in the process inserting the Mission Inn into the mission narrative even though the site had few actual historical mission connections. In advertising his luxury hotel, Miller advanced the image of Franciscan padres as joyous and caring while also claiming that the Inn was preserving traditions of hospitality first extended by the Franciscans to weary travelers passing by the missions. Through poetry and pageantry, the Mission Inn was recast as sacred space – the mission dream perfected – a place first envisaged as if in a miraculous vision by the padres themselves. Amidst the historical dramatics, however, loomed consequences in the present as Miller freely utilized Native American students from Riverside's Sherman Institute boarding school, a school he was integral in bringing to Riverside, as entertainments, the neophytes to his Father Serra within the Mission Inn's

hyperreal mission landscape. Like the operation of the larger mission fantasy, the Mission Inn is a story of erasure. The Inn's own history of labor tension and racial exploitation has been silenced in favor of a narrative centered on hospitality.

Chapter two pivots the conversation to the hotel's interior object displays to examine Miller's collecting and exhibiting practices through the lens of museum development in the United States and abroad. The Inn's art and artifact collections prominently featured throughout the hotel's many galleries were as fundamental to the hotel's marketing schemes as its fanciful mission past. Miller utilized his collections in a number of ways. His artifacts from mission sites or those otherwise connected to the Franciscan order provided an object-based authenticity for his mission vision. The Inn's theme rooms, like the Spanish Art Gallery, Colonial Landing, Cloister Walk, Indian Kiva, and Court of the Orient, turned the Inn into a miniature World's Fair and were essential to the hotel's program of providing guests with comfort, rest, and entertainment. The Mission Inn was at once a highbrow art gallery mixed with huckster show delights and the center of elite cultural life in Riverside as Miller hosted an endless array of art openings celebrating his latest acquisitions. Analyzing the hotel's curatorial catalogues, souvenir pamphlets, and self-guided tour brochures, this chapter deconstructs the fantastical language Miller and his staff used to describe and interpret the collections, claiming the pieces on display at the hotel were of ancient origin, associated with royalty, connected to strange foreign customs, or were the "only" or "best" examples in the world. These descriptions were designed to foster maximum amazement among the Inn's guests, a tourist clientele ready to suspend their disbelief and play along with the hoaxes.

Tracing the growth of museums from the early cabinets of curiosity gathered by scholars and nobility in Renaissance Europe to the mid-nineteenth century formation of proprietary dime museums and large educational institutions open to the public, chapter two builds on the historical works exploring the collecting and exhibitionary practices of the long twentieth century by Tony Bennett, Steven Conn, James Cook, Andrea Stulman Dennett, and Susan Stewart, among others.

The success of the Mission Inn-as-museum was predicated on the nationwide popularity of museums, the belief that artifacts from the past were imbued with the power to speak undeniable truths about history, and the collecting fever of Gilded Age industrialists whom Miller sought to emulate. Although Miller often identified the Inn as more museum than hotel, this characterization is complicated by the fact that unlike a museum, the Mission Inn's collections were not fully removed from the marketplace. Instead, the majority of the hotel's historic and artistic pieces were up for sale and Miller routinely rotated objects he no longer had use for into his onsite curio store, the Cloister Art Shop.

A key component of Frank Miller's enduring local legacy is that a main function of his collections was to foster cross-cultural understanding by exposing hotel visitors and the Riverside population to artworks and artifacts from the far reaches of the world. This notion has been further promulgated by Miller's active participation in the international peace movement during and after World War I through his membership in the Institute of International Relations, which hosted its annual meeting at the Mission Inn for over twenty-five years beginning in 1926. Chapter three challenges this one-

dimensional historical assumption by first analyzing the contents of the yearly Institute of International Relations meetings through the organization's published proceedings. The proceedings demonstrate the Institute's associations to the larger U.S. imperial agenda beginning during the Spanish-American War and continuing through the European recovery process after the Great War when the U.S. launched a campaign of worldwide economic and cultural expansion. For the Institute of International Relations, realizing global peace meant recasting the world in the image of the United States. Connecting this imperial trajectory specifically to the Mission Inn, chapter three explores the journey of three artifacts – the Nanking Bell, the Rayas altar screen, and a crucifix from a cathedral in Ypres, Belgium. Illuminating how Miller acquired these diverse artifacts, each a high-profile piece of the hotel's collections, reveals that the purchase and display of these items was an assertion of imperial power dynamics. While promoting peace at home, Miller aggressively grew his collections as a result of global violence. The intricacies of these dynamics granted Miller access to these objects, the ability to buy and ship them back to Riverside, and also colored his attitudes regarding the countries from where the pieces came. Miller paternalistically believed that he was best equipped to care for and interpret these artifacts, which he procured and transported to the U.S. often without the approval of the artifact's country of origin.

Chapter four takes up the Mission Inn's history in the years following Frank Miller's death in 1935. Miller's death represents a definite break in the hotel's chronology, a time when Miller's successors had to forge a new identity for the site after so much of the Inn's success had been previously built upon Miller's charisma,

eccentricity, and civic authority. The nearly sixty years between Miller's passing and the reopening of the Inn under owner Duane Roberts in 1992 is an under-investigated history, one that is either ignored in contemporary interpretations or discussed as merely a stop-gap, a blip, on the Inn's road back to its place as the region's most famous landmark. These sixty years, however, saw the Inn in a constant state of transformation as the Inn's owners and managers responded to Riverside's changing economic climate. Under the leadership of Allis and DeWitt Hutchings, during World War II the Inn, like the entire Southern California region, morphed into a militarized zone as the Hutchings' signed lucrative housing contracts with local military bases in and around Riverside.

The postwar struggles to once again make the Mission Inn a thriving business is a case study in midcentury urban renewal initiatives to revive downtown city centers as well as an example of the growing historic preservation field, which often sought to find new functions for old structures in order to capitalize on an area's unique sense of history. From its start in 1969, the Riverside Redevelopment Agency focused a preponderance of its attention and funds on the Mission Inn, viewing the hotel as essential to Riverside's rebirth and attempting to take advantage of the local, state, and federal monies increasingly available for preservation and affordable housing projects. As city leaders refused to consider that Riverside might never again be a resort destination, the Mission Inn sunk deeper into decay, popularly associated by the late 1970s as a local site of crime not privileged leisure.

The Mission Inn's years of decline punctuated by its 1976 purchase by the Riverside Redevelopment Agency also necessitated the formation of public/private

partnerships to manage the hotel and its collections. Although the Inn is currently privately owned, the complex agreements between the Mission Inn's non-profit (Mission Inn Foundation, Friends of the Mission Inn), corporate (Historic Mission Inn Corporation), and governmental (City of Riverside) partners continues to shape the ways in which the hotel is operated. Chapter five explores how these organizational interconnections, created out of the desire to preserve the Inn and maintain the site as a for-profit enterprise, constrain the site's historic interpretations while both helping and hindering the ongoing stewardship of the Inn's collections. Each entity has a specific stake in how the Mission Inn's history is presented resulting in a continual outpouring of celebratory historical narratives that reflect positively, by association, upon the organization employing the hotel's past for its own particular purpose. At the Mission Inn, do these public/private partnerships work in practice? What are the concessions and compromises that each organization must make to keep these contractually mandated associations intact and what is lost in the process?

The final chapter is also an organizational history of the Mission Inn Foundation, formed in 1976 by the City of Riverside to operate the hotel under the Redevelopment Agency's ownership. When the Inn reverted back to corporate hands, first in 1985 with the sale to Carley Capital and then permanently with the Roberts' sale, the Foundation's mission shifted focus from hotel management to historic interpretation and collections stewardship. Today the Foundation runs the hotel tour program, an onsite museum and public programming series, and is charged with ensuring the safety of the hotel's remaining historic artworks and artifacts. As a non-profit with the goal of interpreting

the site's history and providing public access to the Inn, the Mission Inn Foundation must do so within the confines of the for-profit luxury hotel environment. Through an analysis of the Foundation's recent strategic plan aimed at mapping the organization's future goals to expand its reach outside the Mission Inn, in addition to a hard look at the Foundation's community history initiatives, many of which I was involved in during my time as curator, this chapter explores the ethical considerations museums must examine before launching outreach programs. For the Mission Inn Foundation, the tough question is whether or not the organization's necessary entanglement with the Mission Inn gets in the way of its desire to foster other partnerships within Riverside.

Even though each section of this dissertation takes on a different set of historical issues surrounding the Mission Inn, several thematic threads are woven into every chapter. The first is the notion of heritage as distinct from other forms of historical interpretation. As cultural historian Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett states, "Despite a discourse of conservation, preservation, restoration, reclamation, recovery, re-creation, recuperation, revitalization, and regeneration, heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past...The process of protection...speaks in and to the present, even if it does so in terms of the past."⁸ Heritage is the active remolding of history to meet specific contemporary needs, both economic and political. It is the rendering of historic places, events, and trades that have ceased operating as intended into new roles as sites representing their former functions, performing the past as part of the heritage tourism industry. The Mission Inn's enterprise, from the start, was built from heritage, as Miller consciously reframed the history of the California missions into a

profitable venture. In later years as the Mission Inn's economic viability faltered, city leaders sought to preserve and recapture the Inn's past as an example of Riverside's history as a wealthy citrus town and tourist destination. If Miller reclaimed the missions for his own purposes, then at midcentury, Riverside officials reclaimed the hotel's past in hopes of capitalizing, like Miller, on the draw of history. Frank Miller's own life story is also part of the local heritage machine, sculpted to fit the requirements of the hotel's current owners as well as the City of Riverside and the Mission Inn Foundation.

Entwined with the uses of heritage at the Mission Inn are the intersections of consumption and authenticity at the core of the hotel's conceptualization and practice. The Inn emerged at the turn of the twentieth century during a time of anxiety concerning the fast-paced development of industrial capitalism. As T.J. Jackson Lears, among others, has shown, bourgeois reactions against the "unreality" of the modern world revolved around a search for vigorous personal experience and antimodern impulses that sought to reunite life with work. These grounding experiences, however, often relied on consumption – through travel and through the therapeutic possibilities of buying goods and services to make one's life better, more complete.⁹ Exemplifying these tensions, the Mission Inn was built as an antimodern paradise, a place of relaxed contemplation and visual lushness outside the world's bustle where guests came to physically and spiritually recuperate. Yet, it could only be experienced for the price of a hotel room.

As anthropologists Dean MacCannell, John Urry, and Richard Handler have adeptly analyzed, this quest for personal grounding in an increasingly "weightless" world is intimately connected to shifting conceptions of authenticity. Traveling to new places

or visiting heritage sites, as Urry states, was by the early twentieth century a “quest for authenticity” with the middle-class tourist acting as “a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other ‘times’ and other ‘places’ away from [their] everyday life.”¹⁰ The Mission Inn was fundamentally inauthentic – Miller could not will his hotel into actually becoming a true mission. To fill the authenticity gap, much of Miller’s work centered on constructing authentic links to history through filling his hotel with treasures from the past. Museums, Handler asserts, were bastions of authenticity where people could interact with history’s material traces, gleaning from the displays a “magical proof of existence.”¹¹ As a museum-hotel, the Mission Inn, essentially, evolved into an authentic fake mission. With nearly everything inside for sale, guests could also take a piece home with them.

The association between consumption and authenticity continues through the hotel’s postwar preservation struggles. As tourism and consumption patterns shifted away from the Mission Inn and downtown Riverside as a whole, hotel business faded. In this process, however, the Mission Inn transitioned into an authentic remnant of the city’s past that needed to be saved; the site’s fictionalized past was reinscribed as a crucial element of Riverside history. Today, the hotel’s ownership team relies on this historic authenticity to set the Inn apart from its hospitality competitors. The Inn is not just any luxury hotel; it is one with history.

The final guiding theme that arises in each chapter is the friction over who controls the Mission Inn’s space and its history. The complex combination of public and private interests in play to operate the Inn make the site more than just an important part

of Riverside's local fabric; it is an invaluable case study to interrogate the academic, ethical, and professional issues facing the contemporary public history field. Which publics does the Mission Inn engage (or not engage) and for what purposes? Does the term "public history" actually apply to the historical work done at the Inn, a place that is for the most part unwelcoming to large swaths of the Riverside population and at times uninterested in interpretations of the hotel's past that challenge its dominant celebratory narrative?

The Mission Inn's local history matters. For the last century, the Inn and its various owners have been a driving force behind the shaping and reshaping of Riverside. It is not, however, only a local story, but one which when examined with a broader scope serves as a bridge to connect the Mission Inn and Riverside to national and international historical processes. The Mission Inn's history traverses the globe while demonstrating, with diverse examples evolving over the course of the twentieth century, how particular versions of history are manipulated to promote specific political and economic agendas. It is, in the end, not simply a story of this one peculiar luxury hotel, but a story of consumption and imperialism that, while beginning at the Mission Inn, extends far beyond it.

NOTES

¹ “Landmarks of the City of Riverside,” City of Riverside, accessed March 31, 2014, <http://www.riversideca.gov/historic/pdf/landmarks-web.pdf>; “Riverside County Historical Landmarks,” California State Parks, Office of Historic Preservation, accessed March 31, 2014, http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=21452; Carolyn Pitts, National Register of Historic Places Inventory – National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, Mission Inn, National Park Service, February 14, 1977, accessed March 31, 2014, <http://image1.nps.gov:9001/StyleServer/calcrn?cat=NHLS&item=Text/71000173.djvu&style=nps/FOCUS-DJview.xsl&wid=640&hei=480&oif=jpeg&props=item%28SUMMARY,COPYRIGHT%29,cat%28Name%29&page=0>; Located in the front courtyard of the Mission Inn are dedication plaques for the Inn’s inclusion as a Riverside Cultural Heritage Landmark, California Historical Landmark, and National Historical Landmark. See also, Maurice Hodgen, “Riverside’s Mission Inn: The Beginning of a Landmark,” *Southern California Quarterly* 90, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 27-54.

² “California’s Mission Inn,” Mission Inn promotional pamphlet, circa 1910, box 1, file 1, Esther Klotz Collection, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections; Maurice Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn: Frank A. Miller, A Life* (Riverside: Ashburton Publishing 2013), 297.

³ L.J. VandenBergh, “Riverside Inn is Treasure House of Ancient Art,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1925, part III, 1.

⁴ Pitts, National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, 3.

⁵ Ann Hoffman, “Governor Hails Dedication of Inn as ‘Renaissance,’” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, October 31, 1977, B1.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ In chronological order, Mission Inn histories include, Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1938); Esther Klotz, *Mission Inn: Its History and Artifacts* (Corona: UBS Printing, 1981); Walter Parks, *The Famous Fliers’ Wall of the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Rubidoux Printing, 1986); Joan Hall, *Through the Doors of the Mission Inn*, vol. I (Riverside: Highgrove Press, 1996); Friends of the Mission Inn, *Historic Mission Inn* (Riverside: RB Graphics, 1998); Joan Hall, *Through the Doors of the Mission Inn*, vol. II (Riverside: Highgrove Press, 2000); Maurice Hodgen, *More than Decoration: Asian Objects at the Mission Inn* (Charleston: Ashburton Publishing, 2004); Steve Lech and Kim Jarrell Johnson, *Riverside’s Mission Inn* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2006); Glenn Wenzel, *Anecdotes on Mount Rubidoux and Frank Miller, Her Promoter* (Riverside: A to Z Printing, 2010); Maurice Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn: Frank A. Miller, A Life* (Charleston, Ashburton Publishing, 2013).

⁸ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 149-150.

⁹ T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 3-58; T.J. Jackson Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture, 1880-1930, in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Wrightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 1-38.

¹⁰ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications 1990), 8; See also, Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 91-107.

¹¹ Richard Handler, "Authenticity," *Anthropology Today* 2, no. 1 (1986), 2-4.

Chapter One

Designing a Mission Past to Build the Future: Spanish Fantasy at the Mission Inn

The Mission Inn was never a mission, a fact that continues to elude and confound visitors to this day. Inn staff are daily bombarded with the same question from puzzled guests, “So, when was this mission converted to a hotel?” As Allis Miller Hutchings, Mission Inn mastermind Frank Miller’s only child and heir to the Inn wrote in 1946, “The fact that [the] Mission Inn is not and never was one of the real California Missions, built over one hundred and fifty years ago, and is not even on the site of a mission, seems to confuse many people. It is hard for them to believe that the Inn is mission in style of architecture only.”¹ Hutchings, however, should not act so bemused and perplexed by guests’ confusion. This confusion was meticulously cultivated by Miller and his advisers as a promotional tool in order to link Riverside to the mission tourism industry gaining steam during the early twentieth century. Although lands that formed Riverside County were claimed as ranchos by Mission San Gabriel Arcangel and San Luis Rey de Francia, the Mission Inn’s site had precious little to do with the mission period.² Contrary to Hutchings’ statement, the Inn was neither just nor actually mission in architectural style; truly, only the hotel’s first addition, the 1903 Arthur Benton-designed Mission Wing strictly adheres to the austere tenets of the Mission Revival style. Upon entering the hotel, visitors were visually bombarded with all the trappings of a romanticized vision of eighteenth century California mission life: mission bells, Catholic relics, saint statues and

paintings, Spanish room names, heavy iron fixtures and simple wooden furniture, menus featuring images of fat and happy priests cheerfully stirring pots of stew, and even a proprietor who often greeted guests in the brown rough spun robe of a Franciscan padre.

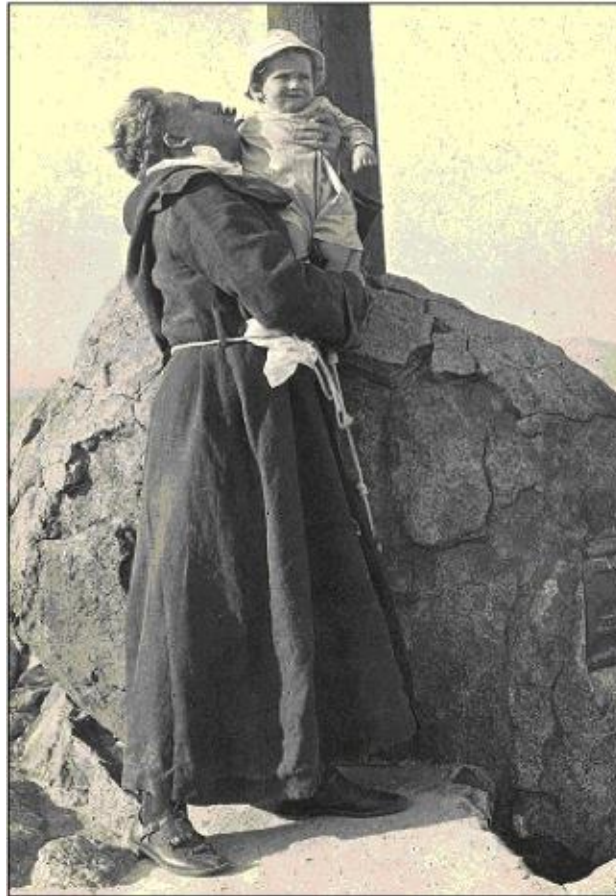


Figure 1: Frank Miller in padre robe holding his grandson, Frank Miller Hutchings, circa 1913. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

How, then, if there was never a mission near Riverside, did the Mission Inn's ruse, based on a fundamentally false history, become so tightly imbedded in local history, mystifying visitors even today, over a century after the site's initial construction? Part serious architectural study, part highbrow art gallery, part history museum, part believe-it-or-not huckster show, part elite hostelry, and part civic center, the Inn is a study in

paradoxes and contradictions. Although the creation of Southern California's mythic mission heritage and "Spanish Fantasy Past" are well-trod paths in the historiography of the region, the Mission Inn's essential role in this process receives only cursory examination and is largely discussed as a curiosity rather than as a central element of regional identity-building in the early 1900s.³ Contrary to its previous scholarly treatments, the Mission Inn is anything but an oddity. The Inn catered to out-of-state "snowbirds" and represented the region's increasing economic dependence on tourism. More broadly, the hotel itself was a liminal space, which welcomed a host of strangers from far-flung places into a temporary community (for a price), while the practice of vacationing offered travelers a break from their everyday selves and routines.⁴ Within this context, the Inn was ripe for myth creation and is, in fact, the expert culmination and conglomeration of booster goals to reinvent Southern California's past as a safely exotic, marketable commodity.

The Inn's mission wonderland ambiance did not exist in a vacuum. It was part and parcel of a concerted effort, beginning in earnest in the 1880s, by Southern California civic leaders, real estate speculators, journalists, and businessmen to mold a new heritage emphasizing health, wealth, and graceful living as inherited by the region's Spanish forefathers.⁵ Prior to this historical re-conceptualization, Southern California was largely viewed by outsiders as "nonurban, underpopulated," and lawless, with the largest town, Los Angeles, a small backwater compared to the mature cosmopolitan character of San Francisco to the north.⁶ The completion of the Southern Pacific, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, and Salt Lake Route railway lines in 1876, 1885, and 1901 linked Southern

California to San Francisco as well as the greater Southwest and the eastern United States. The railroad companies launched aggressive marketing campaigns and opened the floodgates for migrants, tourists, and those seeking health in the restorative sunshine.⁷ Whereas California was once seen as a place abundant with resources where one could be transformed and become rich through hard work, as historian Lawrence Culver states, “In Southern California, the westward migration of Euro-Americans was transformed from what had been a frontier of labor to what would become a frontier of leisure.”⁸

The process by which regional boosters transformed Southern California into a desirable destination for tourists and migrants alike, a process which eventually centered on the state’s mission past, was a multilayered initiative that developed in fits and starts to gradually subsume the region and its peoples into a new reimagined and consumable past. As historian, journalist, and lawyer Carey McWilliams first explicated in his influential 1946 work *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land*, in the 1870s, regional promotions and travel narratives focused on Southern California’s year-round mild climate, portraying the Southland as a magical place where the climate – an enemy of health in so much of the country during the harsh winter months – was wondrously restorative. Initial pilgrims from the Midwest and East extolled the healing virtues of Southern California’s warm sun, dry air, and refreshing seaside, claiming the therapeutic climate could cure everything from tuberculosis to constipation.⁹ “By 1870,” writes McWilliams, “climate had become a merchantable commodity in the region.”¹⁰ What McWilliams termed the “folklore of climatology” first cloaked Southern California with an enduring sense of paradoxical “unreality,” that there was never a rainy day or illness in

the region and that the laws of nature simply did not apply to Southern California.¹¹ California historian Kevin Starr has also outlined that the weather coupled with the regional topography resulted in another “interaction of fact and imagination” that depicted Southern California as an American Mediterranean. States Starr, “Arising from similarities of landscape and climate, this analogy developed into a metaphor for all that California offered as a regional civilization.”¹² Early advertisers, authors, and playwrights compared Southern California to Italy, the South of France, Greece, Spain, and even North Africa. Not only did the Mediterranean analogy associate the climates of the two regions, but it also operated to reformulate Southern California as a cultured and civilized, yet leisurely place, definitively outside of its unruly Wild West image, instead aligning the region with the ancient birthplace of western civilization.

These initial conceptualizations, however, could not effectively reconcile boosters’ desires to mold Southern California into a paradise for elite tourists with the region’s Mexican and Native American past that persisted in the present. A rediscovery of the state’s mission heritage was the key. Southern California was a relatively new U.S. territory, claimed in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo as the spoils of victory in the war against Mexico. As historian William Deverell states, “What had been the Mexican American War only a few years earlier became a war against Mexican Americans” in the mid to late nineteenth century.¹³ By 1900 the Native American population in California had dwindled to 15,000; Indian peoples were targeted by discriminatory laws and relegated to working as domestic help and unskilled laborers.¹⁴

But Native Americans were not securely vanished with small villages visible on the outskirts of most Southern California towns.¹⁵

Focusing regional promotional campaigns on the state's mission system provided a means to both marginalize Mexican and Native Americans while also making them useful to the tourist cause. Founded by Franciscan padres in 1769, the chain of mission sites along the California coast numbered twenty-one by 1833 and provided Spain with the opportunity to make further imperial inroads into Alta California and spread Catholicism through the forced conversion of native peoples. Missions were fraught with disease, violence, death, and landscape degradation. As historian Steven Hackel has examined, the missions were places of cultural conflict defined by Spanish colonial oppression, intractable Franciscan religious zeal, and Native retaliation. Franciscans viewed Native Americans as perpetual children who, in order to demonstrate their Catholic conversion, were expected to obey Franciscan labor demands as well as conform to Spanish standards of monogamy and appropriate sexual practices. The padres freely used harsh corporeal punishment to enforce their rules.¹⁶ After Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821 the new government implemented changes to distance itself from colonial rule, including the secularization and local control of mission lands predominantly by prominent Californio ranchers. Writes Hackel:

California's soldiers and settlers...hungered for control over the land, livestock, and laborers that missionaries controlled. The result was mission secularization, a drawn-out and contested process in which parish priests replaced missionaries; Indians won gradual emancipation and small plots of land; soldiers, settlers and even some Indians secured 'surplus' mission lands; and secular administrators oversaw and at times plundered remaining mission property assets.¹⁷

Californios identified themselves as more purely Spanish, a "claim to class as much as race," which as historian Phoebe Kropp states, recalled their "European roots" as well as

their “noble birth and elite station.”¹⁸ This rancho period was marked by rigid social and racial hierarchies with Californios at the top, Mexicans, which connoted mixed-raced, not pure Spanish, ancestry, working as skilled workers, cattle drivers, and artisans, and Indians at the bottom as agricultural laborers.¹⁹

Following U.S. annexation of the California territory, Californios were forced to provide documentation and definitive proof of their land ownership to U.S. officials or cede their holdings, often numbering in the thousands of acres, to the government.²⁰ Additionally, as increasing numbers of Anglo-Americans journeyed West by the 1870s, travel narratives and press accounts depicted Mexican places and people in cities like Los Angeles as sleepy and decaying. “Somnolence within the ethnic population occupied the attention of Los Angeles writers,” states Deverell, “as ‘sleepy’ became the watchword historical descriptor of town, region, people... And of course the adjective stood in for all manner of other descriptions: pre-capitalist, pre-modern, lazy, primitive, Catholic.”²¹ Mexico was the past and the region was poised for productive advancement in its American future.

Historians of California distinguish the 1880s as a turning point in Southern California’s development due to the concerted effort by booster “troubadors,” as McWilliams describes the group of land speculators, businessmen, railroad operators, and journalists involved in the regional promotion, to reframe the history of the California missions as a harmonious local heritage for use as the area’s biggest tourist draw. Helen Hunt Jackson’s 1884 novel *Ramona*, which became a nationwide cultural phenomenon, romantically described the “sun-kissed landscape[s] and quixotic figures” of idyllic

Californio life, providing a first catalyst that ignited the mission tourism industry and giving the region's Spanish history "an Anglo author."²² Others like *Los Angeles Times* journalist, librarian, and Southwest Museum founder Charles Fletcher Lummis spent his career stumping for mission preservation through the Landmarks Club, which he took over in 1895. The popularity of *Ramona* coupled with the efforts of the Landmarks Club and tourism-driven initiatives such as the push to construct an El Camino Real roadway between the mission sites, resulted in growing fervor to restore the crumbling mission sites.²³ The missions were visual metaphors for the previous era that were fixed firmly in the past but ripe for reconstruction in the present. This heritage extolled in these mission campaigns simplistically declared that "Indians were devoted to the Franciscans, and, that with the collapse of the Mission system, lost their true friends and defenders," resigned to a fate of slow decline after secularization.²⁴ Gone from this new regional history were the harsh, violent, and disease-ridden realities of mission life. With the rediscovery of the missions, boosters also vilified the Mexican government for its abandonment and looting of the missions, while simultaneously portraying rancho period Californios, largely stripped of their land and power, as "members of one big happy guitar-twang family, [that] danced the fandango and lived out days of beautiful indolence in lands of the sun that expand the soul."²⁵ As McWilliams illustrates, these tropes operated to steadfastly consign the region's Indian and Californio populations to the past, either completely vanished or surviving only as "picturesque" relics of a lost time.²⁶ In this retelling, then, Southern California now belonged to the Anglo.

Spanish exploration and conquest of Alta California was employed to justify American imperialism and to celebrate the region's longstanding European, as opposed to Mexican, genealogy with Anglo-Americans depicting themselves as the Spanish empire's modern heir. This succession was further solidified by U.S. victory over Spain in the Spanish-American War. Not only was this conflict the starting point for U.S. imperial expansion overseas, but it "also enabled Anglo-Californians to put Spain, now a defeated nation short of its empire, into a definite past."²⁷ As Southern California historians have detailed, members of the area's promotional machine in the late nineteenth century dreamed that the region would develop into an Anglo-Saxon haven free from the degradation associated with "undesirable foreigners" that plagued Eastern cities.²⁸ The Spanish connection was an essential European link that reached a crescendo at San Diego's Panama-California Exposition in 1915, featuring ornate Spanish Colonial architecture and elaborate historical pageants depicting daring Spanish expeditions. Although the mission ruins provided physical evidence in which to build a romantic past, it was still a past that ended in eventual decline: the epic tales of Spanish swashbucklers and monarchs, however, as Kropp states, "cloaked the American future with the metaphorical grandeur of the Spanish past, envisioning the Anglo development of Southern California...as a conquest just as glorious as the exploits of the conquistadors and missionaries."²⁹

This imperial connection with Spain was essential in order to construct a regional identity that viewed Anglo domination as the natural successor to earlier Spanish control, and, in turn, concretely defined Native American and Mexican peoples as colonial

subjects. While Native Americans and Mexicans were central to Southern California's mythic story and used to illustrate the region's "primitive" times or colorful rancho days, they were simultaneously rendered invisible in contemporary turn-of-the-twentieth-century politics.³⁰ This imperialism was visually imprinted and reinforced in the place-making of Southern California through the use of intricate Spanish Revival architecture. Unlike the Mission Revival, Spanish Revival had no corollary in the area, but instead referenced the grandiose styles of European Spain and was locally popularized through civic fiestas, local literature, historical pageants and dramatic plays, and tourist sites, such as the Mission Inn.³¹

The case of the Mission Inn is integral to the study of Southern California not because it directly challenges earlier interpretations of the region's mythic past, but, rather, because the site encapsulates so many of the processes that constructed these myths. From the Inn's Mission Revival and Spanish Colonial architecture, the exaggerated mission imagery, and the dozens of hyperbolic poems written to extol the Inn's romantic "mission hospitality," to the hotel's staged historical dramas and efforts by Frank Miller to mold downtown Riverside into a mission-themed tourist playground, the Inn was at the forefront (or quickly jumped on the bandwagon) of myriad efforts to promote a consumable history. The Inn was unquestionably an "imperial hotel," as defined by historian A.K. Sandoval-Strausz. The site contributed to the Anglo "geographic expansion and control" of Southern California, but it "also entailed the expropriation or commodification" of the region's Native American and Mexican population.³² As with the region's entire imagined heritage, it is impossible to know

whether Miller and his staff sincerely believed the tales they spun or if they built their mission phantasmagoria with a knowing wink. In the same vein, one might ask if Inn guests largely accepted the history presented at the hotel as truth or if they were less interested in truth than in indulging in vacation whimsy.³³

While Southland historians have recently cautioned against interpreting the region's paradoxical past too simply as an exceptional, "wacky," and "ersatz" curiosity, this is largely how the Mission Inn has been treated in the Southern California historiography, with analysis going no deeper than fanciful descriptions of the hotel as a "Spanish Revival Oz" and an "orgy of aesthetic hyperdulia."³⁴ And yet, even though the Inn's central role in regional mythmaking needs a thorough scholarly examination, curiosity cannot be excluded from its study precisely because the hotel's whole enterprise was based upon inspiring awe and wonder. The Inn's mythmaking power was exceptionally potent because of its concentrated deployment of the "whitewashing" techniques utilized throughout Southern California. The Mission Inn was an upscale hotel catering largely to a privileged out-of-state clientele, while also acting as a de facto Riverside civic center. The site helped forge a regional and local identity based on the mission and Spanish myths perpetuated by Anglo boosters like Frank Miller. It also actively exported these myths across the country, and perhaps around the world, as the hotel's guests returned to their homes enchanted by the hotel, which was, as Stanford President David Starr Jordan wrote in 1905, as "Californian as the Sierras, the orange groves, the white surf on the rincones, and the old Franciscan missions are."³⁵

“California’s Mission Hotel”

The design of the Mission Inn based on Mission- and Spanish-Revival architectural styles is often interpreted in local sources as an historical given. As the story is related, the Inn, of course, had to be built using these styles, thanks to the business acumen of Frank Miller, who knew the mission theme would be a success, while also preserving the best architectural elements of the crumbling missions. Miller’s biographer, Zona Gale, whose 1938 hagiographic work *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* is still the basis of much Inn history, wrote that Miller’s early membership in Charles Fletcher Lummis’s Landmarks Club awakened him to the plight of California’s missions and inspired him to build the Inn’s first Mission Wing in 1903: “It was this social endeavor which proved to Frank Miller’s own best interest, for now he began to dream of replacing the frame buildings of the Glenwood Hotel with a brick and concrete building reflecting the mission architecture, thus to protect and perpetuate the romance of old Spanish California.”³⁶

But, this explanation is too easy. Before the ultimate construction of the Mission Wing, Miller commissioned a number of expansion designs in different architectural styles, with each plan thwarted by insufficient funding. While the Mission Inn is an exquisite example of the Mission and Spanish styles, it was certainly never at the forefront of either movement; rather, each of the hotel’s wings responded to already-established architectural trends. Additionally, Miller in no way acted alone. As he intensified his involvement in regional politics, tourism campaigns, and business associations, he was influenced by an increasing number of Southern California boosters

and the growing popularity of mission tourism promotions. As Miller biographer Maurice Hodgen reasons, it was the Inn's architect, Arthur Benton, one of Southern California's most prolific Mission Revival designers, who deserves credit for the hotel's mission theme. "Miller's acceptance of the mission style was...a conversion at Benton's skilled hands, the work of a communicative, persuasive, and superbly competent architect for a responsive client."³⁷ The Mission Inn, however, became more than just another example of Mission Revival architecture. Miller and his architects framed the Inn's arches and red tile roofs as a serious preservation effort, on a higher moral and artistic plane than other responses to the mission trend. The Mission Inn preserved the past within the context of a thoroughly modern commercial enterprise.

The Mission Inn was born in 1876, not as a grand hotel, but, instead, as the Glenwood Cottages, a twelve room adobe boardinghouse operated by Christopher Columbus Miller and his family, recent migrants from Tomah, Wisconsin. The Glenwood opened only six years after the initial founding of the roughly 8,600-acre Riverside Colony by New York abolitionist, doctor, and real estate speculator John W. North, who dreamed of founding a utopian silk-spinning community that was "a colony of intelligent, industrious and enterprising people."³⁸ By 1876, North's Southern California Colony Association was defunct due to poor subscriptions, competition from surrounding colonies, and the exorbitant cost of constructing canal systems to route water to the area. Settlement and subdivision of Riverside continued, however, under a spate of new development firms, such as the Riverside Land & Irrigating Company and the Riverside Trust Company, the latter of which was largely funded by wealthy British

investors.³⁹ C.C. Miller, a civil engineer and Union Army captain, travelled to Riverside for his wife Mary's health and found work designing canals to efficiently supply the fledgling town with a steady water supply.⁴⁰ Mary and the four children – Emma, Frank, Alice, and Edward – operated the Glenwood, one of only two professional boardinghouses in the area.⁴¹



Figure 2: Riverside citrus groves as seen from Pachappa Hill, circa 1910. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

When the Miller's opened their boardinghouse, Riverside's citrus industry was poised for a boom. While North's colony planted Riverside's first citrus seedlings – first introduced to Southern California by the Franciscan padres – it was not until 1873, when Eliza and Luther Tibbetts received three mutated seedlings, that Riverside's future as California's citrus center was born. The Tibbetts, transplants from the East Coast, were gifted the seedless navel oranges, which were a Brazilian mutation, by their former neighbor, William Saunders of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Eliza, as folklore maintains, nourished her trees with dirty dishwater and Luther sold the first grafting buds

from these original seedlings in 1883.⁴² By 1895, Riverside had expanded into a haven for the older, white, gentleman citrus farmer, with genteel Victorian mansions ensconced by acres of rambling orchards.⁴³ In true booster fashion, railroads and real estate developers proclaimed there was “rich soil everywhere” in Riverside, “and only water was] needed to transform the wilderness into the orchard or the farm! Where is this rich productivity to end?”⁴⁴

As the citrus industry bore fruit, so, too, did the Glenwood. In 1878, C.C. Miller built an addition to the boardinghouse that included extra bedrooms, a dining room, offices, and a kitchen. In 1880, however, he sold the entire operation for \$5,000 to Frank, his oldest son, and moved to Blythe to construct irrigation systems. Frank continued with expansions, constructing an architecturally nondescript two-story wood frame structure in 1882 that added thirty bedrooms to the boardinghouse’s capacity, followed by another addition in 1888. He rechristened his hotel the Glenwood Tavern.

Miller extended his influence in Riverside and Southland politics and business ventures during the early Glenwood Tavern years. He left the Tavern in the hands of his siblings and managed larger hotels in Long Beach, Pomona, and Santa Monica, operated the city-wide trolley line, the Riverside & Arlington, beginning in 1887 (first run by mule team and then electrified in 1899), served on the committee to form Riverside County in 1893, directed operations for the Loring Opera House located across the street from the

Glenwood, and in 1896, was elected president of the influential Southern California Hotel Men's Association.⁴⁵

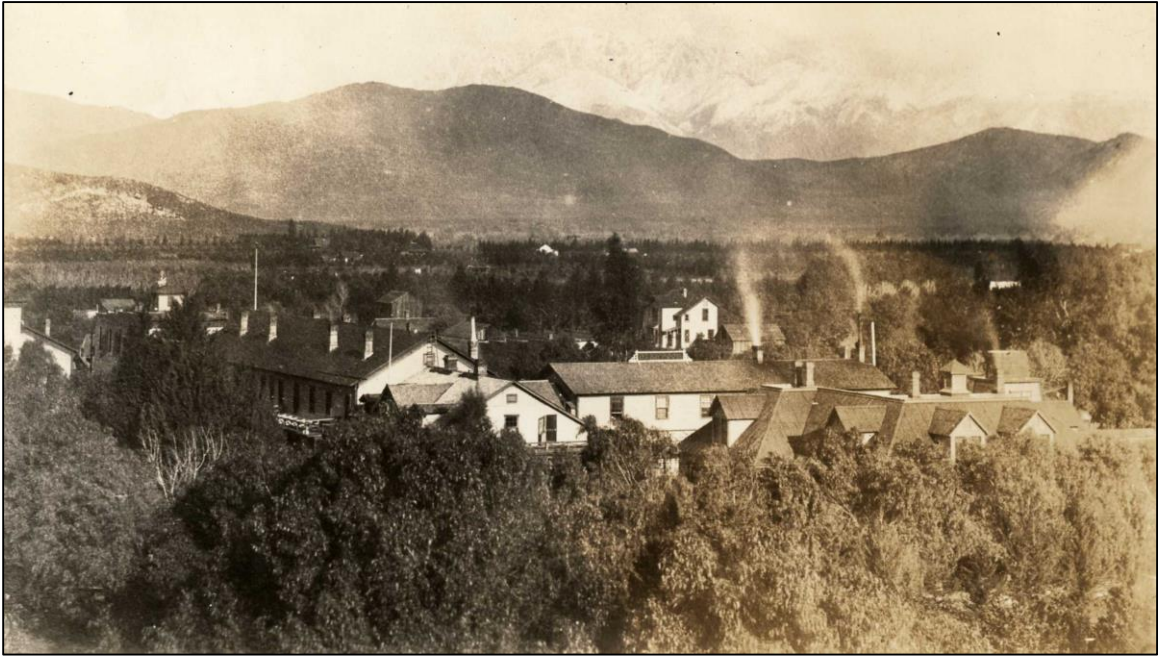


Figure 3: The Glenwood Tavern with additions, 1895. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

In preparation for plans to further develop his hotel operations, in 1894 Miller toured ten resorts in Colorado. With the expansion of the railway systems that now spanned the nation, railroads, tourism companies, and guidebook publishers marketed travel to the natural wonders of the American West as vivifying, spiritual, and patriotic pilgrimages. As historian Marguerite Shaffer states, “Tourism, defined as a kind of virtuous consumption, promised to reconcile this national mythology, which celebrated nature, democracy, and liberty, with the realities of an urban-industrial nation-state dependent on extraction, consumption, and hierarchy.”⁴⁶ Colorado, with its wild Colorado River, majestic Rocky Mountains, and scenic mesas, was a central destination. Specifically citing the state’s dedication to providing luxury accommodations that

complemented the dramatic landscape, the *Riverside Daily Press* reported “there is no State in the Union where the real modern tourist hotel arrives at the perfection that it does in Colorado.”⁴⁷ Miller was especially impressed by The Colorado Hotel in Glenwood Springs, managed by Walter Raymond, owner of Pasadena’s Raymond Hotel (opened in 1886) and founder of the Raymond-Whitcomb tour company, which offered elite rail and steamship packaged tours throughout the United States.⁴⁸ Miller hoped to emulate Raymond’s hotel enterprises in order to “bring the wealthy class of people” to Riverside as Raymond had done in both Glenwood Springs and Pasadena.⁴⁹

The first “New Glenwood” plans are unequivocally modeled after The Colorado and Miller even first employed Colorado Springs architect A.C. Willard to design the building.⁵⁰ Willard envisioned a five-floor, U-shaped brick Italianate and Richardsonian Romanesque structure with rows of arched pedimented windows, a flat roof banded by a wide cornice, and gabled towers and cylindrical turrets crowning each corner.

Architectural historian Karen Weitze has outlined that before Mission Revival, which utilized concrete and stucco as central building materials and adapted elements directly from the California missions, took hold in Southern California between 1894 and 1899, Italianate, Romanesque, and Moorish styles were widely employed to exemplify the region’s “Mediterranean” characteristics.⁵¹ The Mission Revival started in earnest in 1894 after the success of A. Page Brown’s California Building at Chicago’s 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition. The style was more precisely articulated at San Francisco’s 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition, which also included California exhibits straight from the Chicago fair, and gained steam due to the popularity

of *Ramona*, and the formation of the Landmarks Club. As Weitze states, “By 1899 the Mission Revival would begin to take firm hold in the area of Los Angeles and Pasadena; during the first two decades of the twentieth century the style would flourish.”⁵²



Figure 4: Architectural drawing of A.C. Willard’s proposed “New Glenwood.” Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

Miller’s early hotel designs largely follow Weitze’s Mission Revival trajectory. Miller traveled to both the World’s Columbian Exposition and San Francisco’s Midwinter Fair and was certainly influenced by the first expressions of mission architecture he encountered.⁵³ Miller, perhaps still enthralled by his Chicago experience, hosted a banquet at the Glenwood that raised \$4,500 in support of the San Francisco fair.⁵⁴ In March 1896, Willard prepared revisions to his original blueprints and it was

announced that the updated “New Glenwood” would be “drawn in the Spanish mission style, with the usual picturesque tile roof so well known as belonging to the old Spanish structures.” Miller estimated his hotel venture would cost \$50,000, or roughly \$1.5 million today, and that spring he embarked on an Eastern tour to solicit investors.⁵⁵

Perhaps the economic panic of 1896 dissuaded potential financial backers because by August 1897 Miller had, once again changed course, employing renowned Los Angeles architects Theodore Eisen and Sumner P. Hunt to draw up new hotel plans. In addition to his work on the downtown Los Angeles Bradbury Building in 1893, Hunt was also a leader in the burgeoning Mission Revival style and “Hispanicism” architecture movement, which he utilized in his designs for the Southern California Building at the San Francisco Midwinter Fair, floats for the 1894 Fiesta de Los Angeles, and numerous residences throughout the region.⁵⁶ Eisen & Hunt maintained Willard’s mission elements, but also added covered arcades, a landscaped courtyard, and an entire section of the hotel to house Riverside County offices and private businesses. Miller doubled the estimated cost of the new structure to \$100,000 and pledged that his mission hotel would be “different from anything in the hotel line that has yet been built,” hoping as well that his grand hostelry would catapult Riverside “to the front as a modern and progressive city.”⁵⁷ As evidenced by the hotel’s ever-changing expansion plans, the restoration and promotion of the California missions and the resulting architectural style it produced was not solely about preserving the past and constructing a regional heritage, it was just as much about looking forward to a profitable future.

Like A.C. Willard's efforts, the Eisen & Hunt hotel design never made it past the initial blueprints. For the next five years, Miller made little noise about the construction of a new hotel. Nineteen hundred two was a turning point, however, because Miller secured substantial funding from railroad magnate Henry E. Huntington and enlisted mission preservation architect Arthur Benton to draft the hotel's final plans. Miller became acquainted with both Southern Pacific Railway head Collis P. Huntington and his nephew, Pacific-Electric Railway Company (PERC) owner Henry E. Huntington through his activities as a frequent Riverside Republican Party lobbyist at the California state legislature, where he stumped in the early twentieth century for the construction of an Indian boarding school in Riverside.⁵⁸ In addition to their political connections, the Southern Pacific station just blocks from the Glenwood was central for transporting tourists to the hotel. Additionally, the PERC purchased Miller's Riverside & Arlington electric trolley line during hotel construction.⁵⁹ Between August 1902 and February 1903, Henry Huntington loaned Miller nearly \$150,000 (all of which he repaid), approximately half of the expansion's final \$295,000, with Miller raising the balance through municipal bonds.⁶⁰

By the time Miller tapped Arthur Benton to create the final Mission Wing design in 1902, Benton was already well known in Riverside and throughout the Southland.⁶¹ In addition to his role as a founder and consulting mission preservation architect for the Landmarks Club, in which he worked on the restorations of San Juan Capistrano, San Fernando, San Diego, and San Luis Rey, Benton also designed Riverside's First Church of Christ Scientist in 1900. Located only a block from the Glenwood, as local historian

Tom Patterson states, “If he hadn’t met Arthur Benton sooner, Miller would undoubtedly have done so” during the church’s construction.⁶²

A stable funding source and permanent architect secured, construction began on the “New Glenwood” in April 1902 and the hotel was officially dedicated less than a year later on February 23, 1903.⁶³ The hotel was quintessentially “mission” in almost every aspect with Benton crafting near identical replicas of architectural features from Mission San Gabriel.⁶⁴ The wide three-story U-shaped building, which included approximately two hundred rooms, was built of concrete washed with plaster and stucco. The simple structure was ornamented with bell towers, gabled roofs adorned in red tile, arcades, and rows of arched windows clad in iron grates that let in “an abundant supply of fresh air and sunshine,” the central element of California living.⁶⁵ The original adobe boardinghouse was converted into offices and a tea room and remained, minus its second story, in the hotel’s central courtyard surrounded by palm trees, succulents, and pergolas draped in bougainvillea. After the grand opening, Miller promptly redubbed his Inn “California’s Mission Hotel.”⁶⁶



Figure 5: The front courtyard of the expanded Glenwood Mission Inn, circa 1904. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

The Mission Wing, however, was only the beginning of the hotel's (and Benton's) Mission Revival extravaganza. In 1908, Miller and Benton constructed a row of arches modeled after those found at Mission San Juan Capistrano and Mission San Luis Rey, to front the hotel's Seventh Street entrance.⁶⁷ The archway was advertised as the "finest in America" and even "longer than the great arcade at San Fernando."⁶⁸ Riverside boomed as a tourist destination in the years directly following the New Glenwood's dedication.



Figure 6: Mission Inn guests on horseback gather in front of the adobe, circa 1904. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

The grand hotel reaped the rewards of having three major railroads within blocks from its doors, and Miller even constructed pergolas to lead guests from the train depots to the hotel's lobby. By 1907, the citrus and tourism industry had transformed Riverside.

Promotional literature heralded that the city “sprung up amid waste and solitude in an incredibly short time.” But, while Riverside was “burnished like a newly-minted dollar,” its founders were “gifted with rare imagination, for they ...brought with them into the wilderness both the spirit and traditions of the old mission fathers.”⁶⁹

To accommodate the ever-growing demand, in 1909 Miller started work on a new wing called “The Monastery” to add more guest rooms, public areas, and rooftop gardens to the hotel. The Cloister Wing, as it was renamed, wrapped around Orange Street to the corner of Sixth Street. As its original name denotes, the structure was meant to call to mind “a mission monastery,” and did so with a unique combination of mission and neo-Gothic flair. In 1907 Miller embarked on a six-month European tour through England, Germany, Italy, France, The Netherlands, and Scandinavia and inevitably returned inspired by the castles and cathedrals he toured.⁷⁰ Benton was also partial to including architectural references from France and Italy because of “their ecclesiastical character.”⁷¹ The four-story Cloister addition featured stunted flying buttresses reminiscent of Medieval European architecture, but Benton still maintained his dedication to mission themes. The predominant elements of the Cloister Wing were its capped buttress columns, replicas of those at Mission San Gabriel, as well as its massive domed tower copied directly from Mission San Carlos Borromeo Carmelo.⁷² Benton also included interior belfries designed after those at Mission San Juan Capistrano and Pala Asistencia.⁷³



Figure 7: Architectural rendering of Arthur Benton’s design for “The Monastery,” later renamed the Cloister Wing. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The Cloister Wing opened on November 17, 1910, rather appropriately with a special slideshow lecture by Father William Hughes on Mission Indians. Hughes spoke of the Indians’ “rude huts in the mountains and valleys, of wild warfare they waged, and their primitive habits of living,” before the coming of the Franciscans, concluding “they were as children needing help and guidance.” All proceeds from the Cloister Wing’s opening lecture went to support the erection of a chapel for the Cahuilla reservation.⁷⁴ This entire event speaks strangely to the permeation of the region’s mission myth and tourism machine. Miller’s imitation hotel monastery – seemingly a profane representation of the mission system – was praised as a “glowing tribute to the life and work of the early Franciscan fathers,” while Father Hughes lamented mission

secularization and continued waging the Franciscans' "civilizing" cause.⁷⁵ The Inn helped neatly shrink the wide intellectual expanse separating Southern California Anglos from the Franciscan padres, allowing tourists and migrants alike to "imagine a direct lineage from the European colonizers to themselves."⁷⁶

Karen Weitze writes that Arthur Benton's designs for the Mission and Cloister Wings demonstrated that "he was, more than any other prominent Mission Revival architect of the early years, a skillful designer who pandered openly to the tourist and to the demands of Southern California promotionalism."⁷⁷ There is truth to Weitze's statement, and the architect himself says as much, but Benton's own interpretation of his work opens avenues for a new interpretive approach to the Inn's architecture. For Benton, the Mission Inn certainly was about advertising and commerce, writing in his 1911 article, "The California Mission and Its Influence Upon Pacific Coast Architecture," that, "the commercial value of the Missions is nearly as great as their architectural and historic worth. They advertise the State as nothing else can...Our Mission hotels are proving how great the demand by tourists [is] for something 'different' from the conventional."⁷⁸ A key point, however, is that, much like the mission restoration goals of the Landmarks Club, Benton considered his Mission Inn designs as first and foremost a preservation effort. States Benton,

I have believed it right to make as fairly close copies – avowedly duplications – as was compatible with the character of the buildings of which they were to form a part, because the Missions are with appalling swiftness falling to decay and unless their ruin is checked will soon be beyond the possibility of repair, and excepting in copies there will be few remnants to show what they were in their prime.⁷⁹

Benton took a cue from the Renaissance and Victorian practice of collecting architectural and sculptural plaster casts, which were used as artistic teaching tools and comprised

entire museum exhibitions.⁸⁰ Making a plaster replica enshrined the original and proclaimed its enduring value, especially if that original was falling into decay.

But the Inn's preservation motivations operated on yet another level. Miller made it abundantly clear that although the architecture harkened back to the mission era, his hotel was equipped with all of the modern conveniences and luxuries guests could ask for. In brochures circa 1908, Miller extolled the "old Mission type of architecture" of his hotel as well as the site's rambling gardens, romantic arcades, and "graceful" bell arches, painting the missions as idyllic places in harmony with the natural landscape. "Somehow," Miller writes, "the spirit of it all is undisturbed by the fact that in the rooms are electric lights and steam heat, and long-distance phones, and modern appliances for the bath."⁸¹ Early descriptions of the Cloister Wing emphasized its tennis courts and camera obscura as well as its fire proofing; the fire insurance underwriters even declared the new wing "the nearest to fire proof of anything short of steel construction."⁸² The Inn, as illustrated in another advertisement, combined the "picturesqueness of the eighteenth century, with the luxury of the twentieth." The site was a classic simulacrum that combined many of the best architectural aspects of the missions to create a new building that simulated, yet strove to be more than, the original structures.⁸³ The Inn celebrated the heritage of the Franciscan missions, but relegated it definitively to the past – the mission quaintness juxtaposed against the hotel's up-to-date technologies.

This process was rendered physically explicit by the use of actual mission tiles on the "old" adobe, which was renovated in conjunction with the 1903 opening of the Mission Wing. "These tiles are the real, old, original tiles – tiling which has been kissed

by the sun of three centuries,” the *Riverside Daily Press* glowingly reported. “They were made in the year 1798,” the article continues,

At the time of the founding of the mission San Luis Rey de Francia and were made for the roof of that historic structure, [and] the Asistencia de San Antonia de Pala...moulded [sic] into shape by hand by the Indians under the direct supervision of the famous Franciscan missionary, Padre Antonio Peyri. No two the same shape, these tiles are now almost as hard as steel and have to be cut with a cold chisel and drilled with steel drills. They are covered with moss and lichens and discolored with age and will lend an additional historic value to the little adobe which they cover.⁸⁴

Although the Inn was supposedly a serious attempt at preserving the missions, it was simultaneously implicated in their destruction by the application of these tiles. The use of the San Luis Rey and Pala tiles emphatically and very literally appropriated the mission past in service of this new venture. The Inn gleaned authentic mission traces from the tiles’ age, their association with Padre Peyri and real mission Indians, and their usage at specific mission sites. These “hard as steel” tiles were, nonetheless, subdued and re-crafted with modern tools, much like the entire mission history of Southern California. Because of enterprises like the Mission Inn, the California missions were artfully re-created not as sublime relics of a failed Spanish expansion, but as the symbol of the region’s glorious, profitable, and Anglo-dominated future.



Figure 8: Landscape by artist William Alexander Sharp depicting the hotel's Mission Wing, the proposed Cloister Wing, and the Seventh Street arches, which were proclaimed in the local press as the "finest in America." In this romantic illustration, padres and Californios mingle with auto-tourists on their way to the Mission Inn. Dated 1908. Image courtesy of Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The Cloister Wing was a transitional phase in the Inn's architectural style thanks to Benton's inclusion of distinctly European elements. The hotel's next additions, the Spanish Wing (1914) and the International Rotunda (1932), as well as the numerous smaller expansion projects in between the two, left Mission Revival behind; the hotel evolved into a pastiche of ornate Spanish Revival, Churrigueresque, Moorish, neo-Gothic, and Japanese styles, responding to architectural trends and Miller's own world travels. For the Spanish Wing, Miller broke with Arthur Benton, who was at the time tied up with other "exacting professional engagements," and hired famed Southern California architect Myron Hunt.⁸⁵ Hunt was already well known in the region for his work on Henry Huntington's San Marino home, Pasadena's Huntington Hotel, the Rose Bowl, and buildings at Occidental College, CalTech, and Pomona College. Hunt made his mark on Riverside when in 1912 he designed the city's First Congregational Church, Frank Miller's own church, located directly across from the Inn.⁸⁶

By the time of Hunt's Inn expansion plans, the status of Mission Revival as Southern California's predominant architectural style was waning. The style's plain facades left little room for ornamentation and proved difficult to adapt for larger structures.⁸⁷ Architects, with Hunt at the forefront, increasingly looked to Spain for inspiration, designing buildings that called to mind the region's Spanish heritage, although never as it was actually expressed in Alta California, for a Mediterranean climate. The Spanish Revival, as opposed to the earlier Mission Revival, allowed for creative embellishment and the inclusion of more general European references. While some architects, most notably Frank Lloyd Wright, viewed the new Spanish Revival as

“insincere, sales-oriented pastoralism,” its popularity was solidified by Bertram Goodhue’s designs for San Diego’s 1915 Panama-California Exposition, the regional counterpart to San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific International Exposition, honoring the Panama Canal’s completion.⁸⁸ The dueling expositions were celebrations of American imperial authority and the Panama-California’s Spanish architecture, coupled with the fair’s “homages to Spanish adventurers and monarchs,” as Phoebe Kropp has analyzed, envisioned glorious national prosperity and U.S. international supremacy.⁸⁹

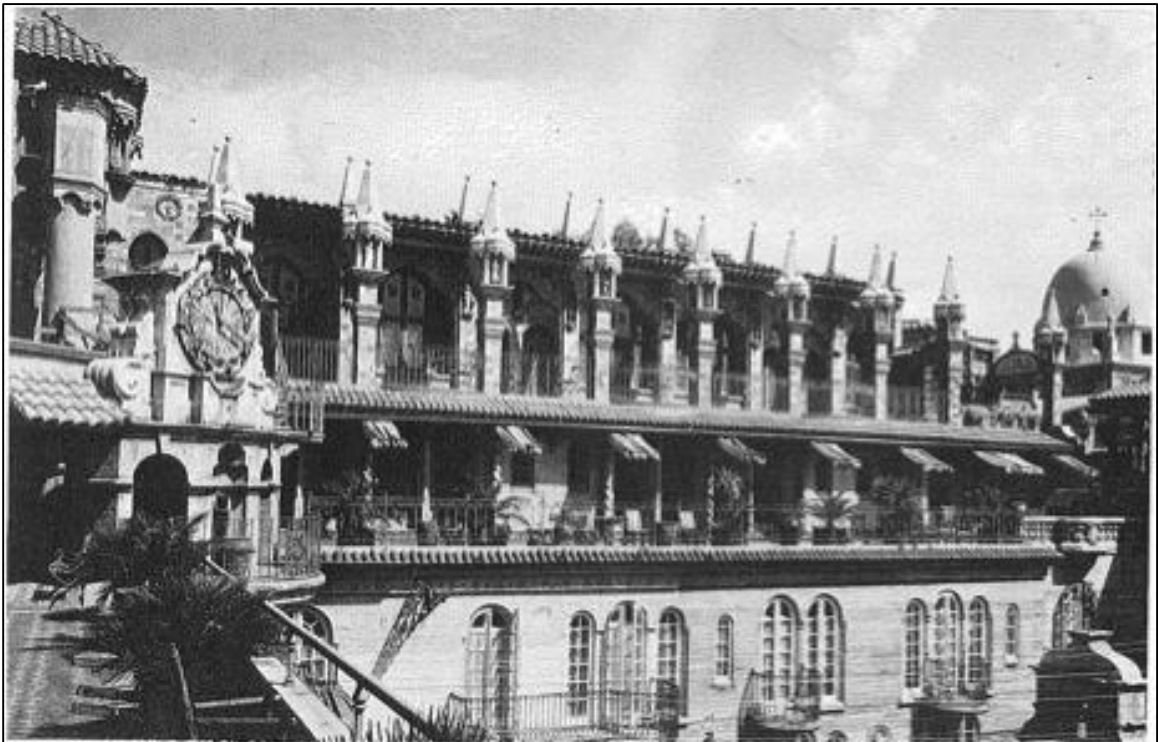


Figure 9: The Spanish Wing, designed by Myron Hunt, featured more elaborate architectural ornamentation than the hotel’s previous wings. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Miller was acutely aware of the business opportunities presented by the two expositions. The Spanish Wing was completed in December 1914 and opened in January 1915 in time to accommodate the influx of guests Miller hoped would flood the Inn as

they traveled between San Francisco and San Diego.⁹⁰ The Spanish addition connected to the Cloister Wing on Sixth Street and was constructed of board-formed concrete at a final cost of just over \$100,000.⁹¹ The new wing added a third floor of luxury suites, large meeting rooms, and included classic Spanish Revival components – rich tiling, intricate ironwork, patios and balconies, and sculptured stucco and plaster decoration.⁹² Miller’s bet on the expositions paid off because according to Mission Inn historian Esther Klotz, “the Inn made so much money that year [1915] that it easily rode through some lean years which followed.”⁹³

Following the Spanish Wing, Miller continually expanded the site in a piecemeal fashion utilizing a patchwork of architectural styles. In 1920, Arthur Benton was back at the Inn designing the hotel’s worker dormitory (expanded in 1928), built with hollow tile and featuring an arcade, arched windows and a colorful mural at its roofline that instructed “A good head and nimble hand are good as gold in any land.” The next year, Benton added ten rooms overlooking the hotel’s interior courtyard, followed in 1924 by the architect’s rooftop Alhambra Suite, which, as the name suggests was designed in an Islamic-inspired Moorish style. After his 1925 six-month sojourn to Japan, China, and the South Pacific, Miller returned to the Inn and constructed a Court of the Orient, complete with a replica pagoda tower and Japanese tea garden. In 1928, Miller employed local Riverside architect, G. Stanley Wilson, to design a row of guest rooms to add a fourth floor to the Spanish Wing. These rooms, each dedicated to a different literary figure who had stayed at the Inn, melded Spanish Revival and neo-Gothic styles, again implementing the flying buttresses first employed on the Cloister Wing.⁹⁴

The final piece to the Mission Inn puzzle was the G. Stanley Wilson-designed International Rotunda, finished in 1932, just three years before Frank Miller's death. This addition connected to the Spanish Wing and the original Mission Wing, making the hotel a full city block in size.



Figure 10: The International Rotunda was designed by local Riverside architect G. Stanley Wilson. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The massive Rotunda expansion personified the hodge-podge “international” eclecticism of the Inn’s later years that jumbled styles, time periods, geography, and materials into an almost indescribable architectural confection. The focal point of the steel and concrete addition was the open-air circular stairway, which, as the local press reported was “comparable architecturally with some of the notable stairways of Europe.”⁹⁵ The staircase was capped with the massive octagonal yellow and blue Mexican-tiled

“Amistad” dome. Each of the addition’s five levels featured balconies, iron railings, pinnacle-capped columns, and flying buttresses. The International Rotunda’s interior housed guest suites on the top floor, office space surrounding the staircase, a large wedding chapel, and a new art gallery. Despite the combination of architectural elements, Mission and Spanish Revival references were still central to the design, evidenced by the arcades that banded the Rotunda’s perimeter on each story and the iron railings surrounding the staircase featuring the initials of each mission, famous padres, and Spanish conquistadors. The Mission Inn’s architecture grew progressively chaotic as Miller attempted to condense changing regional trends and style elements picked up during his own globetrotting into one building. The missions, however, as the hotel’s initial inspiration, were never completely out of the picture and were an essential facet to the Inn’s operation in ways that transcended far beyond the site’s exterior architecture.⁹⁶



Figure 11: An aerial view of the completed Mission Inn, circa 1940. The worker dormitory is at the top right. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Mission Hospitality

The Mission Inn's Mission- and Spanish-inspired architecture was only the first step in Miller's approach to mold his hotel into Southern California's premiere mission tourism destination. At the Inn, "mission" was not just about architecture, but it was also a distinct aura surrounding the hotel's ambience and service, which Miller termed as a sense of California or "mission" hospitality. Regional boosters idealized the mission period in service of tourist enterprises and as a way to ideologically cast Anglo-Americans as the triumphant successors to the imperial program begun by the Spanish. The bleak existences of mission Indians and Franciscans alike faded away under the weight of the region's new "improvised traditions and manufactured legends," which as McWilliams states framed the missions as "havens of happiness and contentment for the Indians, places of song, laughter, good food, beautiful languor, and mystical adoration of the Christ."⁹⁷ Scholars have exhaustively focused their attention on the influence of *Ramona*, Los Angeles journalist John Steven McGroarty's wildly popular 1912 *Mission Play*, mission tourism promotional organizations, and the onslaught of statewide mission-centered festivals, commemorations, and expositions as the explanatory framework for the construction of this mythic history.

The Mission Inn was at the forefront of this fantasy creation, utilizing its position as a hotel modeled after the missions to construct and widely promulgate the vision that the Franciscan outposts were happy, leisurely places, visually represented by the Inn's lush and restful atmosphere. The Inn narrowly defined the mission experience; advertisements and romantic stories set at the hotel erased the horrific reality of mission

life, instead liberally defining the Inn's version of "mission hospitality" around the Franciscan orders' general guiding principles of selfless care for the poor, their "vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience," and the notion that missions, as the few settled outposts along the coast, offered hospitable lodging to all passing travelers.⁹⁸ Even though the padres did open their mission doors to passing travelers, the Inn's sole emphasis on this practice obfuscated other, less hospitable, conditions. As California historian James J. Rawls has examined, while early European explorers "recorded with appreciation acts of hospitality and generosity of individual padres, they often condemned the institution of the mission with powerful expressions of censure and portrayed the Indians as victims of a cruel system of exploitation."⁹⁹

The Inn, of course, catered only to a high-class clientele, not any passing traveler, and the hotel deployed "mission hospitality" to demonstrate that guests would be taken care of during their stay. As a grand hotel specializing in guest comfort, the hotel's luxurious, yet domestic, backdrop provided the perfect setting to emphasize hospitality as a uniquely mission characteristic. In so doing, the Inn forged a direct link to the mission system that declared the hotel as the missions' logical successor. Through emphasizing "mission hospitality," the Inn portrayed itself, once again, as preserving tradition and heritage. It also operated to take the Mission Inn out of time, depicting the hotel, and California's mission history, as quaint and harmonious, while rendering the Inn's labor and racial hierarchies invisible. By the late 1920s, "mission hospitality" was a thoroughly ingrained part of Southern California's mythic reinterpretation, which envisioned kindly padres greeting fatigued travelers on the road and bringing them into

the mission's warm environs for a night's rest. As McGroarty best summarizes in his 1929 book, *Mission Memories*:

There was peace and plenty, hospitality became a religion. The great oaken doors of the Missions swung inward with welcome to whomsoever might come...The Missions stand about thirty miles apart, the one from the other. And in old times they were the hospices of the land where travelers stopped and were always welcome and no price to pay from one end of the journey to the other.¹⁰⁰

"Mission hospitality" enabled boosters, in their quest to entice continual waves of tourists to the region, to emphasize Southern California's long history of hospitably welcoming newcomers. Miller believed that hospitality was the state's "common heritage for all of us to use," explaining its necessity in a 1927 Bullock's department store advertisement titled "The Hospitality of Old California." Writes Miller,

The old Franciscans of the Missions set the example. Their handclasps, their smile and their words of greeting were genuine. They gave the best they had, simple though it was. Let us all who deal with the traveler copy them – our teachers of the past...Let our hospitality be true and sincere, like that of the Missions, and the traveler will love California as we love it, and will make it his home.¹⁰¹

The success of "mission hospitality" is in no small part thanks to the early promotional efforts of Miller and his colleagues to market the hotel's mission character as part of the larger regional tourism initiative.

Hospitality, the set of practices by which a stranger is accepted into a new community, is, of course, central to any hotel operation.¹⁰² All hotels provide paying travelers with necessities, such as food and shelter, but hospitality practices shifted dramatically during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historian A.K. Sandoval-Strausz outlines in his history of the American hotel industry that as the U.S. population grew more transient with the increased ease and affordability of travel, hotels were in greater demand and often followed new hospitality guidelines. Whereas the lodging houses of earlier centuries were largely domestic, family-run businesses

“indistinguishable from dwelling houses,” the new Gilded Age hotels were not only larger, typically containing a hundred or more separate sleeping chambers, but were “operated by professional managers, employed large numbers of wage workers, and provided rationalized, efficient service.”¹⁰³ In the industrialized world, hospitality, itself a new industry for a more mobile public, grew increasingly standardized and routinized. Hotels were integral to Southern California’s tourist economy and by the early 1900s, the entire region, from San Diego to Santa Barbara, was teeming with hostelrys, both grand and modest.¹⁰⁴

From its opening in 1903, Miller strove to expand the missions’ romantic reimaginings, focusing specifically on hospitality as an endorsement of his hotel enterprise. He jovially greeted guests bedecked in a Franciscan robe. When diners sat down for evening meals their menus were framed by drawings of chubby light-skinned padres smiling and commiserating in a courtyard, happily cooking stew, and gathering round a table to hear their brother perform an impromptu flute concert.¹⁰⁵ In an early promotional brochure, padres drink fresh water from an overflowing well and studiously read in a corner nook. One padre has the distinct face of Frank Miller and sits against an archway with a macaw perched on his arm.¹⁰⁶ These visual aids unmistakably reflected the carefree, joyous, bountiful, and leisurely image Miller hoped to project to his guests, but presented as if they were a historically accurate portrayal of mission life. The padres represented in these images were placed in identifiable locations throughout the Inn – the decorative well near the Inn’s entrance, the front arcade, and inner courtyard – not to mention Miller himself making an appearance. Guests could actually picture the kindly,

hospitable padres preparing their meals and wandering the hotel's hallways. The Anglo features of the Inn's padres also created a simple ideological bridge to easily connect the region's Spanish forefathers to Southern California's newer Anglo-American residents.



Figure 12: Mission Inn menu art depicting an elderly padre being given a basket of food by a young Indian girl. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

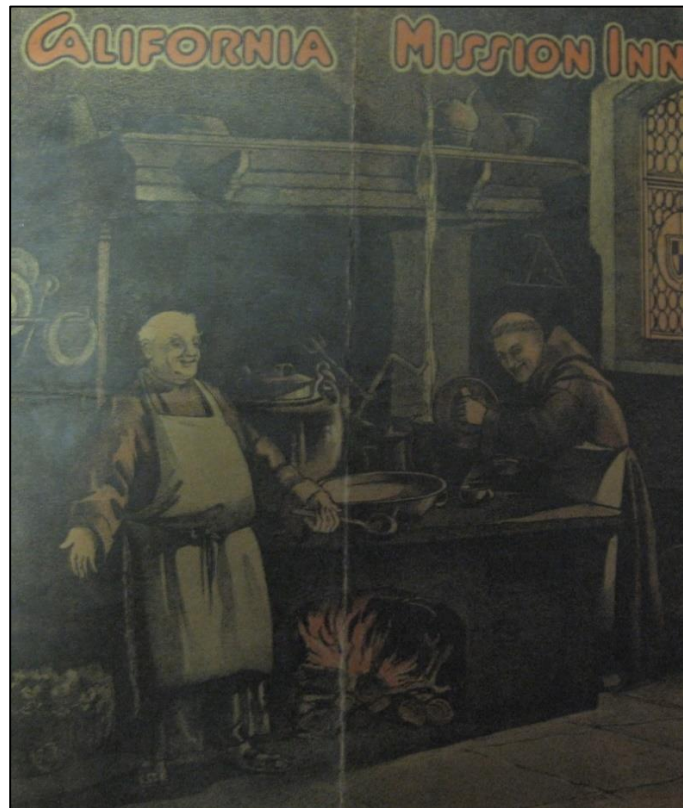


Figure 13: Mission Inn promotional brochure featuring kindly padres happily preparing a meal. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

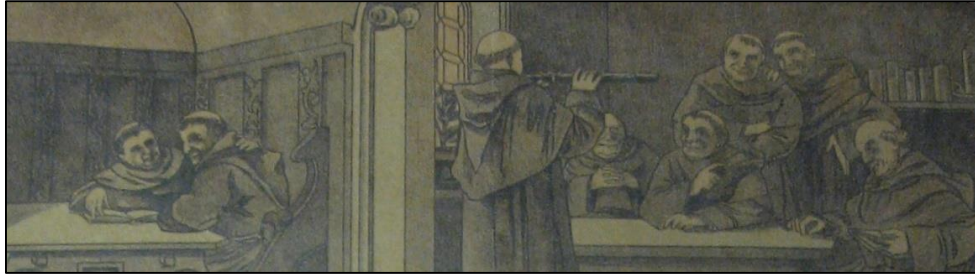


Figure 14: Mission Inn menu art showing padres chatting, laughing, and enjoying a flute concert. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

While visions of idyllic mission landscapes were present around every corner (and printed on every menu) at the Inn, the written word was also essential to the Inn's depiction of mission hospitality. Through artfully constructed advertising literature and published poems, the hotel conveyed to guests that they would not just be staying in a hotel that *looked* like the missions, but that they would actually be *living* as a traveler seeking refuge at a mission, re-enacting ancient hospitality rituals from a century before. Staying at the Mission Inn was more than a vacation, it was a symbolic journey through California's past, albeit one much more comfortably appointed.

Take for instance the account "California's Mission Inn as Seen by an Easterner," written by *Detroit Free Press* journalist Lizzie York Case for inclusion in the Inn's 1907 souvenir booklet *Days of Peace and Rest at The Glenwood By Those Who Know*: "As we rode into the court, beneath the stately campanile the old mission bells rang out, 'Abide With Me!' And it was eventide, and far from home and with eyes just a bit teary, we felt the welcome of the chimes, and that within this place 't were sweet to bide...it was a scene out of a fairy tale – a place where dreams come true."¹⁰⁷ Case's story is a dramatic saga, as if she herself were trudging on horseback from mission to mission. The Inn appears to Case like a mirage and she begins to cry as she is enveloped by the Inn's

hospitable spirit. With the close proximity of three railway stations and Miller's hotel carriages that shuttled guests to and from the hotel, Case's voyage to the Inn was doubtless much less harrowing.

In the same year as Case's piece, Inn architect Arthur Benton published an elaborate thirty-page epic poem, titled "The Mission Inn." The poem was written in intricate calligraphy framed by clusters of two hundred margin drawings by William Alexander Sharp, Benton's chief architectural illustrator. In this most bizarre and inventive rendering of "mission hospitality," Benton states that "The Mission Inn is making history; therefore I have thought it not unfitting to link it in story with the old tie mission days which have been its inspiration."¹⁰⁸ Here he details the hapless adventures of San Juan Capistrano Mission neophyte cook Tony and his burro Balaam as they wander the California wilderness in the wake of their banishment by the mission's head padre, Father Gorgonio, due to Balaam's endless braying. After many stormy nights in the elements they stagger to the top of a mountain, where they spy a mirage of the Mission Inn. In their exhaustion the mirage looks like the most magnificent and hospitable place they have ever encountered, but it is in actuality just a willow hut underneath a grove of trees. At this site, where the Inn will one day stand, Tony, Balaam, and Padre Gorgonio are reunited and the trio returns to San Juan Capistrano. "Where stood the hut in that wild land, the Mission Inn stands fair & grand," writes Benton. "Decay had felled the goodly tree. The image long had ceased to be, when Miller came one fateful day and of the strong adobe clay built him a house, nor ever guessed the earth he handled had been blessed."¹⁰⁹ As in Case's piece, Benton discusses the Mission Inn as

an unbelievable and magical place – an impossible mirage – whose existence was divinely planned since mission days. The missions would decay, but the Mission Inn would rise in their place.

John Steven McGroarty's poem, "The Mission Inn," which ran in the March 21, 1909, edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, further develops this mission imagery: "I trod the way they fared before me in sandal shoon, when Time was young. I trod the way the brown priests led me," writes McGroarty. In his poem, a traveler wanders the Southern California countryside in the supposed steps of the Franciscan padres, laying claim yet again to the region's Spanish heritage and reorienting a trip to the missions as a spiritual journey. "They that are dust I followed after- Till came the dream-day to its close. And on the way, from roof to rafter, The Mission hospice towers rose," continues McGroarty. "Roads of the world and every byway, They sent us there at candle light to bear, upon the old King's Highway, A new Saint Francis speak 'Goodnight.'" McGroarty paints the Inn as more than a mere hotel – it is a holy pilgrimage for devout followers of California's heritage. The King's Highway leads directly to the Mission Inn. To McGroarty, the hotel is the continuation of the mission system, and those who stay at the Inn will forge an intimate connection to this history. The missions, however, were "dust," and the future was in the hands of Frank Miller, who McGroarty christened as the reincarnated "new St. Francis" of hospitality.¹¹⁰

The Mission Inn's curator Francis Borton included a "Mission Inn" poem in his 1917 poetry collection, *The Call of California*. Borton takes McGroarty's romance to even greater heights in his love poem to the Inn with such turns of phrase as, "It's a fair

dream fashioned in good grey stone: With a high ideal everywhere, with a fineness of sentiment in the Air.” Borton styles the Inn a “caravansary for the soul,” a spiritual voyage where guests will find rejuvenation and uplift. Writes Borton, “The saints are gone, yet they still live on, Still is their gentle influence felt: From niche and nook they kindly look, As when Junipero Serra knelt and told to Indians swart and wild the wondrous tale of the dear Christ-Child.” According to Borton, within the Inn’s halls guests can still hear “Voices that speak from the olden times: of sacrifice, better than gold or fame.” In an ending flourish, Borton likens visiting the Mission Inn to a religious experience, which reduces guests to tears: “Not for me alone is this sermon in stone, Nor only to me do these mute things speak: Full many a heart has received its park, The quiet tear glistened on many a cheek; Many a pilgrim has paused to say: ‘I’m glad my feet ever found the way To the Mission Inn at the close of Day.’”¹¹¹ In Borton’s estimation, thanks to the Franciscans’ good works, selfless sacrifices, and civilizing influence upon the land and its native inhabitants, the Mission Inn stands. As the continuance of their mission hospitality project, the padres are ever watchful over the site, their spirits inhabiting the Inn.

Garnet Holme, director of Hemet’s *Ramona Pageant*, wrote his own poem in 1922, also titled “The Mission Inn.”¹¹² Holme envisions Father Serra coming to the site of the Inn to rest and recuperate. Unlike the other works, the first stanza of his poem describes the Inn’s origins as mysterious and unknown (therefore, easily rewritten), proclaiming, “A legend or story of how this house came to be built. And none can say whether there be truth in this tale or not. But here it is set forth so that all who will, may

read.” Holme depicts the Inn as sacred ground where Father Serra himself stumbled across when he was in “dire distress.” At the site of the Inn Serra prayed. “The trail seemed endless and his strength was gone,” wrote Holme, “Broken, at last, he fell – then cried for aid. ‘Help, Lord,’ he prayed, ‘for I am old and spent. The heathen need me, spare my life for them.’” On the grounds of where the Inn was built Serra found food and blessed the spot with a Holy Cross. Holme’s story concludes that the Inn is a shrine to Christianity conjured by Serra himself, which nourishes the souls of all guests. “Serra went on; and, lo, his prayer is heard. For on this place his splendid shrine now stands where all may find good comfort, rest and peace, And thus go hence more strong to serve his name.”¹¹³

Each of these pieces paints the Inn with a mixture of fact and fantasy. Visitors come to the Inn weak and weary, staggering to the hotel as an eighteenth century traveler might stumble upon a mission. Throughout their stay, they are rejuvenated and reborn through genuine hospitality, the likes of which have not been experienced since the bygone mission days. In order to stake a definite claim to the mission tourism industry, in much of the literature, the hotel becomes more than just the continuance of Franciscan traditions, but is portrayed as an actual lost mission site, its destiny as “California’s Mission Hotel” preordained by the likes of Father Serra himself. The hotel is described as a spiritual dream world where guests are emotionally overcome by the benevolent ghosts of padres past. The Inn is discussed as hallowed ground arising only from the sacrifices of the Franciscans. Yet in this retelling, the ultimate sacrifice of the thousands

of natives who perished and were buried at the mission sites, the actual hallowed ground from which the new Mission Inn supposedly emerges, is eradicated.

The Inn's dedication to preserving the heritage of "mission hospitality" placed the hotel, once again, as a central site of Southern California mission myth creation and dissemination. As David Lowenthal has stated, "Those who remake the past as it ought to have been, as distinct from what it presumably was, are more keenly aware of tampering with its residues."¹¹⁴ This tampering, which widely marketed the Mission Inn as a historic and restful "caravansary of the soul," also translated to the interpretation of the actual mission sites. As the physical and spiritual rebirth of the mission system, the Inn supposedly faithfully represented the hospitable atmosphere and relaxing environment travelers encountered at the missions. The hotel, however, was not an accurate representation but a case of hyperreality, which worked to obscure the differences between itself and the missions.¹¹⁵ In so doing, the hotel became the missions and, vice versa, the missions became the hotel. The Inn practiced a high level of attentive service that was expected by their elite guests. It framed this luxurious ambiance as the exact hospitality one would encounter at any of the missions during the late-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, where plump, smiling Franciscans would greet visitors with steaming pots of stew.¹¹⁶

By claiming to adhere to this mythic sense of mission hospitality, which obscured the mission's ugly histories of padre violence, forced native conversion, corporal punishment, and hard labor, the Inn also rendered its own potentially unsavory characteristics invisible. Miller consciously referred to his hotel as an "inn" to set the site

apart from the dozens of other “hotels” in Southern California and also to depict the hostelry as an old-fashioned, domestic establishment that catered to guests with a personal touch, not the institutionalized service found at other hotels.¹¹⁷ The Mission Inn offered guests modern conveniences, but with the simple, family feel of earlier inns, which negated the problems and radicalism associated with wage labor. The Inn, as an updated mission where the saints and Franciscans still lived on, was thoroughly modern, yet cloaked itself in a padre robe of antimodernity, where tourists could escape the rationalization of capitalist society.¹¹⁸ As Elbert Hubbard summarizes,

The atmosphere of the place seems to have secreted the appointments. This atmosphere is one of kindness, gentleness and courteous welcome...In your room you find, on returning from breakfast, a pitcher of fresh cut roses on the mantel, and during the day, a heaping basket of fruit appears in a like mysterious manner. You wonder who has thought of you in this gracious way, but when you ascertain that it is all part of the system of this superb hostelry, your joy becomes universal instead of particular, and you mentally warm to a host who treats all of his guests alike.¹¹⁹

Although Hubbard is charmed by the “secreted appointments” and delighted by the fruit baskets that materialize in guest rooms like magic, the Inn’s whole system was not, in fact, magical. Just as the mission system was predicated on native labor, the Inn’s success but was based on the building block of industrial capitalism – wage labor. The hotel employed hundreds of hourly workers as porters, maids, clerks, waitresses, cooks, gardeners, and engineers to ensure the entire hospitality enterprise appeared effortless. The Inn was not immune, however, to labor strife. In 1893, the hotel’s female waitresses went on strike after Miller refused to raise their monthly wages. When the waitresses walked off the job and threatened to quit, Miller held their personal items hostage in repayment for the travel fare he had advanced each. Although the servers eventually returned to work, it was not before Miller and his brother-in-law had to appear before a

local judge, the result of what Miller biographer Maurice Hodgen details as a “scuffle” with “accusations of angry words and tussles called ‘assault and battery’ when legal terms were applied.”¹²⁰ In May 1911, Miller was arrested for purposely refusing to comply with California’s newly enacted eight-hour day for women statute. In this “test suit,” Miller, backed by the Southern California Hotel Men’s Association, asserted that it was impractical for his waitresses to work only eight hours each day because it conflicted with the Inn’s meal schedules. “I have several women working for me who have been in my employ for fifteen years,” said Miller in a statement to the *Los Angeles Times*. “It is impossible for me to conduct my hotel under the eight-hour law and keep these women with me. As a result, I must either discharge them after their years of faithful service or face prosecution.”¹²¹ The case reached the California State Supreme Court in 1912 and Miller was eventually defeated when the court deemed the eight-hour day constitutional.¹²²

Additionally, the concentration on “mission hospitality” and the Inn’s quaint domesticity, which depicted everyone as part of one big happy Mission Inn family, obscured the site’s racial hierarchies. While the Inn did hire a diverse workforce made up of African American, Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Native American, and white workers, minorities predominantly worked in the hotel’s “back stage” areas, as bus boys, gardeners, and cooks, with the exception of the Inn’s African American porter, John Allen, and a handful of male Japanese waiters.¹²³ Hospitality was also not extended to all and the Inn practiced a definite form of de facto segregation. As historian Mark Rawitsch states, the Inn’s “beds and banquet tables catered to the pleasures and comforts of white

folks.”¹²⁴ In an especially telling example of this segregation, in the mid-1920s, the hotel stopped providing lodging and board for its “colored help” because, as Miller stated, “there was continual ill will as to where they ate and no-one wanted to room next to them.”¹²⁵

The Mission Inn’s elaboration of a distinct brand of “mission hospitality” continued the process first begun by the hotel’s architecture to cerebrally minimize the distance between the Inn and California’s missions. Whereas the Inn originated as a building that preserved many of the missions’ unique architectural elements, the distinction between the hotel and the actual Franciscan mission sites grew increasingly blurred, to the point where the Inn was popularly envisioned as tangentially linked to the mission system, or even blessed by Father Serra. This process, however, did more than just provide the Inn with historical relevance and associational authenticity. The reimagining of the Inn, by Miller and others, as a place which upheld traditions of “mission hospitality,” also operated to reimagine the missions themselves, providing new fuel for Southern California’s myth machine. The Mission Inn would continue this work in ever-greater theatrical style, combining the architectural and textual “missionizing” efforts with a parade of dramatic historical plays and pageants.

“Dramatize What You Do; You Will Be Successful”

According to Mission Inn lore, Frank Miller often advised friends and colleagues to “Dramatize what you do; you will be successful.”¹²⁶ For Miller, this expression was more than a favorite turn-of-phrase, but encompassed his entire business motto. Certainly this is evident in the hotel’s overwhelmingly sentimental architecture and the

overwrought romantic promotional literature discussed in the previous section. Miller used these elements as his starting vehicle to manufacture concrete connections between his hotel and its inspiration, the California missions. Beginning in 1909, Miller took his dramatizations to new visual heights by developing a series of mission-themed plays and costumed pageants, which in true booster fashion, both nostalgically lamented yet praised time's passage and Southern California's continuous march forward. While the outlandish stage productions are amateurish and peculiar, they were aggressively imperialistic. The Inn's plays and pageants re-enacted and reinforced Anglo domination of the region's Native American population. In his productions, Miller and other hotel leaders costumed themselves as benevolent mission padres and cast Native American children from the nearby Sherman Indian Boarding School as their neophytes.

As Michel-Rolph Trouillot and David Glassberg have aptly described, historical reenactments often say much more about current attitudes than they do about the past.¹²⁷ The Mission Inn's plays and pageants depicted a romantic vision of a departed era and firmly established contemporary power dynamics. The history portrayed at the Inn, like that presented at other locations throughout the Southland and in communities across the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, reconstructed the region's history into congratulatory narratives of glorious progress that underpinned political and economic needs.¹²⁸ Pageantry was an ideal medium for Miller to place the Mission Inn within history because pageants, like the hotel, both harkened back to the past and gazed forward toward a bright future. "Historical pageantry," writes Glassberg, "flourished at

the intersection of progressivism and antimodernism and placed nostalgic imagery in a dynamic, future-oriented reform context.”¹²⁹

Like Miller’s move away from Mission-Revival architecture in favor of the Spanish Colonial, the influence of San Diego’s 1915 Panama-California International Exposition was reflected in the subject matter of the hotel’s later dramatic productions. The Panama-California Exposition shifted emphasis away from the mission system and connected the missions more broadly to the Spanish conquest of Alta California, expressed as the historical precursor to and justification for American rule. The Exposition’s groundbreaking ceremony featured re-enactments of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailing into San Diego, as well as “conquistadors defeating Aztec armies” and “Balboa claiming possession of the Pacific Ocean.”¹³⁰ Just as the Mission Inn initially attempted to construct tangible mission ties, after the San Diego Exposition, Miller, his son-in-law DeWitt Hutchings and Inn curator Francis Borton, crafted pageants to tenuously unite the hotel and Riverside to the region’s first Spanish explorers. In the effort to “make claims to local distinctiveness,” the Inn’s historical dramas, and those who produced them, silenced ongoing social and ethnic struggles as bygone historical events and definitively proclaimed their supremacy.¹³¹ The Inn’s staged productions became less about promoting the hotel individually and more about riding the tourism coattails of the 1915 fairs in San Francisco and San Diego, as well as attempting to declare Riverside’s own historical significance in the face of such exposition competition.

The Mission Play

Recent historical scholarship on Southern California has cited Miller's leadership role in the creation of the quintessential romantic portrayal of mission life, John Steven McGroarty's *The Mission Play*. *The Mission Play* has been exhaustively researched, but these treatments focus most closely on McGroarty and the final version of the play and do not delve into Miller's earlier unsuccessful fits and starts to produce a mission drama.¹³² The first versions of the play are historically telling and influenced Miller to produce numerous other theatrical shows and pageants, placing the Mission Inn, once again, as a force behind Southern California's re-imagined identity.

During his 1907 European tour, Miller attended a performance of Bavaria's Oberammergau *Passion Play*, inspiring him to create a similarly spectacular drama to tell the story of California's missions while making Riverside and the Mission Inn an "American Oberammergau."¹³³ As the first article to discuss Miller's play plans states in March 1909, "Believing that about the only attraction that Riverside now lacks is an old mission...In the absence of a real mission, through whose crumbling arcades the new and old world visitor would stroll fascinated in the enchanted moonlight of a California night, Mr. Miller proposes to do something worth while as an alternative."¹³⁴ Offering \$1,000 in payment, Miller consulted Stanford president David Starr Jordan, short story author Henry Van Dyke, naturalist and writer John Burroughs, and poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox, among others, to find the play's perfect author.¹³⁵ In June 1909, Miller employed veteran New York theater producer Gustav Frohman to oversee the play's writing and set construction.¹³⁶ By spring of the next year, Frohman's stage director Edward Elsner had

drafted a rough outline, stage designs were taking shape, and characters preliminarily cast, with Elsner taking the lead as Father Serra.¹³⁷ To scout potential extras, Elsner visited Sherman Institute “to look over the 600 Indians there as accessories.”¹³⁸ Upon his return from the Institute, Elsner further remarked that he was “intensely enthusiastic over the dramatic countenances that he saw there, and the possibilities of using this material for the big mob scenes in the play.”¹³⁹

Frohman and Elsner’s extravagant mission play was scheduled to debut at the Inn during Christmas 1910. The play had four acts with sets spread throughout the Inn and atop nearby Mt. Rubidoux, a small granite hill owned by Miller which he had transformed into an auto-tourism destination because of its panoramic views of Riverside.¹⁴⁰ Complete with familiar tropes of the time centering on the vanishing savage, naïve yet dangerous “half-breed” women who must choose between a Christian or heathen life, and kind Franciscans trying valiantly to civilize their Native neophytes, the play’s storyline was heavily influenced by Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona*, already a nationwide sensation for twenty-five years.

Elsner’s draft centered on the life of Junipero Serra and opened with Serra descending Mt. Rubidoux to pray and counsel the Native Americans on the importance of work, farming, honesty, and forgiveness. At the conclusion of the first act, an Indian named Starlight interrupts Serra to inform him that the supreme chief has ordered Serra to stop his missionary work “under the pain of annihilation.” Serra, of course, refuses. The second act, titled the “Big Indian Scene,” opens with tribal leaders, after much discussion, deciding to burn Father Serra at the stake. “As the fire is about to be applied

to the faggots a terrific storm breaks out, the fire at the stake is extinguished and the Indians believe that the moon and the Great Spirit have combined in saving Father Serra's life," Elsner's draft reads. The third act symbolized a fight between "good" and "evil" centered on a love story to appeal to American audiences. In this act, a young "half breed" woman, a former lover of Starlight, is introduced and she is now involved in a plot to oust Serra along with Starlight's father. The "half breed," as she is called in the play's draft, attempts to persuade Starlight to break free from Serra, but he resists her and "maintains a stoic silence during her impassioned pleadings." He implores his father to stop fighting Serra and the "half breed" attempts to kill Starlight, who is saved by Serra. The "half breed" woman is wanton and dangerous, characterized by mixed ancestry, and desires to lead Starlight away from the Franciscans' righteous path. The final act is a "Grand Christmas Finale" with the padres hanging a new bell at the side of the mission when the "half breed" girl comes to Serra begging for his forgiveness. Serra gives her his blessing just as the girl slumps over dead.¹⁴¹ The play's message is clear. Native resistance is futile and will only end in defeat or death.

Frohman and Elsner's play never reached production and was not discussed further after 1910. The play's elaborate sets and hundreds of actors most likely proved too cumbersome and expensive, but Miller already had another plan in the works with *Los Angeles Times* columnist John Steven McGroarty. At the same time Miller was working with Frohman, he was also in talks with McGroarty, at the urging of Stanford President and Miller's lifelong friend, David Starr Jordan.¹⁴² The letters begin on June 7, 1909, with a note from Miller to McGroarty stating, "Sometime when convenient will

you not come down for over a Sunday, and let us agree on some basis for the writing of the play.”¹⁴³ The negotiations were swift and on June 22, Miller wrote McGroarty, “I return herewith signed copy of our agreement regarding the writing of *The Mission Play*. Hoping we may be of mutual benefit.”¹⁴⁴

The contract between the two is most intriguing. The document, dated June 21, 1909, very explicitly states that Miller is employing McGroarty to write the play and that Miller must approve the final product no later than October 1, 1909, or the contract would become null and void. Miller agrees to pay McGroarty fifteen percent of all gross profits from admission fees taken at every performance, but sole ownership of the play lay with Miller and his heirs in perpetuity.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps Miller continued work with Frohman and Elsner because McGroarty did not finish his play draft by the deadline. Dismayed by the exorbitant expense and effort of the vision Elsner presented in June 1910, however, Miller returned to McGroarty. A last letter from Miller to McGroarty on August 9, 1910, reads, “I am so glad to learn that *The Mission Play* is progressing so well. I wish it were so that you could come down here while you were working on it. Come down with your wife why don’t you? You know you are always more than welcome.”¹⁴⁶ Legend has it that McGroarty took Miller up on his offer and spent time at the Mission Inn penning his masterpiece, with Miller even naming a room after the writer on the hotel’s fourth floor.

To match the romantic tone of the completed play, which details the founding of the California missions and their subsequent decay, *The Mission Play* origin story of contracts and deadlines between Miller and McGroarty was reworked for promotional

materials. As the publication *California Life* tells it in their 1919 special edition dedicated to *The Mission Play*,

At the foot of the Serra cross on Mount Rubidoux the *Mission Play* was born. As pilgrims ascending some mount of blessed memory the author, John Steven McGroarty, and Frank Miller of the Mission Inn at Riverside, walked to the summit of this peak where the Serra cross now stands, one August morning in 1911. Looking out over 'this dear and lovely land,' its purple peaks, its shining ocean, its poppied plains, the pageant of the past walked in stately processional before the inspired gaze of the author.¹⁴⁷

Miller dedicated a cross to Father Serra on Mt. Rubidoux in 1907, but other than that, the mountain had no mission connection, save for in the imagination. McGroarty's *The Mission Play*, with its complex sets, elaborate costumes, and large cast proved too big to put on in the confines of the Mission Inn and it was instead staged outside Mission San Gabriel until 1927 when the Arthur Benton-designed San Gabriel Mission Playhouse opened.¹⁴⁸ Miller remained connected with the play, owning the rights to it for the first five years and serving on *The Mission Play* board of directors until May 1925 when he resigned to focus on his health.¹⁴⁹

As William Deverell has stated, the true power of *The Mission Play* was that it obscured the divisions between drama and history as viewers canonized "the play as Southern California history itself, come back to life exactly where all assumed it had begun, under the stars at the San Gabriel Mission, that ancient engine of civilization."¹⁵⁰ The Mission Inn's success was predicated on blurring those lines of drama and history to produce awestruck guests who wanted to come back for more. Productions like *The Mission Play* provided the perfect combination of romantic opulence with the educational benefits of supposed historical truth. Miller launched increasingly into the theatrical world after his initial failure to stage a show stopping mission saga at the hotel. The

Mission Inn's dramas urged viewers to give grateful thanks to the Spanish explorers and Franciscan padres who Miller deemed made the California paradise a reality and inspired the Mission Inn's beauty.¹⁵¹

Nativity Play

Miller's longest running theatrical production was the Inn's annual "Nativity Play." Written by DeWitt Hutchings, the play debuted at the hotel on December 24, 1915, and ran each Christmas until 1933.¹⁵² Set in an early nineteenth-century California mission, the play depicts two aging kindly Franciscan fathers, Padre Juan and Padre Pedro, telling their Indian wards and Balthazar "the negro," of Father Serra, St. Francis, and Christ's birth. The play begins with the padres gathering neophytes Maria, Jose, Esteban, Miguel, Melchior, Alessandro, Gaspar, and Balthazar to reenact the nativity. The padres arrange the children into position, instructing them on how to sit and stand. The children fumble, acting innocently juvenile. States Father Pedro,

Careful, Maria, don't drop your crown. Sit right here by the crib...Balthazar, you look as if you had stepped out of some old painting, and were ready for a Venetian feast. The sheep skin over your shoulder, Esteban, not over your head. Your hair is enough of a shock as it is. That's better. Now we will do. Be careful of these fine robes, Melchior, Balthazar, Gaspar. Remember that La Senora de Bandini graciously lent them to us, and that her great grandmother in Seville used to wear them.¹⁵³

The play's narrative immediately links the missions to the region's powerful California land grant families, such as the Bandinis, and forges direct connections to their European Spanish heritage, noting that Senora de Bandini has lent the neophytes precious robes worn by her ancestors in Seville. After explaining the significance of the nativity scene, Juan and Pedro tell the children of the sacrifices of St. Francis, founder of the Franciscan order. As the cast gathers around the manger, the stage goes dark and a spotlight

illuminates a series of tableaux depicting St. Francis at the cross, St. Francis and the wolf, St. Francis and the birds, and St. Francis and his book of rules. With the lights back on, Pedro and Juan describe the struggles of mission founder Junipero Serra to continue St. Francis's teachings and to live a chaste obedient life in poverty:

Then, children, you must know that this love for the Christ Child that so filled the heart of good St. Francis, was carried on down through the years, into many countries far away, by means of his brown robed followers. In this way the story of the Christ came to the heart of a good priest in far off Spain, who was called Junipero Serra...he was led to leave his home in sunny Spain and cross the wide and stormy ocean, that he might tell to the Indians of Mexico and California the wonderful tale of the Babe of Bethlehem.¹⁵⁴

Once again, the lights dim and a spotlight shines on four tableaux showing Serra and Spanish explorer Portola, Serra with a mission bell and cross, Serra with Indian children on his lap, and Serra and the children singing Christmas songs, as a voiceover stated, "Especially did he [Serra] love the little Indian children and he was never so happy as when they would sit on his lap or stand at his knees, listening to the sweet old story of the Child who brought Christmas to them."¹⁵⁵ According to the "Nativity Play," the mission's native children were able to lead a carefree childhood. They were docile, content, and obedient with no familial bonds other than their gentle Franciscan guardians. Between each set of tableaux, Ramona, played by Miller's sister and Inn manager Alice Richardson, led students from Sherman Institute onto the stage to perform songs and dances.¹⁵⁶



Figure 15: Contact sheet print of Alice Richardson dressed as an “Indian maiden” while holding a bowl of oranges in front of the Mission Inn. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

The explicit power assertions of the Inn’s “Nativity Play” run deeper than just the stereotypical script. First, Francis Borton and DeWitt Hutchings played Padre Juan and Padre Pedro, while the mission neophytes were actually Native American children from Sherman. Because of this, Juan and Pedro’s paternalistic language toward the children is transformed from a racialized depiction of the past to a very clear declaration of current hierarchies. Even more strange and disturbing, Frank Miller himself donned the padre robe to portray Junipero Serra. The imagery is potently overt. Miller, then a respected

businessman revered for his tireless labor promoting and developing Riverside, was costumed as Serra in a play worshipping Serra's work "to apply the waters of Christian baptism to the gentile heathen" and to create a "civilized" California. According to the Inn's "Nativity Play," Miller is Riverside's Father Serra.¹⁵⁷



Figure 16: Mission Inn "Nativity Play," 1928. Miller is standing in the upper left corner next to his son-in-law DeWitt Hutchings, both are dressed in padre robes. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

Miller's portrayal of Serra, especially the tableaux of Serra singing with Native children on his lap, is further problematized because of Miller's integral role in bringing Sherman Institute to Riverside, which opened in 1902. As historian Nathan Gonzales has traced, Miller's efforts to permanently relocate the boarding school to Riverside from its original location in nearby Perris began in 1899, as Miller publically threw his substantial local political weight to Republican California Senate candidates who supported the

school's move.¹⁵⁸ At the same time, Miller also lobbied for a Riverside Indian school provision to be added to the 1899 Indian Appropriation Act, but was unsuccessful because his petition was too late for inclusion.¹⁵⁹ Undeterred, Miller continued writing Indian Commission officials and California legislators, describing the subpar conditions and lack of water at the Perris school and touting the merits of Riverside against the other potential locations in Los Angeles County.¹⁶⁰ By the summer of 1900, the Department of the Interior approved the purchase of forty acres of Riverside land on Magnolia Avenue for the new school.¹⁶¹ Conveniently, the land was owned by Miller's sister and her husband, Alice and Frank Richardson, and was located on Miller's Pacific Electric trolley line.¹⁶²

Miller unabashedly used Sherman as a tourist destination, often advertising Sherman in tandem with the hotel. An Inn promotional pamphlet produced circa 1903 featured panoramic views of the Sherman campus's new Mission Revival style buildings and antiqued sepia pictures showing a collection of Native American baskets. Most evocatively, the pamphlet included, in between images of the Inn, citrus groves, and wide palm-lined drives, a photo of the Sherman mandolin club with twenty-eight young girls in prim Victorian high collared white dresses juxtaposed next to a photo of an old native woman sitting cross-legged in front of a small hut made of tree branches. The caption reads, "The home from which they come."¹⁶³ This advertisement was not just promoting the Inn, it was demonstrating the "civilizing" efforts of Sherman and the Riverside community as a whole. Sherman, like other Native American boarding schools and Americanization programs throughout the United States preached Christianity and the

acculturating influences of agriculture, keeping house, hygiene, and vocational education. As Douglas Sackman eloquently described, “ Schools like the Sherman Institute trained ideological floodlights on the conquered landscape, making it appear to be an empire of light and liberty...Dispossessed of this original landscape, the Cahuilla and other Indians would go on to toil for wages.”¹⁶⁴

In addition to their broad use for tourist enjoyment through the hotel’s pageants and trolley rides, the Mission Inn also employed native children and teenagers from Sherman as servers for Indian-themed galas and special events. At a March 1909 hotel reception for naturalist John Burroughs held in the Inn’s “Indian Room,” for example, young Sherman women waited on reception guests. As the local press detailed, “The afternoon was delightfully passed in informal social chat over the cups of fragrant tea and dainty cakes served by girls from Sherman Institute.”¹⁶⁵ In this, the native women were utilized as added decoration for the occasion’s Indian ambience and their employment as serving staff supported Sherman’s assimilation goals that reinforced racial hierarchies.¹⁶⁶ Aside from his support of Sherman acculturation programs, Miller was also active with other Americanization efforts in Riverside, such as the Community Settlement Association, which taught weaving, home economics, hygiene, and cooking to the local Mexican population. Miller gave the Community Settlement a loan to open a larger weaving department and sold the products in the Inn’s Cloister Art Shop. The ethnocentric and paternalistic attitudes toward the Settlement’s Mexican and Mexican-American students are expressed in a July 13, 1925, letter to Frank Miller from the

Settlement Association's Executive Secretary Eloise Woods. Woods is sending Miller \$50 in partial repayment for his weaving loan. Writes Woods:

The Mexican girls who do this work [weaving] have progressed in American ways more than any others that I have seen. As an example one of the families has bought a new house but they won't move into it until they can buy some new furniture and have it like a real American home. The girl talks it over with us and wants us to help her select it when she has the money ready. We think this is a real achievement...Let us thank you again for the important part you have played in this Americanization work, and I trust that all of your investments may prove as fruitful as this one, and give you as much pleasure in the good accomplished.¹⁶⁷

For Miller, local assimilation programs were convenient avenues for commercial exploitation.

Juan Bautista de Anza Pageant

The popularity of *The Mission Play* and the Inn's Christmas "Nativity Play" encouraged DeWitt Hutchings, with assistance from Francis Borton, to pen historical dramatizations for all manner of hotel and community events. Following the Panama-California International Exposition's turn toward joining pious mission heritage with the imperial grandeur and machismo of Spanish conquest, the Inn's theatrical endeavors focused less on the Franciscans and more on demonstrating a teleological progression of Manifest Destiny, Native conquest, and Anglo settlement, as if these events were inevitable and preordained by God. For the lavish August 1916 dedication of the Inn's Spanish Art Gallery and opening of the Spanish Masters exhibit on loan from New York's Ehrich Gallery, Hutchings wrote a short pageant depicting Juan Bautista de Anza's 1774 journey through Jurupa in the Santa Ana Valley across the river from Mt. Rubidoux.¹⁶⁸ While de Anza did travel along the Santa Ana River twice between 1774 and 1776, once making camp with a village of sixty Native Americans near the present site of Jurupa, Hutchings takes sentimental liberties with the rest of the story.¹⁶⁹

The pageant starred Hutchings as de Anza, Borton as de Anza's companion Padre Francisco Garces, Miss Gladys Dunbar as the "Spirit of the Santa Ana Valley," and two "Indians from Indian School," playing an "Indian of the Valley" and an "Indian from Sonora." While the other characters and actors were named, the Native Americans were identified only as Indians, their worth measured as interchangeable ethnic types, not as individuals.¹⁷⁰

The pageant is set on the bank of the Santa Ana River and opens with the Spirit of the Valley waking after a long slumber anxiously awaiting de Anza's exploration party.

To me, the Spirit of the Valley of the Santa Ana, the Sun's warmth is welcome after the chill of the night and especially on this day: the day on which my long centuries of sleep will end forever. Here under the arrow have I been resting, disturbed only now and then by a sound or a rustling as when animals first entered the Valley or as when later this Indian boy's people came. Now the full day is here. Last evening Lopis here told me that the White Man of whom I have dreamed, with others of his kind, was in the passes, and although the Gods shook them with the earthquake and hurled the hail stones at them they were not afraid, and nothing could stop them.¹⁷¹

The pageant's imagery is flowery yet pointed – the Santa Ana Valley had no history before the Spanish. The animals and Native Americans (lumped together) only momentarily disturbed the Spirit, it is the Spanish who will forever wake her.

De Anza, Pablo the "Indian from Sonora," and Father Garces enter in the next scene. Lopis the "Indian from the Valley" and Pablo greet each other and are commended for their welcoming words by the Spirit and de Anza, as teachers would praise students. De Anza then launches into a long speech declaring that the Spanish had brought peace and progress to the region through their discovery of an overland route from Mexico City to California. "The peace of strength we bring and the peace of future progress. This valley has been sleeping and shall now awaken, but this spot among such hills, under such a sky must never feel the pain of conflict," de Anza affirms.¹⁷²

Although de Anza proclaims peace, it is a peace predicated on the Spaniards' military strength:

I bow before you, sweet Spirit of the Santa Ana, and here by the side of the river I pledge you a future bright with the fulfillment of the dream which you have had in the long time of your dreaming. We have heard of the tradition of the valley that its inactivity would end when the arrow should give way before a stronger weapon. The guns of my brave followers fulfill that saying. But I interpret the meaning in a better way. I, the warrior, say that the strongest weapon is peaceful industry, made sacred by religion.¹⁷³

In the pageant's estimation, thanks to the Spanish, the Valley will boom with industry, for which the Spirit of the Valley has been waiting, while the Native Americans will quietly (and peacefully) be subdued into an agricultural community as predicted by the Spirit's dreams. States Padre Garces, "Of this valley shall it truly be said – Their swords shall be turned into plough shares and their spears into pruning hooks," a sentiment that conveniently aligned with the prevailing Native American acculturation practices focused on home economics and farming.¹⁷⁴ He additionally imagines "uplifted on the height a Cross, in place of the evil arrow."¹⁷⁵ Not only does this indicate Christianizing missions to convert the Native population but it also re-imagines the Serra Cross on Mt. Rubidoux as predestined. Miller did not just erect the cross as a tourist attraction and a complement to his mission fantasies, he was fulfilling a one hundred thirty-year old prophecy.

Since the pageant was part of the Inn's Spanish Art Gallery dedication, Hutchings linked the Mission Inn to notions of Spanish progress by staging a scene with de Anza envisioning the hotel and its collections as the end result of the Spaniards' cultural enlightenment. "I foresee for this valley at this spot called Jurupa a future that is bright and glorious," proclaims de Anza. "And as communities arise under the emblem Jurupa,

this valley will dedicate itself in time to all things that are uplifting in the way of industry, education and of art. Perhaps some of the masterpieces of the Masters of Old Spain will grace the shrines that are here builded [sic], and perhaps new Masters will create their own masterpieces in the shadow of these mighty hills.”¹⁷⁶

Community Pageant

While the Juan Bautista de Anza pageant was loosely based on actual events, the piece de resistance of DeWitt Hutchings’ theater career, an elaborate “Community Pageant” he wrote for Riverside’s 1917 Fourth of July celebration, is particularly historically suspect. The “Community Pageant” demonstrates the desire to link Riverside geographically to Spanish exploration, just as early hotel publications worked to connect the Inn to the region’s mission past. Much like Frohman and Elsner’s mission play, Hutchings’ epic never moved beyond the planning phase. Hutchings, a member of the Chamber of Commerce Pageant Committee (yes, such a committee did exist), proposed his dramatic designs for the city’s Fairmount Park Independence Day celebrations during an April 1917 Town Hall Meeting at the Loring Opera House, across Main Street from the Mission Inn.¹⁷⁷

The proposed pageant “emphasized peace, hospitality and religion as the guiding sentiments in the development of the Riverside community,” each theme directly associated with the Mission Inn. Containing four acts stretching from the mid-sixteenth century to 1917, the first act centered on a Mt. Rubidoux “Indian conclave” in 1543 where Native Americans from all surrounding tribes supposedly met every five years to settle “whether this community should be on the side of peace or on the side of war.”¹⁷⁸

The second scene rehashed the same de Anza story performed at the opening of the Spanish Art Gallery the previous year, while the third act was set at the home of Riverside pioneer rancher Louis Rubidoux. In this act, set in 1853, Rubidoux is hosting an open house to celebrate a wedding with the rancher and local Native Americans giving speeches on hospitality, how fertile the valley has become thanks to irrigation, and the discontinuation by all Native peoples of their ancient worship practices in favor of Christianity.¹⁷⁹ The final act takes place atop Mt. Rubidoux during an Easter Sunrise Service with a choir singing as a parade of nations climb to the Serra Cross symbolizing “America bringing the new way to the world, introducing the machinery of peace as against the machinery of war.”¹⁸⁰

Similar to the tale of ethnocentric progress woven by Hutchings in his de Anza pageant, the Community Pageant traces the domestication of Riverside into an agricultural and Christian Anglo town. Unfortunately, only general summaries survive for three of the Community Pageant’s acts. Luckily, Hutchings did write a detailed script and scene description for the first act depicting the “Indian Conclave,” which demonstrates his penchant for writing historical fiction that reaffirmed current social hierarchies and ethnic stereotypes, while also justifying U.S. imperialism and elevating the Mission Inn’s cultural cachet.

The nine-page script for the pageant’s first act begins on Mt. Rubidoux in December 1543 with a Native American shaman wearing a headdress and face paint as he dances, squats, points his arms to the four corners of the compass and gutturally chants around a large rock, scattering powder on the stage. “Everything is prepared for thy

coming, Sun God,” the shaman states. “Here at the Sacred Rock In-An-To-Va are all things ready on this day that thou hast appointed for the Council...Five days and five nights have the dance and the feasting continued. As five years ago and five years before that and five years before that forever, so have we conducted the ceremonies.”¹⁸¹

According to the pageant’s text, Mt. Rubidoux was a spiritual site where Native American leaders from the region gathered every five years to renew peace treaties around In-An-To-Va, a great sacred rock. As the shaman summons the Sun God, tribal leaders from the Soboba, Jurupa, Politana, Yuma, and Yaqui people burst onto the stage, chanting and whooping while running in a figure eight around the rock.¹⁸² As the leaders sit, the shaman explains that the rock is sacred because it appeared on the mountain after an ancient medicine man received a vision “of a man in long robes and with white face flying from the East.”¹⁸³ As Hutchings explains in a separate undated historical pamphlet,

This Being was white of skin and was dressed as the Franciscan Padres later were. He talked to the medicine man and told him the history of the Indian people, saying that men of his look would come from the East, that this was fated, and that the Indians should not oppose them...It is a striking fact that Riverside marks the point of Cortez’s farthest north. It is a striking fact that this same tradition is the one that Cortez found and used in Mexico in his conquests there, the tradition which is known as the Fair God.¹⁸⁴

The tribal leaders sit around the rock describing experiences with Spanish explorers in their lands, some only spying the Spanish galleons, while other tribes clashed violently with the newcomers. The leaders argue heatedly over what should be done about the Spanish incursion, split between peaceful coexistence and bloodshed. To break the deadlock, the shaman summons the Sun God and reaches a final decision:

Remember that out of the east was to come a man with a white face and a long robe and others like him, and then the race of the white man. Remember what is predicted. Though the Indians now possess this land they shall pass, and it shall become the white man’s land...Keep this

mountain holy. Let the peace of the valley of Jurupa be the sign. Preserve the hospitality of the meeting place of the trails. Religion is the final answer. We can await the outcome without fear.¹⁸⁵

As the shaman speaks the tribal leaders point toward the sky and a man dressed in a Franciscan robe materializes in the background reaching his hands to heaven, as well.

The “Community Pageant” was cloaked as a work of history. “Such a ceremony starting with such a tradition always has a historical basis,” wrote Hutchings.¹⁸⁶ However based on history he claimed the pageant to be, it also had many glaring and politically motivated interpretive flaws. The “Community Pageant,” and by default the de Anza pageant, which Hutchings subsumed into the larger proposed July Fourth production, like other civic spectacles of the time sought, as David Glassberg states, “to invent urban citizenship through emotionally compelling representations of the city’s history.”¹⁸⁷

More directly to the point, Hutchings, through his pageants, attempted to exaggeratedly emphasize Riverside’s Spanish exploration and mission connections to legitimize the Inn and to place the city as a whole within the mission tourism circuit. “People often ask whether there was any old mission at Riverside, and when they learn that there was no old mission here, they asked why the Inn is constructed in the Mission Style,” Hutchings stated. He continues that “while there was no mission actually on the site...that through the Spanish period great historical events of importance occurred in connection with what is now Riverside County or with the site of the present Riverside.”¹⁸⁸

The idea and historical evidence for the “Indian Conclave” segment of the Community Pageant is solely based on an 1848 pioneer memoir described in the April 7, 1917, *Riverside Enterprise* article, “Indians Held Ceremonials on Rubidoux.” According to the memoir of Jonathan Tibbet, unearthed in 1917 by his son, Tibbet observed a Native

American ceremony on Mt. Rubidoux in December 1848 and another one five years later. Tibbet asserted that “There was a crowd of probably 2,000 Indians gathered from all sections and their service was held on the eastern slope of the mountain...It was held for the purpose of reasserting their loyalty to the white men and their laws. A medicine man went through many incantations and gutturals and performed several functions of greatest interested to the white man.” There was no indication of how Tibbet gained access to the ceremony or how he learned of its supposed subject matter.¹⁸⁹ Handily, the “old rock where the events were held” that was called In-An-To-Va in Hutchings’ drama was moved and displayed in the Inn’s front court, advertised as the “ancient Indian sacrificial rock from Rubidoux Mountain and around it every fifth year was held the great religious ceremony of the Indians of Southern California, ending in 1853 and going back into the dim centuries long before.”¹⁹⁰ Curiously, just two days after the Tibbet’s newspaper article ran, Hutchings announced his “Community Pageant” proposal at the Loring Opera House town hall meeting.¹⁹¹

Hutchings selectively picked through historical events and popular stereotypes from different time periods and regions to artfully craft his pageant narrative. First, there were pre-contact and historic Native American villages scattered around Mt. Rubidoux, including the Jurupa site described by Juan Bautista de Anza, a prehistoric site located by what is now the Rubidoux Nature Center as well as historic villages on the perimeter of Fairmount Park, the base of Mt. Rubidoux, and Spring Rancheria at the foot of Little Rubidoux, which remained occupied until the late nineteenth century.¹⁹² It is certainly likely that Mt. Rubidoux was used as a Native meeting place and for ceremonial

purposes, but less likely that the function of these meetings was for tribal leaders to peacefully resign their fate and pledge not to fight the incursion of Franciscan padres and Spanish explorers. The “sacred” or “sacrificial” rock used in the ceremonies observed by Tibbet and placed at the Inn was more plausibly a boulder pockmarked with bedrock milling features and mortar indentations from use in food production.



Figure 17: The supposed “sacrificial rock” from Mt. Rubidoux, which was prominently displayed in the Mission Inn’s front courtyard. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

Early Riverside resident Jessie Burnham, like Tibbet, claimed in an October 1969 *Riverside Press* article that “Each year on December 21 they [local Native Americans] gathered at the summit of Mt. Rubidoux to offer sacrifices to the sun.”¹⁹³ The article’s

author, Riverside historian Tom Patterson, was skeptical about Burnham's recollection and instead believed that Burnham's story was a false memory manufactured by Frank Miller. "The source of this [Burnham's] story is not clear," wrote Patterson. "It could have originated with Frank Miller...He said Indians had held ceremonies on top, but he never said who told him."¹⁹⁴

Additionally, situating the "Indian Conclave" in 1543 with tribal leaders discussing their Spaniard sightings accomplishes other civic promotional goals by placing Riverside at the forefront of Spanish travels to the region. Hutchings asserts in separate Mission Inn literature that both Cortes and de Alarcon made their way to Riverside in the 1540s. This is a gross overstatement as the explorers stopped at Baja and the California-Arizona border, respectively. It is well established that the first Spanish explorer to voyage through the Riverside region was Don Pedro Fages and not until 1772, just two years before de Anza's expedition.¹⁹⁵ By fabricating the connection with Cortes, Hutchings is also able to claim that similarly to the Aztecs who initially welcomed Cortes as the coming of the "Fair God" Quetzalcoatl, the Indian people near Rubidoux envisioned and accepted the coming of the Franciscan missionaries well over two hundred years before it happened, thus neatly and cleanly justifying the history on which the Mission Inn was based.

The Mission Inn's dramatic forays exemplify Miller's vision for the hotel as a purveyor of history, as well as luxury. Like the Inn's sumptuous appointments, however, the history acted out at the hotel was one designed to make Miller's elite guests feel comfortable and at home. The plays and pageants produced at the hotel visually

presented imperial conquest and colonial control as moral and virtuous acts of Manifest Destiny, with the people of Riverside (and greater Southern California) simply living out God's plan. But, the Inn's theatrics were just as much about the present as they were about the past, especially considering Miller's role in opening the Sherman Institute and his use of Native children as neophytes opposite his Father Serra. Akin to the Inn's architectural styles, Miller and his staff responded quickly to change their historical interpretations to better reflect regional trends and tourist interests, as illustrated through the increased (and often strained) efforts to commemorate Riverside's brushes with Spanish explorers.

Conclusion

While Southern California boosters created a distinct mythical heritage in service of crafting a consumable regional past, Frank Miller pursued the California dream by following suit and constructing his own fantasy past within this already manufactured one. Miller extended the sanitized vision of mission life to fit his hotel enterprise, molding the Inn into "The most novel and attractive hotel in California" praised for its "unique individuality" that stood "entirely alone" amidst the region's dozens of other grand tourist hotels.¹⁹⁶ In this process the Mission Inn became an essential part of the booster machine to reconstruct Southern California's mission history into promotional gold. But, Miller's efforts were not limited to the Mission Inn. Once he solidified the imagined narrative surrounding his hotel, Miller sought to further build upon the tenuous mission connections he forged at the Inn to turn all of Riverside, with the Mission Inn as the centerpiece, into a mission-themed tourist wonderland.

Mt. Rubidoux, named for pioneering Riverside rancher Louis Rubidoux who owned the surrounding land until his death in 1868, was the site of much of the Inn's mission and Spanish lore. With financial assistance from Henry Huntington and other local investors, Miller transformed the small unassuming hill into a must-see attraction. The steep and winding road to the top – constructed by Yellowstone and Yosemite National Park engineer Hiram Chittenden – provided a thrilling ride for Mission Inn guests and stunning vistas of Riverside and the Santa Ana River bed, where tourists could look out and see the historic crossing point of Juan Bautista de Anza.¹⁹⁷ In 1907, Miller erected a cross dedicated to Father Serra at the mountain's summit with a plaque unveiled in 1909 by President William Howard Taft and blessed by Los Angeles Catholic Bishop Thomas Conaty.¹⁹⁸

The plaque reads, "The beginning of civilization in California. Fra Junipero Serra – Apostle, Legislator, Building. To commemorate his good works this tablet is here placed."¹⁹⁹ The cross and the plaque, coupled with the romantic stories dreamed by John Steven McGroarty and DeWitt Hutchings, told the tale that modern California began right there on Mt. Rubidoux. As Hutchings relates, "Mt. Rubidoux had a message to deliver. This message was important and the mountain longed to utter it...It had to be patient till someone could hear, understand, and interpret."²⁰⁰ That person was, of course, Frank Miller, who would continue developing the mountain as an attraction for his hotel guests, coordinating annual Easter Sunrise Services and dotting the rocky hillside with monuments to civic leaders. If the Mission Inn could be a mission reincarnate, then Mt. Rubidoux was Riverside's own Mt. Sinai. As Hutchings dramatically proclaimed, Mt.

Rubidoux was “the loved and holy place where citizens receive and renew their patriotic and religious consecration toward civic duty, neighborly love and noble purpose.”²⁰¹



Figure 18: Frank Miller standing at the summit of Mt. Rubidoux next to the Serra Cross. The plaque dedicating the cross to Junipero Serra is set into the rock directly underneath. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Mt. Rubidoux is just one example. Following the end of San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific International Exposition, Miller was also an active participant in the Riverside Park Board’s attempt to construct a fully functioning commercial Indian village at Riverside’s Fairmount Park adjacent to downtown. The committee successfully secured the Santa Fe Railroad’s popular Pueblo Indian exhibition after the exposition’s

closing in December 1915.²⁰² The display, a replica of Pueblo cliff dwellings of the American Southwest, with layers of small stone and adobe rooms separated by roughly hewn wooden ladders, was designed by Santa Fe concession and curio titan Fred Harvey, who plundered the Pueblo ruins of Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona to assemble the exhibit's collections. Consisting of sixteen train carloads of sandstone and forty-eight carloads of adobe and artifacts, the Santa Fe exhibition was intended to be "an absolute portrayal of ancient pueblo life, reproducing in exact and minute detail every possible instrument of the aborigines."²⁰³ The cost to ship sixty-four train cars of material across the state to Riverside was formidable. Miller originally volunteered to foot the entire transport bill, but as the price skyrocketed, private subscriptions were secured from other prominent citizens and a plan was drafted for the Park Board to slightly increase their annual budget each year to allow for the incremental construction of the village. The Mission Inn planned elaborate fundraisers to defray village construction costs, such as the Indian costume ball, which was described as "Heap big chiefs in war paint and feathers, and winsome Indian lasses in gay colored gowns with beads and spangles," all enjoying "an Indian ball in Indian settings and Indian costumes with Indian refreshments and Indian music."²⁰⁴

From 1915 to 1918, the progress of the Indian village project was a mainstay in Riverside newspapers with the local press and city officials concluding that the placement of the Santa Fe exhibit at Fairmount Park would make Riverside "the center and authority in matters of historic importance to Southern California" with the village adding "another link in the chain of exhibits which will eventually establish Riverside as the center of

present Indian historical authority.”²⁰⁵ To jumpstart construction, in February 1916, Miller invited W.F. Sesser, manager of the Santa Fe exhibit in San Francisco, to the Mission Inn to gain his perspective on how to successfully install and operate the Pueblo.²⁰⁶ Sesser states that the Pueblo must be constructed as a representative structure “that will be Indian in character,” while taking “some from Hopi, some from Acoma, some from Laguna, and also the Navajo Hogans” in an effort to eliminate “many undesirable things” that would have to be included in an exact replica of any one specific group of native people. To maintain a sense of authenticity, Sesser suggested employing Sherman Institute students not just to work at the village, but to actually live onsite, stating “I am informed that probably Indians from the School at Riverside can be housed here all the time. Some arrangement can be made to this effect.”²⁰⁷ The Riverside Park Board responded very affirmatively to his suggestions, writing in March 1917 to Jesse Nusbaum, architect of the Santa Fe’s Panama-California Exposition Painted Desert exhibit, “We have in mind to have Indian families occupy the various apartments, working at trades.”²⁰⁸ Sesser also strongly advised that a main feature of the village be an Indian store, which would show the “products of Indian labor, Navajo blankets, pottery, baskets, silver work, etc.” In the end, Sesser concluded that “there are not many locations where it [the Pueblo] would harmonize and fit in with the environments as it will at Riverside.”²⁰⁹

Moving forward with Sesser’s ideas, in January 1917, the Park Board commissioned James Chimerica and Ray Seumtewa, Hopi students at Sherman Institute, to paint a large watercolor of what the Indian Village should look like from their “real

native Indian viewpoint” and the Board authorized the construction of 8,000 adobe bricks to anchor the exhibit’s sandstone slabs.²¹⁰ Continued funding issues and problems securing an architect to complete the project inhibited the completion of the Indian village and by 1920 the trainloads of Pueblo artifacts and stone slabs were spread apart between Park Board officials, the Fairmount Park site, and the Santa Fe Railroad warehouse in San Bernardino where the majority of the Pueblo goods were stored.²¹¹ Miller himself cannot find most of the village artifacts entrusted to his care, writing to a Park Board colleague in June 1920: “There is in the receiving room here one half dozen Indian water bottles and there were two small Indian blankets, loosely woven things with holes worn through them that were received at the same time [as the rest of the village material]. They seem to have disappeared, at least I have been trying to get track of them and I am afraid they have been lugged off.”²¹²

Although the Indian village never came to fruition, it is perhaps the crescendo of Miller’s myth-making initiative to aggressively advance Riverside’s position as a preeminent tourist destination, molding the city into a stage for a specific brand of highly-controlled history and landscaped beauty predicated on the widespread use of native peoples as picturesque money-making enterprises. To add irony to this endeavor, the land on which Fairmount Park was constructed was the actual site of a Cahuilla village. Located on the park’s North Hill near a water source known as Spring Brook, the encampment was an extension of the large Spring Rancheria site at the base of Mt. Rubidoux, which as archaeologist Karen Swope has noted was only “separated by a swale from Little Rubidoux” where the rancheria stood. The quarrying of the North Hill

in 1895 to complete road improvement projects cut off Spring Rancheria residents from their water supplies at Spring Brook, thus driving the Cahuilla from the land. Additional reports state that a Native American cemetery was located near Little Rubidoux that was destroyed in 1910 by the building of Indian Hill Drive. During land grading, Riverside Land & Irrigating Company executives claimed they extracted 120 barrels of human remains and Indian relics.²¹³

Opened as a park in 1898, the Fairmount site was expanded and re-landscaped in 1911 by the Olmsted Brothers, sons of New York's Central Park mastermind Frederick Law Olmsted, to include meandering pathways, manicured gardens, lush green patches, and eventually a central lake.²¹⁴ The Pueblo dwelling from the Panama-Pacific International Exposition had no connection to the native history of the region, but was the most identifiable and famous variety of Indian dwelling, promoted through the Santa Fe's advertising campaigns and train tours of the American Southwest.²¹⁵ In Riverside, students from Sherman, coming from a diverse array of tribal backgrounds, would stand in as the generally native inhabitants of the Pueblo scene. The quarrying of Fairmount Park's North Hill to construct roadways and residential developments in the name of Anglo progress had forced the Cahuilla from the area, but left an eyesore within the park-like setting that city officials then wanted to cover with a new re-created Indian village. The uncontrollable and problematic natives of the original village had to go in order to make way for the picturesque variety who would make goods to delight the hordes of visitors Riverside hoped to attract.



Figure 19: Spring Rancheria, circa 1895. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

In his later years Miller leveraged his considerable political and financial clout to transform downtown Riverside into a showcase of Mission and Spanish Revival architecture, his final move to cement the city's gradual redefinition and the triumph of the Mission Inn's agenda. Miller championed the city-wide effort to create a Riverside civic center, with all public buildings following the Mission and Spanish Revival styles, surrounded by a central plaza. Until funding fell through in the late 1920s, Miller planned on building a full-size replica of Seville, Spain's Giralda Tower at the corner of Seventh Street and Orange Street, the tower acting as the main stylistic force behind the civic center and planned to flank the center's entrance. The erection of a central plaza was meant to create a "monumental group of public buildings," that included the Post Office, City Hall, the Riverside Municipal Auditorium and Soldiers' Memorial, the First

Congregational Church, and the three railway stations, with hopes of also adding a new library and art gallery, all emanating from the Mission Inn.²¹⁶ As Riverside publisher Clarence Barton wrote in 1926, calling to mind mission hospitality, Franciscan sacrifice, and the triumph of Riverside as divinely preordained, Riverside’s destiny as a “beautiful city” was born with the Mission Inn and the “unfoldment [sic] of the vision” can only be appreciated “after a pilgrimage to its shrines” and “can be fully sensed only as one dwells in the spirit of the wonderfully fine things that Riverside has done as spontaneous tributes to character, to sacrifice and to service.”²¹⁷

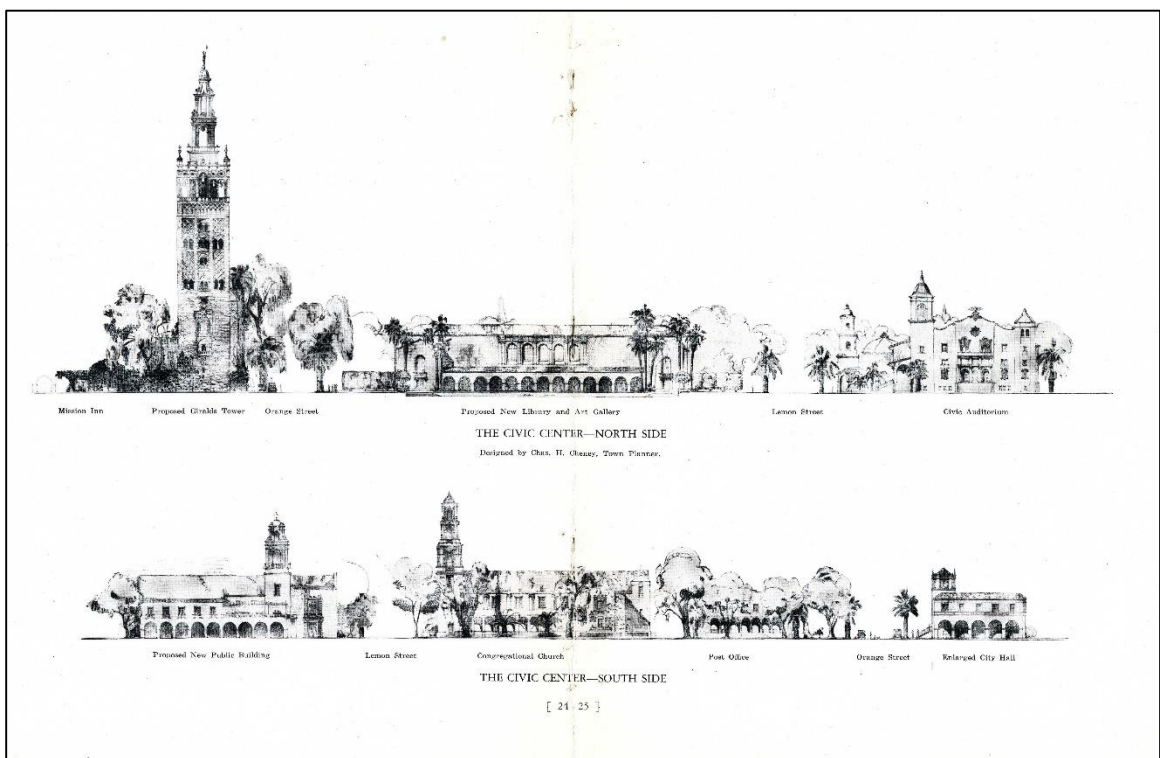


Figure 20: Drawings for the Riverside Civic Center, including the Mission Inn’s proposed Giralda Tower replica, which was never undertaken. Dated 1929. Image courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

In the end, what began as a project to stake a claim in the growing mission tourism industry grew into the Mission Inn becoming a driving force in the maintenance

and expansion of the region's mythical heritage. Miller and his staff worked feverishly to craft an actual historical link, where there was no geographic one, between the Mission Inn and the mission system and later, between the Inn and the Spanish conquistadores. Through this process the Inn not only aided in reimagining Southern California's history, it also reimagined itself, and Riverside as a whole, into this past that never was. What renders the Mission Inn unique amongst the bevy of sites and celebrations promulgating this mission fantasy is the scale of mythmaking enterprises in originating at this one site, located in an area with little tangible mission or Spanish heritage to build upon, and the staying power of these myths, which still confound visitors today.

NOTES

¹ Allis Miller Hutchings, *The Monkey Book* (Riverside: Mission Inn, 1946), 20, box 140, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections.

² Steve Lech, *Along the Old Roads: A History of the Portion of Southern California that Became Riverside County, 1772-1893* (Riverside: Published by Author, 2004), 11-17. Riverside area lands claimed by Mission San Gabriel and Mission San Luis Rey included the San Bernardino Rancho, San Gorgonio Rancho, Jurupa Rancho, Temecula Rancho, and the San Jacinto Rancho.

³ Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1946), 70-83.

⁴ A.K Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 143 and Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 15.

⁵ Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles* (New York: Verso, 1990), 24-30.

⁶ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

⁸ Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 2.

⁹ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 98-99.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹² Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 370.

¹³ William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 15.

¹⁴ Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 81.

¹⁵ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 46.

¹⁶ Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 3-7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 369.

¹⁸ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 21.

¹⁹ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 53-54.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 62 and Kropp, *California Vieja*, 27.

²¹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 26.

²² Kropp, *California Vieja*, 46.

²³ In addition to Lummis and Jackson, McWilliams and other California scholars cite early state historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, George Wharton James, and John Steven McGroarty as major myth troubadours. While he did not necessarily formulate the mission myth, McGroarty's works like the 1911 *California: Its History and Romance*, *The Mission Play*, his *Los Angeles Times* column "From the Green Verdugo Hills," and 1929's *Mission Memories* did much to promulgate the romantic vision of Southern California. For more on Ramona's role in the creation of Southern California's mythic past see Dydia DeLyser, *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005) and Kropp, "Los Dias Pasados: Tales from Nineteenth-Century California," in *California Vieja*, 19-46. While McWilliams and DeLyser cite *Ramona* as the main causation for much of the mission frenzy and historical myths that gripped Southern California in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Kropp sees the novel as a catalyst, but not the cause. Kropp details that *Ramona* in no way erased other regional historical narratives and that had the novel been the sole expression of the region's sanitized nostalgic past, this romantic vision would not have permeated as widely as it did.

²⁴ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 21-22.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁷ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 54.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 89; Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, 27-30; Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 4.

²⁹ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 118-119.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 9; Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 6-7.

³¹ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 121; In *Whitewashed Adobe*, Deverell specifically examines these issues in his chapters on the annual Fiesta de Los Angeles in his chapter "History on Parade," and in John Steven McGroarty's *Mission Play* in "The Drama of Los Angeles History."

³² Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 112.

³³ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*; Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 86; As Kropp and Lawrence Culver have shown, myth creation was central to place making throughout post-Civil War America; Sarah McCormick Seekatz demonstrates in

her forthcoming dissertation that myths in Southern California were not just limited to mission and Spanish fantasies, but also included an imagined Arabian past, which took hold in the Southern California desert and was initially formulated from the region's date industry. See Sarah McCormick Seekatz, "Blind Date: The Cultivation of an Arabian Fantasy in the Desert of Southern California" (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, expected completion 2014); The most detailed account of the Mission Inn's role in the Southern California "Spanish Fantasy Past" to date is in Kevin Starr's chapter "Art and Life in the Southland" from *Inventing the Dream* where he devotes a page and a half to describing the hotel's mission and Spanish imagery. The subsequent nods to the Inn in published scholarship are summaries of Starr's examination. The absence of the Mission Inn within the Southern California historiography may be a result of its location in Riverside, which is outside of the greater Los Angeles and San Diego metropolitan areas that have dominated much of the Southern California historical studies. There has been a growing concentration on the "Inland Empire" as a distinct region with unique historical trajectories, beginning with Make Davis's dystopian history of Fontana in "Junkyard of Dreams" from *City of Quartz*. More recently there has been a number of histories and literary works focusing on inland Southern California, including Douglas Sackman's examination of the citrus industry, Lawrence Culver's exploration of tourism in Palm Springs, as well as Gayle Wattawa and Susan Straight's push to illustrate a definitive Inland Empire sense of place in their literary collection *Inlandia* and Genevieve Carpio's forthcoming manuscript project "Racial Movements: Citizenship, Mobility, and the Making of the Inland Empire." See Davis, "Junkyard of Dreams," in *City of Quartz*, 375-440; Douglas Cazaux Sackman, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); Culver, *Frontier of Leisure*; Gayle Wattawa, ed., *Inlandia: A Literary Journey through California's Inland Empire* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2006); Genevieve Carpio, "Racial Movements: Citizenship, Mobility, and the Making of the Inland Empire" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013).

³⁵ David Starr Jordan to Frank Miller, 14 February 1905, file A500-190.I.E.21, Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

³⁶ Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938), 43-44. Gale, in one of her many exaggerated flourishes, states that Miller was a founder of the Landmarks Club with Lummis and Mount Rushmore sculptor Gutzon Borglum in 1895. While Miller was an early "lifetime" member of the Club (at a cost of \$25), no other sources corroborate that he was actually part of the twenty-three founding members, which as Lummis biographer Mark Thompson states was comprised of such boosters as Harrison Gray Otis, San Juan Capistrano Judge Richard Egan, and a director of the Santa Fe Railroad. Mark Thompson, *American Character: The Curious Life of Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Rediscovery of the Southwest* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001), 185. Architectural historian Karen Weitze also adds architects Arthur Benton and Sumner P. Hunt to this list of founders. Karen J. Weitze, "Arthur B. Benton," in *Toward a Simpler Way of Life: The Arts & Crafts Architects of California*, ed. Robert Winter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 192. Additionally, Riverside historian Tom Patterson refutes Gale's assertion, stating "The club's own account of itself doesn't mention Miller as a founder or as a worker in its cause at that stage, and he wasn't listed as an active member or officer even in 1903 after he had finished the initial Mission Revival phase of his hotel." Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California: Riverside's First Hundred Years*, 2nd ed., (Riverside: The Museum Press, 1996), 239. Miller did become increasingly active in the Landmarks Club in later years. He served as a Vice President from 1914 to 1919, was on the Club's Commission for the Restoration of Mission San Diego de Alcalá beginning in 1910, and hosted the organization's 1916 annual meeting at the Mission Inn. Landmarks Club Membership, MS.1.7, box 171, Charles Fletcher Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center; Landmarks Club Scrapbooks & Ledgers, MS.1.7, box 177, Charles Fletcher Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center; Alexander D. Bevil, "The Sacred and the Profane: The Restoration of Mission San Diego de Alcalá, 1866-1931," *The Journal of San Diego History* 38, no. 3 (Summer 1992): <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/92summer/mission.htm>.

³⁷ Maurice Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn: Frank A. Miller, A Life* (Riverside: Ashburton Publishing, 2013), 120.

³⁸ Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 28 and 35.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 187-188.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁴¹ Esther Klotz, *The Mission Inn: Its History and Artifacts* (Riverside: Rubidoux Printing, 1981), 5.

⁴² McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 209; Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 139-147; Sackman, *Orange Empire*, 18.

⁴³ McWilliams notes that the “urban-rural” landscape produced by the citrus orchards and their wealthy owners becomes a defining characteristic of life in and the environment of Southern California. Citrus cultivation, like the orange itself, was a symbol of “richness, luxury, and elegance.” As McWilliams states, “This citrus belt complex of peoples, institutions, and relationships has no parallel in rural life in America and nothing quite like it exists elsewhere in California. It is neither town nor country, neither rural nor urban.” McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 207. The image of the idyllic citrus landscape was heavily advertised with the circulation of “oranges and snow” postcards depicting sunlit orange trees surrounded by snow-capped mountains and railroads offering special tours through the groves. The Salt Lake Route, for example, offered “Orange Groves Excursions” from Los Angeles through Riverside and San Bernardino for \$1.75 round trip. “Orange Groves Excursions,” *Los Angeles Times*, 30 March 1909, II5. Historian Anthea Hartig contends that this carefully cultivated image of the genteel citrus farmer worked in tandem with other regional promotional machines, such as the railroads, to create and maintain a strict class system that exploited land and labor, but that worked to do so invisibly. Anthea Hartig, “Citrus Growers and the Construction of the Southern California Landscape, 1880-1940” (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2001). Sackman shows how citrus production and the upper class social mores that it implied became a main aspect of assimilation programs at Indian boarding schools, such as Riverside’s Sherman Institute. Additionally, as both Hartig and Sackman elaborate, the citrus orchards produced as much fruit as they did migrant laborers, who traveled the citrus belt with the picking season. Largely made up of Native American, Mexican, and Chinese workers who were paid by the piece, the citrus industry was one of imperial dominance and rigid racial castes. See Sackman, “The Fruits of Labor,” in *Orange Empire*, 123-153.

⁴⁴ “Riverside: The City Beautiful,” Salt Lake Route advertising brochure, 1907, F2000.1873, found box 110, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections.

⁴⁵ Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 7-8; Gale, *Frank Miller*, 40; Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 167. For more in depth coverage and analysis of Miller’s career before the 1903 opening of the Mission Inn, which falls largely beyond the scope of this dissertation, see Michael Rounds, “A Booster in Paradise: Frank Miller’s Early Career, 1874-1902” (M.A. thesis, University of California Riverside, 1988) and Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn*, 3-116.

⁴⁶ Shaffer, *See America First*, 5.

⁴⁷ “Studying Hotel Plans,” *Riverside Daily Press*, June 1, 1894, 3.

⁴⁸ Shaffer, *See America First*, 22; Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 116; There is much debate and discussion, especially among Mission Inn docents, about the origins of the Inn's original Glenwood name. Some claim it came from Miller's travels to Glenwood Springs, Colorado, but it officially remains a mystery. The hotel's name gradually evolved from the Glenwood Cottages, to the Glenwood Tavern, to the New Glenwood, to the Glenwood Mission Inn, to finally just the Mission Inn by the late 1920s.

⁴⁹ "Studying Hotel Plans."

⁵⁰ A.C. Willard, "The New Glenwood," architectural plans, file A500.190.IV.A.18, Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum (hereafter cited as RMM); "A.C. Willard," Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, 2006, accessed January 19, 2013, www.historycolorado.org/sites/default/files/.../Architects_willard.pdf. Willard also designed Riverside's Loring Building in 1890 and the Universalist-Unitarian Church in 1891.

⁵¹ Karen Jeanine Weitze, "Origins and Early Development of the Mission Revival in California" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1978), 129; Starr, "An American Mediterranean," in *Americans and the California Dream*, 365-414.

⁵² Weitze, "Origins and Early Development of the Mission Revival," 141.

⁵³ Maurice Hodgen and Sherry Bockman, "Frank Miller Timeline," History Research Committee, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

⁵⁴ Marshall Duell, "Frank Miller and the International Expositions" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Riverside, 1987), 44.

⁵⁵ "The New Glenwood," *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, March 26, 1896, 3.

⁵⁶ Weitze, "Sumner P. Hunt," in *Toward a Simpler Way of Life*, 183-185. Hunt would later design Charles Fletcher Lummis's Southwest Museum completed in 1914 and the rebuilt Raymond Hotel in Pasadena in 1902, after the original hotel was destroyed by fire.

⁵⁷ "The New Glenwood," *Riverside Daily Press*, August 20, 1897, 5.

⁵⁸ Nathan Gonzales, "Visit Yesterday, Today: Ethno-Tourism and Southern California, 1884-1955" (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2006), 52.

⁵⁹ Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 218 and 240; "Riverside & Arlington," Electric Railway History Association of Southern California, accessed January 21, 2013, <http://www.erha.org/r&a.htm>.

⁶⁰ Henry Huntington to Frank Miller, file A500-190.I.E.16, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM, 25 August 1902, 15 September 1902, 1 October 1902, 18 October 1902, 20 October 1902, 13 November 1902, 1 December 1902, 15 December 1902; Huntington to Miller, file A500-190.I.E.18, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM, 5 January 1903, 28 January 1903, 18 February 1903; A 1903 itemized receipt lists the Mission Wing's construction expenses as follows: Wilcox & Rose, contractors, \$141,537.78; Days work and material on new building; 13,101.59; Remodeling old buildings, 10,761.08; Architect fees, 4,276.00; New furniture and fixtures, 63,183.36; Final payment, 25%, due Wilcox & Rose, 44,444.61; Old furniture and fixtures, 18,217.18,

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- ⁶¹ Arthur Benton's work on the Mission Inn is left out of much of the Southern California historiography and Myron Hunt is, instead, listed as the sole Inn architect. This largely seems due to the fact that Carey McWilliams omitted Benton from his description of the hotel in *Southern California Country* and this mistake has been passed on into subsequent literature.
- ⁶² Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 240-241; Weitze, "Arthur B. Benton," in *Toward a Simpler Way of Life*, 192.
- ⁶³ "Work on the New Glenwood Will Begin Tomorrow," *Riverside Enterprise*, April 27, 1902, 3; "Thousands Saw Old Glory Kiss Breeze: Flag Raising at the New Glenwood Witnessed by a Tremendous Assemblage of Happy Riversiders," *Riverside Morning Enterprise*, February 24, 1903, 2.
- ⁶⁴ "Architecture," Mission Inn Museum website, accessed January 21, 2013, http://www.missioninmuseum.com/collect_archi/archi_cont.htm.
- ⁶⁵ "The New Glenwood: Riverside's Elegant New Tourist Hotel," *Riverside Enterprise*, June 27, 1902, 1.
- ⁶⁶ Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 11.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.
- ⁶⁸ "Finest in America: Riverside to Have Mission Arches Superior to All Others," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1908, II9.
- ⁶⁹ "Riverside: The City Beautiful," Salt Lake Route advertising brochure.
- ⁷⁰ "Home Again, Long Trip is Ended," *Riverside Enterprise*, October 24, 1907, 1.
- ⁷¹ Arthur B. Benton, "The California Mission and Its Influence Upon Pacific Coast Architecture," *The Architect and Engineer of California* 24, no. 1 (February 1911): 63-71, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.
- ⁷² "New Inn Will Be Reminiscent," *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 1909, VI.
- ⁷³ "Magnificent Mission Monastery, Crowning Triumph of the Glenwood," *Riverside Enterprise*, June 6, 1909, 1.
- ⁷⁴ "Lecture on Mission Indians Opens Glenwood Cloister," *Riverside Daily Press*, November 18, 1910, 1.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 48-49.
- ⁷⁷ Weitze, "Origins and Early Development of the Mission Revival," 204.
- ⁷⁸ Benton, "The California Mission," 63-75.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 63-71.

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- ⁸⁰ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 283 and 303. As Lowenthal elaborates, “Full-scale plaster casts of antique sculpture in Italian papal and ducal collections were first made in the sixteenth century, and seventeenth-century French monarchs...were their earliest assiduous collectors. Visiting Paris in 1665, Bernini stressed the importance of antique casts for the study of art and spurred the taking of moulds in Rome. In eighteenth-century England, antique casts and copies dominated the Adam rooms at Syon House, and Holkham, Kedleston, and Croome displayed substantial collections. Even American contempt for slavish devotion to the past did not preclude their acquisition of cast copies,” 303.
- ⁸¹ “The Glenwood/The Mission Inn, California’s Mission Hotel, Riverside, California,” advertising brochure, circa 1908, MIMSY 2009.56.6, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.
- ⁸² “The Glenwood Mission Inn Monastery Plans Completed,” *Riverside Enterprise*, May 13, 1909, 4; “Magnificent Mission Monastery, Crowning Triumph of the Glenwood.”
- ⁸³ “California’s Mission Inn, the Glenwood,” advertising brochure, circa 1909, MIMSY 2009.56.7, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center; Martin Hall, “The Reappearance of the Authentic,” *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp, et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 72; See also, Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).
- ⁸⁴ “New Glenwood Opening Now Set for Jan. 15,” *Riverside Daily Press*, January 3, 1903.
- ⁸⁵ “Change of Architects,” *Riverside Enterprise*, May 6, 1913, 2.
- ⁸⁶ Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 247; Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 36.
- ⁸⁷ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 164.
- ⁸⁸ Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 411; As a coincidence, Miller was acquainted with Bertram Goodhue’s brother, Harry Eldredge Goodhue, a Boston stained glass artist. H.E. Goodhue designed a three-panel stained glass window dedicated to Miller’s wife, Isabella, in the Cloister Wing’s Music Room. The Mission Inn Museum’s website incorrectly states that the stained glass artist was a “William” Goodhue. “Artists and Artisans,” Mission Inn Museum website, accessed January 30, 2013, http://www.missioninmuseum.com/collect_artisans/artisans_cont.htm.
- ⁸⁹ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 104.
- ⁹⁰ “Beautiful Spanish Art Gallery at Inn to be Opened New Year’s Eve,” *Riverside Enterprise*, December 19, 1914, 1.; Duell, “Frank Miller and the International Expositions,” 54-69.
- ⁹¹ Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 38.
- ⁹² Kropp, *California Vieja*, 166-167.
- ⁹³ Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 43.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 55, 57, 59, 62-65.
- ⁹⁵ “Addition to Mission Inn Outstanding Architecturally,” *Riverside Daily Press*, January 1, 1930, 1.

⁹⁶ Chapter two of this dissertation will delve into the Mission Inn's interior to examine the hotel's art and artifact collections, which, much like the hotel's architecture began with objects that helped propel the Inn's mission theme, but that soon veered into new territory.

⁹⁷ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 21 and 70.

⁹⁸ Hackel, *Children of Coyote*, 52.

⁹⁹ James J. Rawls, "The California Mission as Symbol and Myth," *California History* 71, no. 3 (Fall 1992): 344.

¹⁰⁰ John Steven McGroarty, *Mission Memories* (Los Angeles: Neuner Corporation, 1929), 7-8 and 15, Braun 11399, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.

¹⁰¹ Frank Miller, "The Hospitality of Old California," Bullock's advertisement, *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 1927, A12. Miller's Bullock's advertisement was part of a special advertising series celebrating Bullock's twenty-first anniversary, in which the company featured articles from "men and women who have spent years of their lives close to things Californian; who are imbued with the Spirit of California; mindful of its Traditions and Thoughtful of its Landmarks."

¹⁰² Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 137.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 143-144.

¹⁰⁴ McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, 144-146.

¹⁰⁵ Mission Inn menu, January 9, 1922, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections (hereafter cited as MIFM).

¹⁰⁶ "California's Mission Inn: The Glenwood, Riverside, Cal.," Mission Inn promotional brochure, circa 1909, File 1, Esther Klotz Collection, MIFM.

¹⁰⁷ The Roycrofters, *Days of Peace and Rest at The Glenwood By Those Who Know*, 1907, 9, MIFM; Frank Miller and Elbert Hubbard, founder of East Aurora, New York's Arts & Crafts Roycroft community, were close friends and Hubbard was a frequent guest at the Mission Inn until his 1915 death aboard the *RMS Lusitania*. Ever the booster, in 1909, Miller paid Hubbard \$100 to write a one-page article on the life of Junipero Serra in his journal *The Philistine* in order to advertise Southern California to Eastern readers. Miller wrote the following to Charles Fletcher Lummis on December 8, 1909: "He [Hubbard] returned the \$100 to me, saying that the subject was one of too great dignity to be treated as an advertisement, that it appealed to him and he would like to give it a special article, hoping that it would do me no harm. Frai Junipero Serra's name is coming to be known throughout the East as never before, and Hubbard's article will do much to increase this knowledge. That is all that Southern California can desire, to make the missions a Mecca for pilgrimage from the East." Frank Miller to Charles Fletcher Lummis, 8 December 1909, Charles Fletcher Lummis Correspondence, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.

¹⁰⁸ Arthur Burnett Benton, *The Mission Inn* (Los Angeles: Segnogram Publishing Company, 1907), 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

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- ¹¹⁰ John Steven McGroarty, "The Mission Inn," *Los Angeles Times*, March 21, 1909, B5.
- ¹¹¹ Francis Borton, "The Mission Inn," in *The Call of California and Other Poems of the West*, 5th edition (Los Angeles: Studio of Clyde Brown, 1922), 17-18, file 811 B739fc, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.
- ¹¹² Before his work on the *Ramona Pageant*, which debuted in Hemet in April 1923, Garnet Holme was already a seasoned dramatic producer, with his other works including the Hollywood Pilgrimage Play, the Desert Play, and the Mountain Play. DeLyser, *Ramona Memories*, 137-138.
- ¹¹³ Garnet Holme, "The Mission Inn," 1922, 86.7.230, found box 76, MIFM.
- ¹¹⁴ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 328.
- ¹¹⁵ Jean Baudrillard, "Hyperreal and Imaginary," in *Simulations* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), 23-26. In his explanation of the hyperreal, Baudrillard uses Disneyland as his main example to demonstrate the fluidity of representation, stating, "Disneyland is presented as imaginary in order to make us believe that the rest is real, when in fact all of Los Angeles and the America surrounding it are no longer real, but of the order of the hyperreal and of simulation. It is no longer a question of a false representation of reality, but of concealing the fact that the real is no longer real, and thus of saving the reality principle," 25. The Mission Inn was part and parcel of this process where the mythic mission past became the "real" history and the hotel became a "real" mission.
- ¹¹⁶ "California's Mission Inn," advertising brochure, circa 1907, File 1, Esther Klotz Collection, MIFM.
- ¹¹⁷ Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 144-145; Sandoval-Strausz emphasizes that nostalgia for the personal service of inns and taverns in early twentieth-century America represents an instance of "historical amnesia" because in the 18th century these establishments were often derided "for their dirt, bedbugs, bad food, uneven service, and chronic overcharging," 183-184.
- ¹¹⁸ T.J. Jackson Lears, "Roots of Antimodernism: The Crisis of Cultural Authority during the Late Nineteenth Century," in *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 4-26.
- ¹¹⁹ The Roycrofters, *Days of Peace and Rest at The Glenwood By Those Who Know*, 1-2.
- ¹²⁰ Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn*, 90.
- ¹²¹ "Opens Attack For a Finish: Hotel Man Will Fight Eight-Hour Law Through," *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1911, III.
- ¹²² "Eight-Hours Statute Upheld," *Riverside Enterprise*, May 27, 1912, 1.
- ¹²³ Mission Inn employee ledger, 1910-1936, MIFM; Frank Miller hired John Allen as a porter and chauffeur in 1909 after meeting him in a Chicago shoe store. Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 103. Allen is often cited as an example of Miller's "fondness for those of other races." A 1995 Mission Inn Foundation oral history with Allen's daughter Delora Allen provides a more realistic picture of their relationship. When asked if her father and Frank Miller had a good relationship and if they were close friends, Mrs. Allen states bluntly that their relationship was strictly, "employee, employer." Mrs. Allen added that her father "was just another worker." The interviewer is stunned by Mrs. Allen's answer because she had learned that

Allen and Miller had forged a close bond since Allen came out to Riverside from Chicago to work for Miller. Mrs. Allen further reminded the interviewer that her father came to Riverside in 1909 to work and that she needed “to separate your [the interviewer’s] ‘Hollywoodism’ from reality.” Allen was mysteriously fired from the Mission Inn in 1941 after 32 years of service. Delora Allen, August 16, 1995, Mission Inn Foundation Oral History Project, MIFM oral history archives. “Back stage” refers to tourism theorist Dean MacCannell’s identification of defined tourist spaces. The “back” is the area not permitted to tourists where the work is done to prepare the “front stage” for tourist consumption. MacCannell writes, “The front is the meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons, and the back is the place where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and to prepare. Examples of back regions are kitchens, boiler rooms, executive washrooms.” Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 92-94.

¹²⁴ Mark Howland Rawitsch, *The House on Lemon Street: Japanese Pioneers and the American Dream* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012), 63.

¹²⁵ Frank Miller to Zona Gale, 29 May 1927, file A500-190.I.E.10, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; From what can be gleaned from the Mission Inn’s employee payroll records, census records, and city directories, it was only African Americans who were barred in the 1920s from living in the Inn’s onsite boarding house.

¹²⁶ Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 61.

¹²⁷ David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 61 and 63; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “The Power in the Story,” in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 1-30.

¹²⁸ Deverell, “History on Parade,” in *Whitewashed Adobe*, 49-90 and Glassberg, “Celebrating the City,” in *Sense of History*, 59-85, are especially instructive on the importance of pageantry to the creation of a very particular kind of historical and local civic identity in California. Historical spectacles, such as La Fiesta de Los Angeles and San Francisco’s Portola Festival expressed California history as a linear chronology of upward progress with time visually marching forward in costumed fanfare. These celebrations relegated the region’s Native American and Mexican population to the past (or, in the case of the Mexican population, portrayed them as flamboyant and exotic Spanish dons and señoritas, the acceptably European precursor to the Anglo migrants). As Deverell states, “La Fiesta offered the opportunity to further – in highly public fashion – the racial and ethnic distinctions Anglos wished to make between themselves and others. And it allowed these distinctions to be made in ostensibly peaceful, soothing, even celebratory ways. La Fiesta offered elite Anglos in Los Angeles the ideal vehicle by which to forget,” 59. See also, Chelsea K. Vaughn, “The Joining of Historical Pageantry and the Spanish Fantasy Past: The Meeting of Senora Josefa Yorba and Lucretia del Valle,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 57, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 213-235.

¹²⁹ David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 5.

¹³⁰ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 114-115.

¹³¹ Glassberg, *Sense of History*, 61.

¹³² See Deverell, “The Drama of Los Angeles” in *Whitewashed Adobe*, 207-249 and Gonzales, “Southern California Culturalism and Tourism: *The Mission Play* and the Creation of Myth,” in “Visit Yesterday,

Today” 94-127. Gonzales touches on Miller’s earlier attempts at a mission drama, but does not go into any detail or analysis of the earlier version’s subject and draft script.

¹³³ Maurice Hodgen and Sherry Bockman, “Frank Miller Timeline”; “Will Make Riverside American Oberammergau,” *Riverside Daily Press*, June 26, 1910, 10.

¹³⁴ “A Dream that May Come True: Mission Drama Proposed for Annual Enactment at the Glenwood Mission Inn,” *Riverside Daily Press*, March 25, 1909, 1.

¹³⁵ “Mission Drama Dream Will Become a Reality,” *Riverside Daily Press*, March 31, 1909, 6.

¹³⁶ “Charming Riverside Girl Joins Forces of Frohman,” *Riverside Daily Press*, June 18, 1909, 6; “Frohman Honors Bestowed Upon Riverside Girl,” *Riverside Enterprise*, June 19, 1909, 1.

¹³⁷ “Gustave Frohman Talks of the Proposed Mission Play,” *Riverside Enterprise*, April 17, 1910, 1.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ For more on Mt. Rubidoux see the ending section of this chapter.

¹⁴¹ “Will Make Riverside American Oberammergau.”

¹⁴² Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 210.

¹⁴³ Frank Miller to John Steven McGroarty, 7 June 1909, Mission Play Collection, MIFM.

¹⁴⁴ Frank Miller to John Steven McGroarty, 22 June 1909, Mission Play Collection, MIFM.

¹⁴⁵ Mission Play contract between McGroarty and Miller, 21 June 1909, Mission Play Collection, MIFM.

¹⁴⁶ Frank Miller to John Steven McGroarty, 9 August 1910, Mission Play Collection, MIFM.

¹⁴⁷ Louise George, “The Mission Play and Its Author,” *California Life: Mission Play Special*, March 8, 1919, 6-7, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.

¹⁴⁸ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 246.

¹⁴⁹ Frank Miller to W. Archibald Turner, 22 February 1923, file A500-190.I.B.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; Frank Miller to John Steven McGroarty, 13 May 1925, file A500-190.I.D.21, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁵⁰ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 209.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁵² Although the Mission Inn Museum website maintains that the “Nativity Play” was written by John Steven McGroarty, newspaper documentation states that Hutchings was the play’s actual author; “Nativity

Play Given at the Inn,” *Riverside Enterprise*, December 27, 1915, 5; articles covering the “Nativity Play” ran in local newspapers each December from 1915 to 1933.

¹⁵³ “Mission Inn Christmas Play,” file A500-190.II.A.13, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ “Beautiful Christmas Tableaux Held at Inn Depict Meaning of Christmas,” *Riverside Enterprise*, December 25, 1916, 6; “An Old Mission Nativity Beautiful Theme of Christmas Play at Inn,” *Riverside Enterprise*, December 25, 1919, 4.

¹⁵⁷ Philip Deloria contends in *Playing Indian* that Americans were drawn to “playing Indian” because the act of costuming enabled Euro-Americans to “try on” the instinct, savagery, and freedom they associated with Native Americans while also asserting their difference from Native Americans. In a similar, yet inverted, situation, Miller, Hutchings, and Borton asserted their similarity to Franciscan leaders through costuming. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁸ Gonzales, “Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian: Frank A. Miller and the Creation of Sherman Institute,” in “Visit Yesterday, Today,” 53-54.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 61.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 63-68.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 72.

¹⁶² Ibid., 73; Riverside’s Pacific-Electric Railway Magnolia Avenue Line began behind the Inn at 6th and Main Street and traveled down Magnolia Avenue to 36 regular stops, including Sherman Institute, before terminating at Van Buren Boulevard. Pacific-Electric Railway records, file A500-190.I.G.45, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁶³ Undated promotional booklet, Glenwood Tavern, box 1, Mission Inn Ephemera collection, RMM.

¹⁶⁴ Sackman, *Orange Empire*, 50-51. For more on the Americanization programs of Sherman Institute, see Clifford Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert and Lorene Sisquoc, eds., *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2012); Jean Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002); Clifford Trafzer, Jean Keller and Lorene Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Education Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); William Medina, “Selling Indians at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922” (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2007); Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

¹⁶⁵ “Informal Reception for Noted Naturalist,” *Riverside Daily Press*, March 13, 1909, 4.

¹⁶⁶ Miller’s actions and attitudes toward Riverside’s Native American residents were often contradictory. While he made no apologies, or, more accurately, found no problem with utilizing Native people as an attraction, he also, at certain times, expressed genuine concern. In April 1908, Miller opened the Mission

Inn for the first “Indian Conference” featuring delegates from regional tribes, as well as intellectuals and activists from throughout Southern California who came together to discuss such topics as Indian education, native land rights, and the reservation system. Even though Native Americans were a part of the conference, they were still painted as weak and in need of care from the Anglo-American populace. The conference concluded conveniently that individual land allotment and assimilation, like that provided at Sherman, was the best solution to the “Indian problem.” Native Americans were used mostly for entertainment purposes, with arts and crafts displays, fieldtrips to Sherman Institute, and serenades by the Sherman band. The Indian Conference meant big business for Miller and the Mission Inn, with nearly 150 participants staying and eating at the hotel, “Indian Conference Opens at Glenwood,” *Riverside Daily Press*, April 27, 1908, 4.

¹⁶⁷ Eloise Woods to Frank Miller, 13 July 1925, file A500-190.I.D.14, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁶⁸ “Spanish Art Society Fiesta Proves a Brilliant Success,” *Riverside Daily Press*, August 21, 1916, 4.

¹⁶⁹ John Goodman, “Spring Rancheria: Archaeological Investigations of a Transient Cahuilla Village in Early Riverside, California” (M.S. thesis, University of California, Riverside, 1993), 29-30; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza’s California Expeditions: An Outpost of Empire*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 153; Steve Lech, *Along the Old Roads*, 9-10.

¹⁷⁰ “Juan de Anza Pageant,” August 19, 1916, 1, file A500-190.II.A.13, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 3; The pageant’s continual reference to peace is a nod to the international peace conferences held at the Inn in 1911 and 1915 and Mt. Rubidoux’s annual Easter Sunrise Services, but it is also due to a popular, but erroneous, definition of “Jurupa,” which points to many of the same tropes present in the Juan de Anza script. According to Jane Davies Gunther in her book *Riverside County, California, Place Names: Their Origins and Their Stories*, (Riverside: Rubidoux Printing, 1984), 258-259, in the early twentieth century, Jurupa was promulgated as meaning “peace and friendship,” with the 1890 *An Illustrated History of Southern California* stating, “Jurupa is said to have been the first greeting of the old Indian chieftain to the Roman Catholic priest who first appeared thereabouts, this word being said to mean, in the native dialect, ‘Peace and Friendship;’ and ‘Jurupa’ the place was called in memory of that kindly greeting.” A more probable definition comes from Father Juan Caballeria, an early twentieth century linguist specializing in the languages of the San Bernardino Valley tribes. Caballeria contended that “Jurupa” meant “water place,” indicating the site’s location next to the Santa Ana River.

¹⁷⁴ “Juan de Anza Pageant,” 3.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁷⁷ “Endorse Plans for Great Pageant July 4th and Wayfarers’ Lodge,” *Riverside Daily Press*, April 10, 1917; “Big Mass Meeting Approves Wayfarers’ Lodge and Fourth of July Historical Pageant,” *Riverside Enterprise*, April 10, 1917, 3.

¹⁷⁸ DeWitt Hutchings, "Community Pageant," 1-2, file A500-190.II.A13, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁸¹ DeWitt Hutchings, "Incident I: The Indian Council, Time 1543 – December – Before Daylight," 1, file A500-190.II.A.13, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 2-3;

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* 3.

¹⁸⁴ DeWitt Hutchings, undated historical pamphlet draft, 1, file A500-190.II.A.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁸⁵ Hutchings, "Incident I: The Indian Council, Time 1543 – December – Before Daylight," 8.

¹⁸⁶ Hutchings, Undated historical pamphlet draft, 1.

¹⁸⁷ Glassberg, *Sense of History*, 68.

¹⁸⁸ Hutchings, Undated historical pamphlet draft, 1.

¹⁸⁹ According to his San Bernardino County biographical report, Tibbet was in Southern California in late 1848, coming through the San Bernardino and San Gabriel Valleys that year in an ox train from his home state of Michigan before heading to the gold fields of Northern California. Tibbet would return to the Southland and purchase a former Spanish land grant ranch near San Gabriel Mission, which housed seven Indian villages. Historian Richard Hanks has noted that "Indians were always in and around the [Tibbet's] household as servants and laborers but also friends." Jonathan Tibbet's son, Jonathan Franklin Tibbet, who purportedly found his father's journal relating the Indian conclave story, would found the Mission Indian Federation in 1919. Richard Hanks, "'This War is for a Whole Life': The Culture of Resistance Among Southern California Indians, 1850-1966" (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2006), 155 and 165-166; John Brown, Jr., ed., *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties*, Western Historical Association (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1922), 881-882.

¹⁹⁰ Francis Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1924-1925), 57.

¹⁹¹ "Indians Held Ceremonials on Rubidoux: Jonathan Tibbet Exhibits Father's Memoirs in Proof of Fact," *Riverside Enterprise*, April 7, 1917, 8.

¹⁹² Goodman, "Spring Rancheria," 12; Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 138. In the pre-contact era, the region surrounding Mt. Rubidoux was a territorial boundary between Serrano, Gabrielino, and Luiseno people, although in the historic period the area was inhabited predominantly by Cahuilla.

¹⁹³ Tom Patterson, "Early Riverside Indian Stories, Legends Abound," *The Press*, October 21, 1969, B4.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Lech, *Along the Old Roads*, 1.

¹⁹⁶ “The Glenwood, California’s Mission Hotel,” advertisement, *Pacific Electric Magazine*, May 1907, back page, MIMSY EPH.979.4.70, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center, .

¹⁹⁷ Glenn Wenzel, *Anecdotes on Mount Rubidoux and Frank A. Miller, Her Promoter* (Riverside: A to Z Printing, 2010), 3-36.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 55-60.

¹⁹⁹ DeWitt Hutchings, “The Story of Mount Rubidoux,” (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1926).

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² “Santa Fe’s Great Indian Exhibit at Exposition is Gift to Riverside,” *Riverside Enterprise*, December 7, 1915, 1.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ “Big Indian Ball is Latest Festive Plan,” *Riverside Daily Press*, January 26, 1916, 3.

²⁰⁵ “Valuable Addition,” *Riverside Enterprise*, December 9, 1915, 10.

²⁰⁶ “Man Who Installed Indian Village Here,” *Riverside Enterprise*, February 9, 1916, 3.

²⁰⁷ W.F. Sesser to S.C. Evans, 14 April 1916, A500-190.I.C.40, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁰⁸ Riverside Park Board to Jesse Nusbaum, 15 March 1917, file A500-190.I.C.40, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁰⁹ W.F. Sesser to S.C. Evans, 14 April 1916.

²¹⁰ “Plan Drawn for Indian Village,” *Riverside Daily Press*, January 5, 1917, 5; “Indian Village Work Will Begin Soon,” *Riverside Enterprise*, January 8, 1917, 3.

²¹¹ P.T. Evans to Frank Miller, 10 May 1920, file A500-190.I.C.40, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²¹² Frank Miller to S.C. Evans, 11 June 1920, file A500-190.I.C.40, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; In his final communication to former Park Board President S.C. Evans regarding the Indian village, Miller also states that he has in his possession a large red sandstone slab with the words “Vanishing Race” emblazoned across which Miller incorporated into the Mission Inn’s Indian exhibits in the Catacombs. Miller requests that Evans repays him the money Miller invested in the project minus \$35 for the goods he has retained and lost.

²¹³ Karen K. Swope, et al., "Environmental Impact Evaluation: Archaeological Assessment of APN 207-033-018, Located on Mount Rubidoux in the City of Riverside, Riverside County, California," February 1990, 8 and 29-30, on file at Eastern Information Center, University of California, Riverside.

²¹⁴ Pat Stewart, "Fairmount Park: Riverside's Treasure," City of Riverside Department of Parks and Recreation, 2005, accessed March 18, 2014, http://www.riversideca.gov/park_rec/pdf/fairmount/Fairmount-2005-Riverside%20Treasure.Pat%20Stewart.29pgs.pdf.

²¹⁵ Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 77-124.

²¹⁶ Charles H. Cheney, "Recreation, Civic Center and Regional Plan, Riverside, California," Riverside City Planning Commission, June 1929, 31-34, MIFM; DeWitt Hutchings to Carl R. Gray, 19 July 1936, file A500-190.I.D.7, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²¹⁷ Frank Miller to Clarence Barton, 19 November 1928, file A500-190.I.D.22, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM, with draft of Barton's editorial "Capitalizing the Beautiful," *Los Angeles Times*, November 18 1928, 5.

Chapter Two

“For the Comfort, Rest and Entertainment of Our Guests”: Authenticity, Humbuggery, and Consumption in the Museum-Hotel

On Saturday, August 19, 1916, the Mission Inn, under the auspices of the local chapter of the Spanish Arts Society, held a gala to unveil an exhibition of “Old Spanish Master” paintings on loan to the Inn for two months from the Ehrich Gallery in New York City. The collection of thirty-one canvases, aptly on display in the hotel’s new Spanish Art Gallery, was described by the local press as “almost priceless” and included examples from the most acclaimed Spanish artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – Goya, Ribalta, Zurburán, El Greco, and Murillo.¹ At the time of the exhibit’s opening, Frank Miller was riding high on unprecedented success and steadily shaping his hotel into a center of both leisure travel and cultural learning. The Myron Hunt-designed Spanish Wing, completed in early 1915, provided ample room for the hordes of guests traveling between San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific International Exposition and San Diego’s Panama California Exposition and in June 1916, Miller hosted the Landmarks Club annual meeting bringing dozens of California’s most influential boosters to the Inn. Just one month later on July 11, he arranged a luncheon for fifty local leaders from “every organization of civic importance” in Riverside to charter the first chapter of the Spanish Arts Society, a regional version of Archer Milton Huntington’s New York-based Hispanic Society of America. Headed by Adelaida Estudillo, daughter of Riverside pioneer Louis Rubidoux and wife of California State Senator Miguel Estudillo, the group

sought “to provide a common meeting ground for the art lovers of the state, and to promote an appreciation of the Spanish arts and crafts and mission architecture” as well as stimulating “civic improvement by means of lectures and exhibits.”²



Figure 21: Spanish Art Gallery. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The weekend-long “fiesta” in honor of the Ehrich collection was an elaborate affair, with the paintings almost taking a backseat to the other celebratory spectacles. Spanish cuisine was served on the patio as troubadours decked out in yellow and red Spanish costumes serenaded the guests from iron balconies above. After Senator and

Mrs. Estudillo officially opened the exhibition, guests funneled into the Music Room for the evening's formal ball. *The Mission Play* singer Jessica Dixon sang Spanish standards, Norma Gould "alive with the true fire of old Spain" danced to "typical Spanish music," and local actors took the stage to perform scenes from *Carmen*. The evening's final act was the premiere of DeWitt Hutchings' pageant in gushing tribute to Juan Bautista de Anza. Many Southern California notables were in attendance, including architects Arthur Benton and Elmer Gray, *The Mission Play*'s leading lady Lucretia del Valle, accompanied by her father, influential California politician Reginaldo Francisco del Valle, in addition to journalists from the *Los Angeles Times* and *Out West* and silent film director Louis William Chaudet, who filmed footage of the event.³ The fiesta weekend was exclusive, open only to Spanish Arts Society members and specially invited guests. Even when the Ehrich exhibit was offered to the public, a fee was charged for viewing. All proceeds benefitted the construction of a rustic vine-covered pergola originating at the Santa Fe rail station and extending the length of Seventh Street to the Mission Inn's front promenade, offering a shaded pathway for tourists entering the city with the added goal of increasing Riverside's "prestige as America's most beautiful city."⁴

Although it was the Spanish Arts Society's inaugural event, the Old Spanish Masters exhibit was unabashedly Miller's show and he reaped the benefits of its publicity as well as the proceeds to build an inviting pergola from the train station to his hotel's front steps. The Ehrich Gallery exhibit was the crowning achievement of years of planning, promoting, collecting, and construction to mold the Mission Inn into the finest

museum of mission culture and Spanish civilization on the West Coast. In November 1911, Miller and his new bride Marion returned from a five-month European escapade where they spent several weeks touring Spain in order to better understand California's origins, citing the Spanish influence as the region's historical starting point. Once back in Riverside Miller related that he went to Spain looking for "genuine atmosphere, nothing mechanically contrived."⁵ He found this "genuine atmosphere" through objects, shipping back train cars filled with antique furniture, art, religious relics, and remnant architectural pieces. "While on his recent European tour Frank A. Miller spent a large part of his time in visiting decadent Spanish monasteries, ruined castles and quaint shops of antiquarians in out of the way corners of great cities," the *Riverside Daily Press* excitedly reported in January 1912 as the first shipment of Spanish goods reached the Inn. "During these explorations of musty sacristies and cobwebby dungeons, the master of the inn succeeded in gathering together a truly wonderful collection of valuable curios and antiques, large enough, in very fact, to be the nucleus of a great museum."⁶ In the fall of 1912 Miller consulted with the country's preeminent Spanish scholar, Archer Huntington, the son of Arabella Huntington, the wife of Miller's early mentor Henry Huntington, to ensure that the Inn's art gallery in the planned Spanish Wing would carefully replicate the interior of a royal Spanish salon in order to properly exhibit his new antiquities.⁷

Miller was not alone in his desire for all things Spanish. Wealthy Gilded Age industrialist collectors had previously prized pieces from the Italian, French, English, and Flemish schools, deriding the majority of Spanish works as Catholic fetishism produced

by a backward people. However, as earlier Mission Revival impulses expanded to envelope Spain's ornate European styling and praise for the imperial legacy of the New World conquistadors – a heritage safely and decisively in the past thanks to Spain's resounding defeat by the U.S. in the Spanish-American War – American connoisseurs embraced Spanish art. The "Spanish turn" in fine art collecting, as historian Richard Kagan describes, was a relatively late occurrence, reaching its zenith in the early 1910s with ferocious bidding wars between prestigious collectors.⁸ The country's supposed backwardness evolved into the picturesque and noble. "Spain may not have kept step with some of the other nations in the march of material progress," wrote Mission Inn curator Francis Borton in the Ehrich exhibition catalog, "but she is still far ahead of some of them in the realm of Art."⁹

The Ehrich exhibition, secured by Miller with Huntington's aid, was a definite coup for the hotel proprietor.¹⁰ Through displaying paintings in demand by top connoisseur-collectors, Miller momentarily stepped into the art world's big leagues, further elevating his stature as Riverside's foremost cultural patron and placing his hotel as the city's de facto art museum. In conjunction with the Spanish Arts Society, headquartered at the Inn, the Mission Inn's Spanish Art Gallery became the local hub of artistic activity. The Society sponsored a continual stream of members-only traveling shows while Miller set up studio space in the hotel's Carmel Dome for a revolving door of artists-in-residence who lived and worked at the Inn, mounted in-house exhibitions, and gave lectures as part of the hotel's art program.¹¹ Miller, too, expanded his own personal fine art collections, building a modest, but eclectic, cache of canvases for

permanent display. The hotelman acquired several pieces from the Ehrich show, including ecclesiastical works by Juan de Valdes Leal, Jacinto Geronimo de Espinosa, and most notably, *San Pedro Nolasco*, attributed to Francisco de Zurbaran, which mixed with dozens of other unattributed paintings from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, pieces by lesser-known Spanish and Mexican artists as well as a smattering of works from the English and Flemish schools. California landscapes by contemporary artists like Lester Boronda, William Wendt, Frank Sauerwein, Gardner Symons, and Herman Gustavson also dominated the walls, anchored by Henry Chapman Ford's exquisite thirty-eight canvas study of the decaying missions and William Keith's *California Alps*, a romantic conceptualization of Northern California's Sierra Nevada-belted forests and meadows.¹² When several pieces of Russian art from the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis came up for auction after the country's escalating civil strife prevented their return, Miller's collections boasted examples from some of Russia's most prestigious artists, such as Ilya Repin's acclaimed *Portrait of Countess Katherine Kovoss*.¹³

In the art collecting realm, Miller was not a Morgan, Frick, Gardner, or Huntington. He was a successful and influential hotel proprietor, but his financial constraints prevented him from joining the top echelon of American art collectors. Miller's collecting focused on objects and over his lifetime Miller amassed, and gained fame for, a frantically mismatched collection of historic pieces from around the world. He first gathered artifacts to create a mission and Spanish ambiance that would complement the hotel's architecture, but soon branched out to collect any item with an

intriguing aesthetic or back-story, molding the Inn into an assemblage of disparate “weird and wonderful” objects.¹⁴ By his own admission, Miller was not a connoisseur; he accumulated the Inn’s art and artifacts in bulk from curio dealers, import stores, art agents, and during his extensive travels in Europe and Asia. What the Ehrich Gallery Old Spanish Masters fiesta, with its layers of fantasy, historical authority, performance, promotion, and elitism, begins to illustrate, however, is that Miller excelled at making his collections work in service of his hotel enterprise as a whole. The Inn’s exhibits amused and fascinated visitors with unusual discoveries hidden in every corner, provided endless marketing possibilities, and set the Inn apart from the dozens of other Southern California tourist hotels; the collections reframed it as something more intellectually significant – the Mission Inn was not just a hotel, it was also a museum.

Guests entering the Inn were greeted with an array of “strange and delightful features,” an almost overwhelming variety of visual splendor.¹⁵ The Inn’s grandiose architecture set the stage for the marvels awaiting visitors inside the hotel. Passing under the Inn’s front arcade transported guests into a new world, leaving the bustle of downtown Riverside behind to enter Frank Miller’s phantasmagoria. To comprehensively describe the constantly shifting artifact displays (new pieces were continually added and exhibits rearranged) featured in the hotel’s four-story labyrinth of meandering hallways, is an impossible task. A short tour, however incomplete, is necessary to illustrate the breadth of the Inn’s collections and to begin to make meaning out of the hotel’s seemingly incongruent displays of unrelated objects.

In the lobby, guests first experienced the décor of a California mission with dark wood paneling, a sea of Arts & Crafts furnishings by Stickley and Roycroft, heavy iron light fixtures dangling overhead, Navajo rugs covering the parquet floors, dozens of Native American baskets hanging from the ceiling beams, and oil paintings of mission scenes on every wall.¹⁶



Figure 22: Mission Inn lobby, circa 1910. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

To one side of the lobby, guests might peak into the Presidential Suite, where Presidents Taft and Roosevelt both stayed. The suite held such items as a portrait of Simon Bolivar presented to the Inn from Venezuela’s Bolivarian Society, a photo and “personal articles” of Susan B. Anthony, and an iron gate dating back to Renaissance Spain.¹⁷ Across the

lobby, guests could wander into the Cloister Music Room, stepping back in time and traveling thousands of miles to an eighteenth- century “knighthood hall of a Spanish castle.”



Figure 23: Presidential Suite. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

During weekly Sunday concerts, visitors could sit in pews copied after those at Westminster Abbey while listening to the massive 2,800-pipe organ and gazing at the array of items adorning the room, from custom stained glass windows, European tapestries, and centuries-old sconces and candelabras taken from Spanish churches, to the personal flags of Napoleon III and Emilio Aguinaldo, a fifteenth-century carving of the

Biblical King David playing the harp, an eight century Visigoth gargoyle water spout, and plumed helmets from the Franco-Prussian War.¹⁸



Figure 24: Music Room. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

From there, visitors might take the staircase behind the Music Room to the hotel’s Cloister Walk and El Camino Real basement art galleries, rambling down the winding corridor to view mission paintings and Catholic relics resting in wall niches.

Emerging from the basement, guests could walk outside across the inner courtyard to view an unfinished fresco by Italian artist A.G. Disi painted utilizing “the Roman method, known to no Americans,” as well as fifteenth century wooden balcony brackets once part of the Moorish Alhambra palace in Granada, and a 1709 carved clock face from Nuremburg.¹⁹ Guests would also need to be mindful to dodge the Inn’s two resident macaws, Napoleon and Joseph, as they walked to the far end of the patio to the

Spanish Art Gallery. Puzzling their way to the second floor, visitors would undoubtedly stop to gander at the Colonial Landing, a small nook comprised of eighteenth-century American furnishings, a collection of American pennies from 1793 to 1857, “a very scarce issue of the Ulster County Gazette for January 4, 1800, giving the account of Washington’s death,” and a cabinet filled with 175 tiny curiosities.²⁰



Figure 25: Aguinaldo’s flag hanging over the Music Room’s pews, exact replicas of those at Westminster Abbey. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

Guests vacationing at the Inn after the completion of the final International Wing in 1931 could also travel East with several Asian art rooms on the hotel's first floor. The Fuji Kan was lavishly decorated with Japanese and Chinese vases set atop intricately carved ebony tables illuminated by hand painted lanterns; the Hall of the Gods leading to the Court of the Orient open-air temple garden was lined with a collection of Buddhist and Shinto deity figures; and the Ho-O-Kan, staged as a shrine to an eight-foot Buddha, wound around to eleven other galleries exhibiting Chinese theatrical dolls, miniature pagodas, silks, gongs, and Samurai armor.²¹



Figure 26: Buddha shrine in the Ho-O-Kan Room, circa 1931. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.



Figure 27: Oriental God Room. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

Returning through the Hall of the Gods, guests left the Orient to head to the Rotunda Wing's St. Francis Atrio. Strolling through the Travertine-tiled court, visitors would find a pastel Della Robbia of the Madonna and Child from 1522 (later discovered to be a nineteenth century copy), a Mexican mesquite cross from the Convent of Santa Cruz in Queretaro where Father Serra stayed before journeying north to California, and an exact replica of the bronze Bacchus fountain of Prato, Italy.²² Several doors opened off the Atrio to unlock further enchantments. The St. Cecilia Chapel displayed a Spanish marriage altar and gilded lectern from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while

across the Atrio, the Galeria housed Miller's remaining art collections that did not fit in the Spanish Art Gallery.²³

Next door to the Galeria, guests would marvel at the Churriguesque façade of the final and most dramatic location of a Mission Inn tour – the St. Francis Chapel. Inside the chapel gleamed two of the Inn's most prized pieces, the Mexican cedar and gold leaf Rayas marriage altar screen towering over twenty feet in height, and the Louis Comfort Tiffany-designed mosaic windows, each of which the chapel was specifically constructed to house.²⁴ In addition to the elaborate theme rooms, throughout the Inn Miller displayed his collection of eight hundred bells and squirreled in cabinets in the Music Room, Cloister Walk, and St. Francis Chapel were hundreds of antique crosses and rosaries.²⁵ Visitors were even encouraged to tour the hotel's kitchen, which was modeled after "the quaint old inn of William the Conqueror at Dives, in Normandy."²⁶ Enraptured by all that they had seen, on their way back to the lobby, guests could stop in at the hotel's Cloister Art Shop located next to the Music Room to buy an array of antiques, souvenirs, and art pieces reminiscent of the hotel's eccentric conglomeration of objects.²⁷



Figure 28: St. Francis Atrio. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

As a 1925 *Los Angeles Times* article praised, “All aboard for Rome, Jerusalem, Benares, Fatipur Sikri [sic] and Barcelona, on a pilgrimage to all the famous shrines of the world, from the Pontifical Court in the Vatican down to the monkey gods of Benares... You may take a swing around the world in one afternoon’s joy ride by dropping off at the Mission Inn.”²⁸ The article’s hyperbolic zest rightly points out that it was not just the Mission Inn as a whole that was a different world, but that each individual room of the hotel was one as well. From the Inn’s grand opening in 1903, Frank Miller began building his collections. Besides his 1911 excursion to Spain, between 1903 and his death in 1935, Miller and his family embarked on several months-long expeditions to Western Europe, Scandinavia, China, Japan, and the South Pacific as well as shorter excursions throughout California, the American Southwest and East Coast, and Mexico.²⁹ Each trip was as much about business as they were pleasure with

Miller shipping back exotic goods to display or resell at the hotel for at least double the price.³⁰

Miller's collecting exploits are well documented, even though Miller himself kept poor records of his individual purchases. The local press detailed each new art acquisition and shipment of antiques arriving at the hotel, teasing readers with glimpses of the unusual objects soon to be exhibited. Recently, local historians have cobbled together a comprehensive list of Miller's travels to provide more precise insight into where and when he purchased the majority of his collection in an effort to compensate for his vague record keeping. While the when, where, and how surrounding Miller's collecting practices have been thoroughly examined, the more daunting why question remains unanswered. As Mission Inn curator Francis Borton aptly stated in 1917, "As people walk about [the Mission Inn] and note the architecture, the furnishings, the service and the atmosphere, that are all unlike those of the ordinary tourist hotel, they naturally feel a little inquisitive and 'wonder why' so many of the things are what and as they are."³¹ Nearly a century later this question still lingers without a satisfactory explanation. Why did Frank Miller compile such a peculiar collection of art and artifacts, ranging from priceless relics and high art to bizarre tchotchkes and seemingly worthless detritus?

Beginning with Zona Gale's 1938 biography of Frank Miller, Mission Inn historians have surmised that British investor, art enthusiast, and frequent Riverside visitor, Wilson Crewdson, was the catalyst that sparked Miller's passion for collecting. Crewdson, as historian Mark Rawitsch has most recently detailed, first met Miller as a guest at the Glenwood Cottages between 1884 and 1885 when he was in Riverside for a

portion of his honeymoon and on doctor's orders to recover from a respiratory condition. Of privileged birth, Crewdson was the nephew of prominent Gothic Revival architect Alfred Waterhouse and his brothers Edwin and Theodore, co-founders of the Price Waterhouse investment and accounting firm. He graduated from Cambridge in 1881 and became an active member in the Royal Geographical Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Japan Society, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.³² Crewdson returned to the Glenwood on several occasions, especially after forming the Riverside Trust Company in 1890. The trust, a limited partnership comprised of British investors, purchased Riverside's Gage Canal and nearly 12,000 acres of citrus land in the city's Victoria Tract and Arlington Heights sections from the financially strapped irrigation pioneer, Matthew Gage, whom Crewdson initially met during his first Glenwood stay.³³ Aside from his investment career, Crewdson was infatuated with Japanese culture and wrote widely on the subject, publishing three books on Japanese textiles and the mutual benefits of a close British-Japanese alliance. During each stay at the Glenwood, Mission Inn lore has it that Crewdson presented Miller with an antique gift, such as an English silver horn measuring five feet and a 1775 print of William Penn.³⁴

Both Gale and Rawitsch conclude that the educated and well-traveled Crewdson “offer[ed] Miller a vision of the world the provincial hotelman had simply never known” and encouraged him “to expand his view of how the Golden State and his growing hotel could benefit from greater connections to the rest of the world.”³⁵ Gale, in her signature overwrought romanticism, also claims that it was Crewdson who “made windows in old walls” and expressed to Miller the beauty “of the Indian pottery and basketry and

blankets, the significance of Indian design, the picturesqueness of the dusky haunted figures against the sand,” communicating this to Miller because he was “the one person there ready for it and able to seize upon it as a living aspect of his own program.”³⁶ Never missing an opportunity to mythologize Miller, Gale suggests that Crewdson was successful in influencing the young hotel proprietor because he was the only one in Riverside attuned to Crewdson’s highbrow “cosmopolitanism.”³⁷

Undoubtedly, in certain ways, Crewdson did influence Miller, potentially teaching the “provincial hotelman” to appreciate and value art, as well as initially igniting Miller’s veneration of Japanese culture. While Crewdson provides a neat and tidy narrative, accepting this as the explanatory framework for Miller’s creation of a site as visually and symbolically complex as the Mission Inn is simplistically ahistorical. What the narrow Crewdson story neglects is that Miller’s collecting and curatorial practices were influenced, not by one man, but by the late-Victorian era’s thoroughly ingrained, yet constantly shifting, conceptions of the ability of objects to communicate truths about the past and present. Through proper organization and display, turn of the twentieth-century museum professionals believed that objects could “speak for themselves” to tell a logical story of progress.³⁸ Expanding from the eclectic “worlds in a box” of Renaissance curiosity cabinets and the believe-it-or-not huckster shows and dime museums of antebellum America, this new rational reverence for historical artifacts was inextricably tied to booming industrial production and consumption as well as the imperial designs of powerful nations. Operating within this context, objects were thus central as an

authenticating feature of Miller's original goal to construct a re-created mission playground dedicated to Spanish culture.

Miller's initial accumulation of Spanish art, Catholic relics, and mission artifacts quickly ballooned to include collections filled with all manner of antiquities and oddities displayed to amaze, entertain, and educate guests. Above all else the Inn was a place of leisure. Miller knew how to put on a good show and his collections were an integral element of the hotel's whole production. Although on the surface the Inn's exhibits appear as nothing more than a hodgepodge of items crammed together, the displays were actually meticulously interpreted utilizing specific elements from a diverse set of interpretive methods. Contrary to first impressions, at the Inn there was a specific purpose underlying each artifact and every exhibit space.

By the end of his life, Miller firmly considered the Inn more museum than hotel. Writing to U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull in January 1935, Miller claimed that "we render a purely museum service far outweighing our hotel side," citing the thousands of complimentary tours he offered each year to art and history students who flocked to the Inn to view the collections.³⁹ The hotel, however, was not a philanthropic endeavor and Miller employed his collections as the site's main advertising device; to have full access to the Inn's art and artifacts one needed to be a paying guest. Unlike museums whose art and objects were prized because they were taken out of commercial circulation, much of the Inn's items, save the most prestigious pieces, were for sale, adorned with small mission bell price tags or marked on the bottom with a price code. Even the objects not for sale remained commodities in service of the Mission Inn consumer enterprise,

essentially historical fragments from hundreds of different geographical locations, cultures, and time periods given new identities as part of the Inn's collections.⁴⁰

The hotel published dozens of booklets detailing each object guests might encounter. Every description was carefully crafted to elevate the historical significance of the Inn's collections by using nuanced language that moved seamlessly from heartfelt sincerity to "artful deception," layering each piece with famous associations and fantastical pedigrees that could neither be definitively proved nor decisively refuted.⁴¹ With the exception of a few stellar pieces, it was the overwhelming number of items contained inside the hotel not necessarily their quality or importance that made the hotel's entire landscape a work of art. The Inn was, as journalist Irving Bacheller eloquently concluded, "A half-way house between antiquity and dreamland," a paradoxical place that promulgated the authority of historical artifacts while engaging them as instruments to crescendo the site's many-layered myths.⁴² As both a hotel and a museum, the Mission Inn straddled the line between truth and suspicion. The Inn catered to a visually adept clientele, who, although trusting of the historical answers that could be gleaned from museum objects, were also highly skeptical of the "facts" espoused by commercial enterprises and vigilantly tested "their sight daily amid the deceptive spectacles and aggressive, often fraudulent, advertising." Hotel guests were keen to look and question, even if they did not necessarily believe what they saw.⁴³ At the turn of the twentieth century, "fantasy and reality were difficult to [visually] distinguish," asserts art historian Michael Leja. Within this unsure environment, the Mission Inn flourished.

Authenticating the Mission Vision

“Mr. Frank A. Miller, appreciating the importance, historic and sentimental, of the old mission buildings,” wrote Mission Inn curator Francis Borton in 1917, “has for years cherished the plan of someday reproducing here in Riverside, so far as it was possible, the actual outlines of one of the Franciscan Missions.” Continued Borton, “He has endeavored to furnish it throughout in the simple and yet most comfortable ‘Mission style,’ necessarily idealized, and with a background of Twentieth Century luxury, and then he has earnestly striven to impart to it all the spirit of those old mission days.”⁴⁴ The tangible frontline of this “necessarily idealized” Spanish fantasy at the Mission Inn, as examined in chapter one, was the hotel’s architecture, in which Miller and his designers cherry picked exemplary elements of the California missions – arches, arcades, bell towers, and domes – to construct the Inn as an amalgamation of the missions’ most identifiable features. Architecture was only the start. Utilizing the written word and theatrical performance, through advertisements, poetry and literature, and public pageants, Miller and his hotel team attempted to reconstitute Southern California history, compressing time and geography, to include the Mission Inn and Riverside as an integral player in the region’s Spanish and Franciscan past.

These romantic and rather ingenious re-imaginings could not have gained much traction without the added clout of the Inn’s historical mission artifacts. Amidst the hotel’s stylized hyperreality mingled “real” objects from mission sites, Franciscan monasteries, and Spanish churches, which provided both decorative sets for the Inn’s interiors and an underpinning of authenticity that lent credence to the Inn’s fanciful

mission narrative. Miller, always vigilantly controlling the message his hotel projected, acutely understood the interpretive force of the visual and he supplemented his collection of mission antiques with custom artworks he commissioned depicting his specific vision of mission life and Spanish exploration. Miller's early collections of mission art and artifacts were a gateway into an enthrallment with the broader trappings of Catholicism. He approached the religion's opulent imagery, relics, and rituals with the fascination of a Congregationalist descended from humble Quakers, respecting Catholicism as a Christian faith, but also relishing its sumptuous oddity that supplied his hotel with exquisite pieces for display. While the Inn's architecture, written accounts, and performances deafeningly preached the hotel's mission message, it was the objects that converted true believers. From the hotel's grand opening in 1903, Miller and the Mission Inn staff worked diligently to conceptualize and implement a mythic mission heritage for the site. With all of their other architectural, literary, and theatrical efforts, why were mission artifacts so essential for success? More broadly, in the early twentieth century, why was the world, as historian Steven Conn suggests, "understood through objects"?⁴⁵ The answer lies in taking a long view to historicize the critical (and evolving) role of material culture as a vital avenue for celebrating industrial progress, understanding the past, and educating the masses.

Interpreting the world through objects and specimens was certainly not a new concept, but before the mid nineteenth-century it was a practice reserved solely for a small minority of aristocrats and scholars. In Renaissance Europe elites in the continent's cultural centers packed intricately carved cabinets and entire rooms, known as

wunderkammern or “rooms of wonder,” with foreign exotica, scientific instruments, objects of historical significance, shells, gems, and fossils. Renaissance cabinets were used for scholarly study and as a means to catalogue and contain the works of man and nature in a quest for universal knowledge. Like the rare objects in the cabinet, this knowledge was available only to the educated who could decode the items’ relationships and their meaning to the world.⁴⁶ Amassing a room of wonder signified prestige, knowledge, and imperial conquest as the noble classes displayed rooms overflowing with extraordinary artifacts often from faraway lands.⁴⁷ Cabinets of curiosity, however, were not just about attempting to construct a metanarrative that explained and contained the world on a micro scale; each cabinet also signified the unique persona of the collector. The items in the cabinet were not simply immobile set pieces, but objects that were meant to be moved, observed, and related to one another, enabling collectors to be active participants as they sought to understand the universe.⁴⁸ How collectors chose to organize, classify, and describe the objects in their cabinets, which varied widely, inevitably included, as art historian Stephen Bann writes, the “bizarre or humdrum circumstances of the collector’s life” because, above all else, the meanings of these objects were wrapped up in the individual.⁴⁹

By the late eighteenth-century, revolutions in scientific methods, political thought, and industrial production definitively shifted the “paradigms of knowledge” that had earlier limited access to antiquities, art, and natural history specimens; collections gradually opened to a larger viewership and these new public museums implemented increasingly systematic organization procedures.⁵⁰ Art historian David Carrier argues

that the French Revolution, specifically the opening of the Louvre in 1793, began the next historical stage of exhibitionary development that ushered in a new era of democracy from which the first public art museums were born. Although the British Museum, founded in 1759 after physician Sir Hans Sloane gifted his private collections to London, is often cited as the first “public” museum, Carrier contends that access to the British Museum was so limited – prospective visitors needed suitable credentials and it could take up to two weeks to get tickets – that the institution could hardly be considered open to the masses.⁵¹ The Louvre was a dramatic symbol of the violent decimation of France’s ancien regime, its tumultuous path to democratic rule, and a celebration of French nationalism.⁵² The former royal palace was transformed into a state gallery, which was dedicated to displaying France’s national riches, as well as presenting a meticulously organized comprehensive linear history of painting.⁵³

Carrier asserts that the public art museum originated in this specific European context and spread along with the intensive imperial agendas of the continent’s most powerful states during the nineteenth century. Across the Atlantic Ocean, however, U.S. democratic nation-building and the burgeoning country’s lack of royal art collections, caused American museums to develop unevenly with many fits and starts until the mid-nineteenth century. By collecting and displaying objects from the new republic, early American museums were essential for developing a sense of binding nationalism. Swiss-born artist and philosopher Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere opened his American Museum in Philadelphia in 1782, making it the first museum accessible to the general public in the United States (for the exorbitant admission price of fifty cents).⁵⁴ Early museum

proprietors like Du Simitiere hoped to build museums that could rival Europe's private cabinets. His dreams were short-lived as Du Simitiere's museum flopped and he died only two years later in 1784.⁵⁵ Others beginning shortly after Du Simitiere's experiment, such as Tammany's American Museum in New York and the Western Museum of Cincinnati managed to remain open through the mid-nineteenth century. Perhaps the best-known early museum proprietor was Charles Willson Peale, who operated his museum in Philadelphia for sixty years from 1786 to 1845.⁵⁶ Like most early American museums, Peale dedicated himself to identifying, collecting, and displaying art, artifacts, and natural history specimens that were quintessentially American. His museum contained over 100,000 items curated to connect each piece "to the growth of the new republic."⁵⁷ While Peale's and the other "culturally nationalist" museums of the time were integral to American identity formation, they also heralded the creation of a variety of specialized museums with differing subject matter, display practices, and ethical outlooks.⁵⁸ The majority of Peale's collection contained fossils, animal specimens, as well as a variety of rocks and minerals. The museum's didactic exhibitions focused on "why natural history held such crucial importance for Americans" and Peale regularly hosted lectures and scientific experiments.⁵⁹

Steven Conn among others has outlined that the intensive research and discoveries in the biological and natural sciences in the mid-nineteenth century, based on ordered systems of classification, directly correlated to the rise of natural history museums and the contention that the rational ordering of artifacts within a museum by experts could explain the historical and scientific foundations of the world. As Conn

explains, scientists, “having collected, described, and classified the constituent parts of the natural world” used museums not only to house their specimens, but also to construct “orderly, systematic displays” to amaze “the public with science’s ability to control and order the world, to put it under glass, to put it literally on the end of a pin.”⁶⁰ In antebellum America, such institutions as the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia and the Smithsonian Institution, formed by Congress from the collections of James Smithson in 1846, were not only places of scientific exploration, they also attracted a large public audience.

Although museums purported to demonstrate universal truths through the undeniable authenticity of historical objects and scientific specimens, museums more accurately unlocked the truths of contemporary prejudices. In his groundbreaking study deciphering the origins of the modern museum, *The Birth of the Museum*, sociologist Tony Bennett asserted that as object collections moved from the restricted purview of the noble elite to public institutions in the mid-nineteenth century “for the benefit of an extended general public,” the foremost function of the museum was as a tool to legitimize imperialism.⁶¹ The artifacts chosen for inclusion in museums, the ways in which those objects were displayed, the lay out of the larger exhibitions, and the design of museum buildings worked in tandem to reinforce specific social and cultural hierarchies. Bennett cites London’s Great Exhibition of 1851 as a major transitional force in the ordering and display of material culture, prompting changes in how people interacted with museum artifacts. The exhibition featured a combination of scientific, industrial, artistic,

historical, and anthropological displays from around the world, which were housed in the massive glass enclosure of the Crystal Palace.

At the Great Exhibition, displays were ordered and presented in specific ways that legitimized and reinforced European imperial conquests while celebrating the capitalist state. The exhibition did not display processes of production, but, instead, exhibited only the products of industrial capitalism without reference to how they were produced.⁶² By ordering and juxtaposing objects of the newest technology in opposition to “primitive” handicrafts of “uncivilized” societies, the Great Exhibition (and the subsequent expositions to come) constructed an imperialistic racial hierarchy that joined the white European population as the “we” against the “them” of colonized peoples.⁶³ “In the context of imperial displays,” writes Bennett, “subject peoples were thus represented as occupying the lowest levels of manufacturing civilization...they were represented as cultures without momentum except for that benignly bestowed on them from without through the improving mission of the imperialist powers.”⁶⁴ As historian Robert Rydell has shown, the “primitive” displays first exhibited at the Great Exhibition would become a mainstay of all subsequent International Expositions. By the 1880s, displays of colonial subjects in indigenous villages were a popular feature of exposition entertainment midways. Not only did their location outside the formal fairgrounds relegate these displays to second-class status, but the inhabitants were often arranged in anthropological progressions moving from the most “barbaric” to the most “civilized,” utilizing scientific methods of classification to justify empire.

The Great Exhibition, and the subsequent international expositions to come, lauded the products and technologies of the industrial age, pointing to yet another paradigm shift that placed objects at the center of life. By the turn of the twentieth century more people had greater access to a wider array of consumer goods than ever before. In the American context, from the second half of the nineteenth-century through the early twentieth-century the United States underwent unprecedented industrialization and urbanization, coupled with massive waves of European immigration. This rapid transformation from preindustrial social and work cultures to routinized factory systems was a violent transition as labor fought back against oppressive work demands and clashes erupted between nativist and immigrant factions.⁶⁵ By 1913, however, U.S. manufacturing produced more goods than Europe's three industrial leaders – Britain, Germany, and France – combined.⁶⁶

The availability of mass-produced standardized goods ushered in a consumer-driven society with all manner of products advertised as potentially life-changing. As modern corporate bureaucracy, Taylor scientific efficiency, and urban growth contributed to work alienation, personal anonymity, and a loss of individual control, a desire for the “strenuous life” and the allure of the therapeutics of consumption emerged as the answer to modernity's “unreality” and “overcivilization.” Writes historian T.J. Jackson Lears, “Never before had so many people felt that reality was throbbing with vitality, pulsating with unspeakable excitement, and always just out of reach...the feeling of unreality helped to generate longings for bodily vigor, emotional intensity, and a revitalized sense of selfhood.”⁶⁷ Advertisers were there to ease the transition into bureaucratic society

through their products that promised cures to all of life's maladies, employing explicit parables to warn consumers about the hazards to their physical and social wellbeing if they failed to consume, warning that success hinged on first impressions and personality, not hard work or intelligence.⁶⁸

Department stores, the upscale haven for the finest consumer wares, replicated the museum atmosphere, elegantly displaying products in rows of glass cases similar to what one might find in a natural history gallery. In many ways, the department store was the logical culmination of the looking practices and commodity fetishism first fostered at the Great Exhibition, but now there was the opportunity for some to not just look, but also to buy.⁶⁹ The availability and ubiquity of increasing amounts of "stuff" operated to enhance the unique authenticity of historic artifacts and other objects that were created outside the realm of mass-production. While department stores mimicked museum design and advertisers promised that their products could remedy ills consumers might not even know they had, in the early years of the twentieth-century people were trained to doubtfully "look askance" and question the "fraudulent spectacles" and "deceptive images," which bombarded them daily.⁷⁰

In this context, mission artifacts were imperative to the Mission Inn's enterprise. Frank Miller and his hotel staff recognized that their guests, who, as members of the economic and cultural higher classes were seasoned museum patrons and consumers, would not be satisfied or adequately convinced of the Inn's Franciscan fantasy without mission objects. Miller and company simply could not expect guests to buy into (or at least play along with) their elaborately spun yarns about the hotel's supposed mission

heritage, they had to show them the goods. “Authenticity” is a slippery concept, but especially so at the Mission Inn as Miller strove for his hostelry to be both a hotel and historical site. As anthropologists and historians of tourism have detailed, the act of tourism itself in the early twentieth century and beyond was a quest for authentic discovery, a chance for people to buck their everyday routines to encounter new sites and cultures, “motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives.”⁷¹ Yet, much like the “looking askance” visual wariness of consumers, many tourists approached travel with what anthropologist Edward Bruner describes as a “questioning gaze,” in which they doubted “the credibility, authenticity, and accuracy of what [was] presented to them in the tourist production.”⁷² Try as he might, Miller could never transform the Inn into an actual mission, his claims of the hotel’s mission heritage were always staged and essentially fraudulent. Unlike other landmarks, such as Monticello or Mount Vernon and later Mystic Seaport, Plimoth Plantation, and Colonial Williamsburg, the Inn had no concrete historical infrastructure or significant associations from which to build.⁷³ By stocking the Inn with real relics from the true missions he could, however, fashion the hotel into a preeminent authority on mission history, quenching tourists’ thirst for both fanciful leisure and authentic experience.

The Mission Inn’s enormous bell collection, eventually including nearly eight hundred examples, was a main avenue to artifactually authenticate the hotel’s mission storyline. Allis Miller Hutchings is credited for first inspiring Frank Miller to begin collecting bells. At Christmas in 1905, while on her first European grand tour, Allis sent her father a small Roman bell cast with the Medici coat-of-arms. The bell, purchased in

an Italian antique shop, had allegedly belonged to the famous Renaissance family in the fifteenth century.⁷⁴ Impressed by the Medici bell's "Old World" style, Miller would write later that the piece "brought to my mind the old towers, the campaniles of Italy, and then the towers of our own Spanish Missions of California, and I began to think of their bells, and began to dream of the Romance that they might tell if they could."⁷⁵ For Miller, bells represented the missions' roles as inns for travelers voyaging up the California coast, an emblem of the Franciscans' supposed welcoming spirit that Miller pushed as part of the region's mythic past, which he also sought to re-create at his hotel. "Seeking the next Mission for his night's lodging, the traveller [sic], by foot or on horseback," described Miller, "would hear toward nightfall the bells of the Angelus, and he would spur forward, knowing that just over the next ridge he would find refreshment and a bed."⁷⁶ And so, Miller assumed the bell as his "talisman," collecting new ones in every country he and his family visited.⁷⁷

Miller's tale of familial inspiration made for excellent promotional fodder, but by the time he started his collection, the mission bell was already a powerful symbol of the mission tourism industry, thanks largely to the efforts of Harrie Forbes and the El Camino Real Association. Miller was an early member of the group, which sought to foster auto tourism to the missions by creating an official "King's Highway" enabling visitors to trace the original padres' footsteps.⁷⁸ In 1906, Forbes, who in 1914 formed the California Bell and Novelty Company with her husband Armitage, designed the iconic 'mission-bell guidepost,' "a replica mission bell hung from a tall standard that curved at the top like a shepherd's staff."⁷⁹ The first guidepost was placed in August 1906 at the

Plaza Church in downtown Los Angeles and they eventually adorned nearly every mile of the route directing tourists to the next mission site.⁸⁰ As historian Phoebe Kropp has explored, the bell, thanks to the El Camino Real Association, quickly became the missions' most identifiable icon.



Figure 29: Bells adorned the hotel's indoor and outdoor spaces. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Although the Mission Inn did display numerous mission bell replicas, Miller's collection included several bells that were either from actual missions or connected to influential Franciscans. Amidst the sea of bells adorning the hotel's interior, guests encountered such examples as Bell 27, a brass bell from the church of "Santa Maria degli Angeli" in Portiuncula, Italy, "built on the site and over the hut of St. Francis of Assisi,

the gentle-hearted founder of the Franciscans,” and Bell 117, an “ancient brass bell with a quaint superimposed ornament riveted on” and an “odd wooden clapper” from “Majorca, the birthplace of Fr. Junipero Serra, founder of the California missions.”⁸¹ The Inn declared that Bell 617 from the Santa Cruz Convent in Queretaro, Mexico, was “undoubtedly used by Junipero Serra himself” when the padre stayed at the site before embarking to California.⁸² Bell 338 was a cowbell from Mission San Gabriel and as the description observed, the bell was “broken, but interesting, when we recall that San Gabriel, in the days of her glory, counted her cattle by the thousands, over many a long league of hill and valley.”⁸³ Bell 261, an “ancient iron key and bronze bell,” came from Mission Santa Barbara.⁸⁴ “Father Damien’s Bell,” 251 in the Mission Inn’s collection, hung in the Church of St. Francis at the leper colony on Molokai, Hawaii. Allis and DeWitt Hutchings purchased the bell in Hawaii during their 1911 honeymoon. The bell was partially shattered when it fell during the fire that entirely destroyed the Church of St. Francis. Father Damien, now Saint Damien, died of leprosy in 1889 after contracting the disease from his patients. The hotel’s historical note on the bell declared, “It is especially fitting that this bell should find its permanent resting place in the collection of the Mission Inn under the shadow of the Cross on Rubidoux, reared in memory of another immortal son of St. Francis – Fray Junipero Serra.”⁸⁵



Figure 30: Bell 251, Father Damien's Bell. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Tucked in cabinets and cases throughout the Inn were hundreds of crucifixes and rosaries, the hotel proclaiming the collection “the largest and most representative in the world.”⁸⁶ The potent Catholic imagery perfectly complimented Miller’s mission theme, but like the bells, many of the crosses were also directly linked to the missions. Take for instance, Cross 104 and Cross 163, both crafted in the eighteenth century for Franciscan convents; one a Calvary made of olivewood for the Convent of the Immaculate

Conception in Toledo, Spain, and the other, a delicate mother-of-pearl crucifix, was carved in Mexico.⁸⁷ Cross 238, a ‘precious and incorruptible’ crucifix of Sabino wood from Guanajuato, Mexico, was allegedly “of the sort used by the Mission Fathers in the marriage ceremony of the Indians,” and 239 was a brass cross featuring “Mexican Indian work with crude carving” that came from “Loreto, Lower California, where the [Franciscan] California expedition of 1769 assembled.”⁸⁸ Cross 473 was a green glass rosary used at the Franciscan Church at Zapopan, Mexico, a parish once headed by Father Serra.⁸⁹ The collection’s most prestigious mission example was Cross 234, a “thorn cross” supposedly crafted from a branch of a rose tree planted by Serra at the Queretaro Franciscan Convent of Santa Cruz. As the Mission Inn literature states, “Serra’s rose bush yet lives, grown into a large rose tree, and this cross was cut from it for the Inn Collection.”⁹⁰

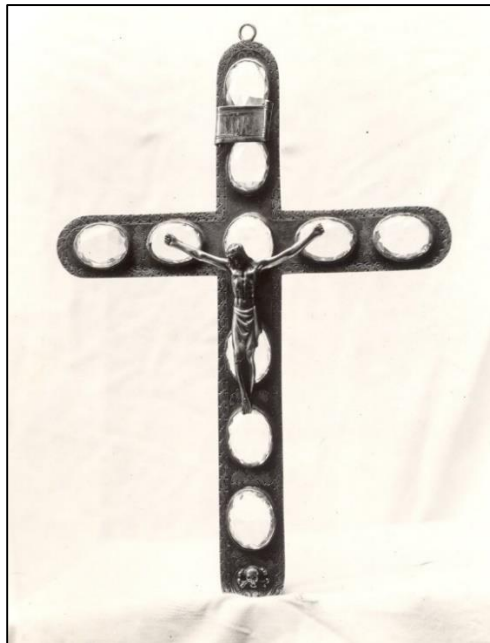


Figure 31: Example from Mission Inn cross collection. Cross 116, listed as 400-years old from the Convent of San Leandro in Toledo, Spain. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

While the bells and crosses were strewn around the hotel, the richly staged Cloister Walk held the Inn's highest concentration of mission artifacts. Designed after the Cloisters of the Franciscan Monastery in Assisi, Italy, the narrow brick corridor followed the path of the El Camino Real with artifact displays from every mission in custom recessed wall niches patterned after those "found in the shrine of the mortuary chapel at San Luis Rey Mission."⁹¹ Along the route each mission was represented with a painting from California artist Henry Chapman Ford's oil-on-canvas series of mission landscapes, in addition to a statue of that mission's patron saint.⁹² Endless images of Father Serra and St. Francis lined the walls, as well as contemporary mission photographs and mission relics, such as iron spikes "used by the Indians in the construction of San Antonio de Padua Mission," a "crude wooden bench...made by the Indians of Santa Ynez Mission about 1825," an armchair from San Fernando, and original iron candlesticks from the Mission Nuestra Senora Reina de Los Angeles.⁹³ The Inn even contended that the Cloister Walk's concrete floor was inlaid with remnants of red tiles "from the broken floors of one of the old, abandoned missions."⁹⁴ Periodically, the corridor widened to reveal small alcoves, including "El Bautisterio," a replica mission baptismal chamber, "El Escritorio," a mission writing nook, and the "Santa Clara Chapel," a tiny room dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi's contemporary and featuring Spanish carvings of her likeness from 1650.⁹⁵ After three hundred feet the hallway terminated in the "Refectorio," a large banquet hall modeled after a typical mission dining room.⁹⁶ To return to the main floor, visitors navigated onto the "Navajo Trail," comprised of the Hogan, a "room meant to reproduce, in a general way, the effect of a Pueblo Indian home," and the Kiva, designed

as a “Pueblo Council Chamber” with rows of native pots, weaving, baskets on roughhewn shelves, and a shrine of “religious fetishes” originally exhibited in the Hopi Village at San Francisco’s Panama-Pacific International Exposition.⁹⁷

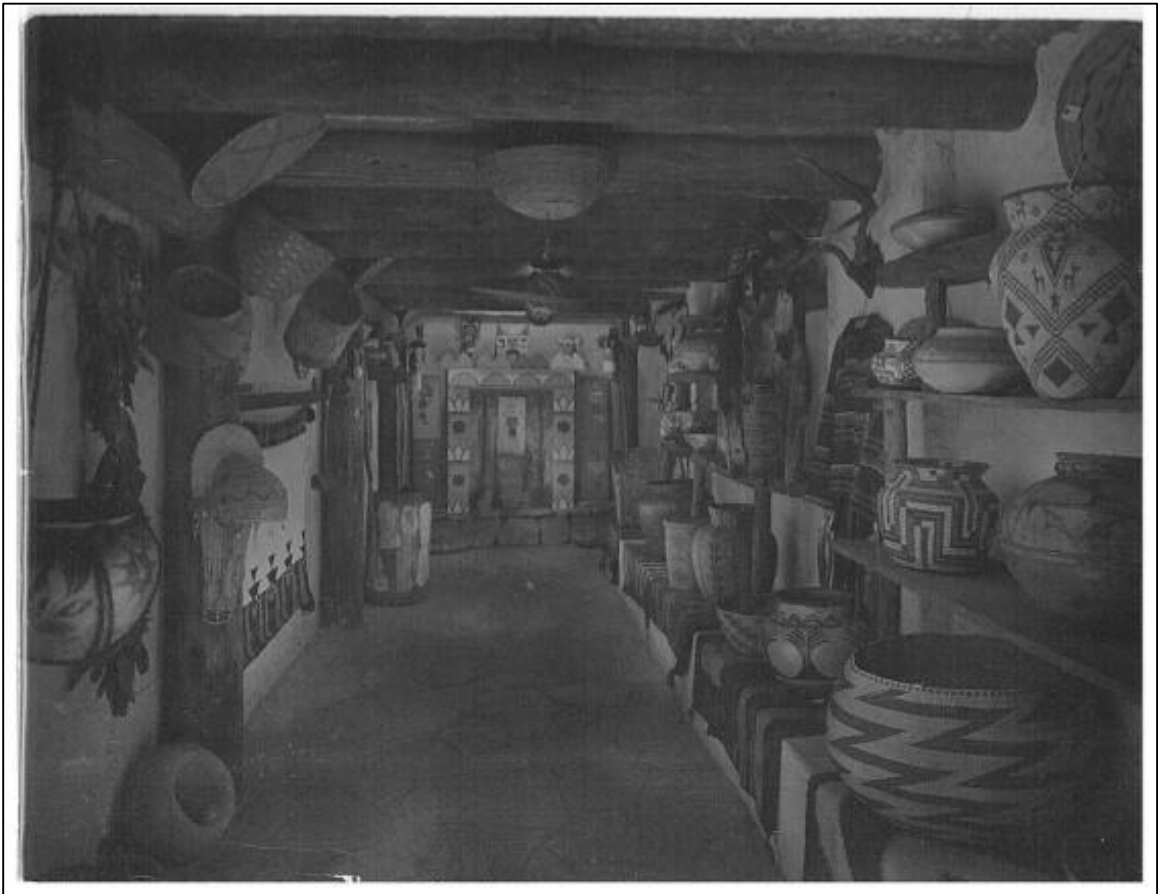


Figure 32: The Kiva. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

As Miller’s 1911 collecting trip to Spain and the subsequent 1916 Ehrich Gallery Old Spanish Masters exhibit at the Mission Inn illuminates, Miller did not limit his collections to only those items claiming mission heritage, but in his quest to build his hotel into “museum of Spanish civilization and art” he prized all manner of ecclesiastical and aristocratic antique objects from Spain and colonial Mexico.⁹⁸ Aside from his Spanish travels, Miller treasure hunted in Mexico in late 1920 (more on this in chapter

three), and authorized gallery owner Walter Ehrich to buy thousands of dollars' worth of Spanish goods at auctions on the East coast.⁹⁹ The Spanish antiquities, ranging from ironwork, candlesticks, sconces, and tapestries to bells, crosses, altarpieces, furniture, and oil paintings, enacted similar authenticating work as the mission artifacts, but with added European elegance, something the missions themselves had sorely lacked. Miller's fervor for mission and Spanish material culture also veered into an infatuation with the accoutrement of the Catholic Church as a whole. Beginning as an offshoot of his mission fantasy, Miller christened St. Francis the Mission Inn's patron saint – deeming it “quite natural” because of the hotel's Franciscan theme – and started an entire collection of “Franciscana,” comprised of over two hundred pieces of art, artifacts, books, and relics depicting the saint's image.¹⁰⁰ As he traveled abroad more frequently, however, Miller increasingly added Catholic relics not associated with the Franciscan order or the mission system to the hotel's collections.

Miller considered the devotional articles, from different countries, time periods, and Catholic religious orders, as interchangeable decorative pieces in service of the hotel's overall ambience. The wood paneling, articulated with carved saint images, that lined the walls of the Presidential Suite and St. Francis Chapel was taken out of a sixteenth century Belgian convent; the central element of “El Bautisterio” was a two hundred-year old Danish baptismal font; seventeenth-century French cloth-of-gold vestments and colorfully embroidered chasubles hung next to an Italian shrine crafted from coral in the hotel's Signature Room at the entrance to the Spanish Art Gallery; and an Italian lectern in the chapel came from a monastery “where for many years it held

illuminated vellum sheets from an old missal used by monks in their chants.”¹⁰¹ Miller purchased bells for his collection from cathedrals in England (dated pre-Reformation), France, Germany, and Italy. His cross collection featured holy water Benitiers, Eucharistic Monstrances, and crosses of nearly every style – Lorraine, Jerusalem, Pectoral, Reliquary, Latin, Penitential, Celtic, and Ikon – from Franciscan, Benedictine, Jesuit, Dominican, and Eastern Orthodox orders in England, Ireland, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Palestine, Spain, and Mexico.¹⁰² The Inn claimed that several crosses still bore saintly relics, including one reliquary cross containing bone fragments of “St. Cyriacus, Pope of Rome,” and another housing “two very small splinters of the True Cross...closed and sealed with wax and silken thread.”¹⁰³



Figure 33: El Bautisterio. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The highlight of the Inn's Catholic collections was the Pontifical Court arranged in the Cloister Walk's "Consistorio," (Spanish for consistory, or, ecclesiastical council). The fourteen full size wax figures, "almost photographic in [their] exactitude" represented Pope Pius X, Cardinal Rampolla, Cardinal Mathieu, a chamberlain, two Swiss Guards, two Papal Guards, a fan bearer, a mace bearer, and four chair bearers in full vestments "very carefully copied from the originals."¹⁰⁴ This wax tableau was originally created for the Vatican exhibition at the 1911 Exposition Internationale du Nord de la France in Rubaix. Miller purchased the complete set, which also included painted scenes of St. Peter's Basilica and the Vatican, as well as Papal coat of arm plaques and flags, at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, all shipped to the hotel in June 1917.¹⁰⁵



Figure 34: The Papal Court. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

It is by no means an intellectual leap to move from the veneration of mission life to an infatuation with the sumptuous rites and rituals of Catholicism as a whole. Many of the same counterintuitive processes that birthed Southern California's Spanish fantasy also operate in Catholic aestheticism, where even the most devout Protestants delighted in the faith's ornamented finery. To revere Catholic objects was not to agree with the religion's doctrines; it was, according to T.J. Jackson Lears, about beauty, age, and class.¹⁰⁶ Collectors separated the artifacts from their "specific historical [and religious] meaning," in order to turn them into "a cult of taste."¹⁰⁷ Miller built his religious collections in earnest during his first European tour in 1907, by which time Catholic aestheticism was a fully realized artistic practice, brewing in the United States since the mid nineteenth-century. Nativist sentiment had not welcomed the millions of Irish-Catholics who fled devastating famine in the 1830s and marked the first wave of U.S. immigration. Labor violence erupted in urban centers as immigrants flooded the unskilled workforce. "Unskilled newcomers, who were largely German and Irish Catholics," writes John Bodnar, "were viewed as threats not only to their [native Protestants] status at work but to their religious and cultural values as well."¹⁰⁸ Catholicism, so opposed to stark individualized American Puritanism, was popularly feared for its mystical rites, the power wielded by the Pope and Church hierarchy, and the release of sins afforded through confession. As David Reynolds has shown, nativist antipathy toward Catholics in the antebellum U.S. resulted in an abundance of literature "in which Catholic characters were either portrayed as heartless murderers or were retributively killed themselves."¹⁰⁹

With time's passage and the increased assimilation of European Catholic populations into U.S. society in the wake of new immigrant threats that attracted nativist ire, by the early twentieth century, American Protestants no longer feared the trappings of Catholicism, but longed for them. In the Southern Californian context, as Carey McWilliams and later Phoebe Kropp have noted, it was the Protestant boosters who largely controlled the message of the Catholic mission sites, interpreting them as sites of history and no longer places for religious conversion that could potentially threaten Protestant power. Writes Kropp, "Anglo-Protestant Southern Californians had few qualms about celebrating the Spanish-Catholic mission past because Anglo-Protestant Southern Californians directed the celebration."¹¹⁰ For Lears, the allure of Catholic objects had everything to do with the increased ease of overseas travel and reactions against modern industrial life. Like Miller, many who traveled abroad were immediately struck by the visual pleasures of Catholicism in places where the Church's influence spanned centuries. Describes Lears, "Catholic art and ritual embodied a feast of color and incense and music unknown" in the American Protestant tradition.¹¹¹ Catholic religious art and relics were high art prized by those who could afford to travel and collect – the Church's strict power structure no longer menacing, but instead proclaiming the maintenance of social hierarchies. Handcrafted from precious materials, linked to European noble houses, and used in ecclesiastical rites for hundreds of years, Catholic relics were the pinnacle of authenticity in a mass-produced world.¹¹² At the Mission Inn, Miller's Catholic collections worked to reinforce his mission message while adding a level of highbrow opulence, exotic historical glamour, and a pinch of mystery to his

luxury hotel.¹¹³ Miller's ability to acquire Catholic goods was a material symbol of his Protestant work ethic.¹¹⁴

Miller, however, was not content to let artifacts from the past authenticate his mission vision; he wanted to steer the hotel's mythmaking apparatus without the constraints of relying solely on historic objects. Melding into the Inn's other collections were custom designed items meant to look old and evoke the mission period in specific ways. The most identifiable symbol created by Miller to foster a connection between the California missions and the Mission Inn was the hotel's signature housemark known as the "Raincross." Designed by Miller, Arthur Benton, Riverside architect S.L. Pillar, and local banker George Frost in 1906, the image adorned Inn stationery, advertising materials, dining silverware, and was featured prominently throughout the hotel's interior. In February 1908, Miller even registered an official U.S. Patent for the emblem.¹¹⁵ The Raincross was an amalgamation of a rustic double-barred cross and mission bell. The bell, a dominant icon of the mission system and the double-barred cross, an easily recognizable Catholic and Orthodox symbol, together created a new super signifier that immediately called to mind the missions, but which directly referenced the Mission Inn. Adding another layer to the Raincross's meaning, the Inn advertised that the double barred cross originated in Southwest Native American culture:

The double cross is the rain god cross of Indians of Central America, Mexico and the Southwest. When the Spaniards first came to the Americans they found the natives invoking a rain god that was rudely fashioned like a cross. The four terminals signified the four winds of heaven which brought the rain. Since the coming of the Spanish Missionaries the double-armed cross has had more or less a Christian meaning. But originally and fundamentally this is the rain god cross of the Indians to which they prayed for rain.¹¹⁶

The Inn's cross collection naturally included an authentic example of such a raincross. "A favorite form of cross used by the Indians of the Southwest has double arms," wrote Allis Miller Hutchings in a 1938 article. "In the Mission Inn collection is a rare old silver pectoral cross of this style once worn by a medicine man of the Navajo tribe."¹¹⁷ The Inn kept accounts of the Raincross's origins intentionally vague, even placing it outside California native traditions, while still inventing a connection to a well-known pre-contact Indian civilization.¹¹⁸

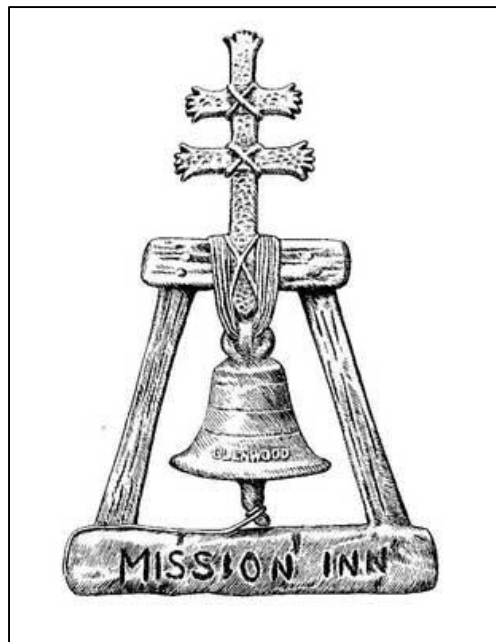


Figure 35: The original Raincross design, which became the housemark of the Mission Inn and the symbol of the City of Riverside. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Within a year of the Raincross patent, the Mission Inn also had its own official coat-of-arms. According to T.J. Jackson Lears, the familial crests of European nobility, like Catholic relics, gained popularity among serious art connoisseurs at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century as "premodern emblems of authority."¹¹⁹ The Inn's escutcheon, attributed to Arthur Benton's colleague, English-born artist William Alexander Sharp,

seamlessly meshed with the hotel's displays of "royal banners and escutcheons with their gleaming gold, the colors, mellowed with age."¹²⁰ But, although the Mission Inn's coat-of-arms was reproduced after those of old Spain, it had a distinctly mission theme proclaiming the virtues of California hospitality.



Figure 36: The Mission Inn's escutcheon. Photo courtesy Mission inn Foundation & Museum.

In a small space, the hotel's escutcheon crammed in nearly every romantic mission theme Miller wished to communicate. In the middle of a crumbling adobe archway a verdant green crest outlined in gold was diagonally bisected by a ribbon of orange, the colors representing Riverside's citrus industry. The orange swatch contained three yellow bells and on either side stood two white crosses. To the left of the crest was St. Francis of Assisi and on the right Junipero Serra, each holding aloft a crucifix. At their feet sat a

loin-cloth clad Native American man who looks reverently to St. Francis, as if waiting to be “uplifted” by God’s glory. The bottom reads, “Entre es su casa, amigo,” or “Enter, friends, this is your home.”¹²¹ The escutcheon greeted guests as they opened the Inn’s front doors, plaques were placed throughout the hotel’s interiors, it marked the front pages of hotel publications, and the image was even crafted into stained glass to decorate the hotel’s windows.

Finally, on display with the rest of Miller’s bell collection and available to purchase in the hotel’s Cloister Art Shop for one dollar were custom cast mission bells that subtly, but firmly, converged the Franciscan missions and the Mission Inn into one.¹²² Designed by Connecticut bell-maker, Bevin Brothers, the “Mission Inn Souvenir Serra Bell” was stamped with the Raincross and open-armed Franciscan seal. The bell’s front read “Junipero Serra 1713-1784” and around the bottom “Mission Inn, Riverside, California.” A Spanish coronet crowned the top.¹²³ Another example included ten rosary beads attached to the bell.¹²⁴

The specially crafted and explicitly “Mission Inn” emblems and artifacts were just a starting point for Miller. The hotelier commissioned artists to create custom artworks for the Inn of mission settings. While each piece illustrated the individual artists’ unique style and preferred medium, the subject matter was exhaustively repetitive: St. Francis, Spanish exploration in California, first contact between Native Americans and Franciscans, and mission life. Miller first hired Kansas-born, Paris-trained portrait artist George Melville Stone to paint a series of panels for the Inn’s Cloister addition. After the artist migrated from Kansas to Altadena in 1909, Miller contracted Stone to paint a

portrait of his daughter Allis.¹²⁵ So pleased with the result – a piece depicting an angelic Allis in white carrying a basket of oranges down an ivy-covered open-air stairway with a mission bell tower in the background – Miller asked Stone to set up a studio at the Inn to produce eight more paintings of mission scenes for the hotel’s new Cloister Walk.



Figure 37: Portrait of Allis Miller Hutchings by George Melville Stone. From the collections of the Friends of the Mission Inn. Photo by Bill Rose and courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

In muted pastels and arched-shaped canvases made to fit into special niches, Stone's work exemplified the California romance Miller strove to achieve. In "The Hanging of the Bell" Stone shows Father Serra standing on wooden scaffolding directing young Indian men, hair cut short and dressed in Spanish blouses and breeches (described in one art review as "lusty Indian boys"), in the proper hanging of San Gabriel's mission bell. By dressing the native men as Spaniards, Stone's scene portrays the missions as places that successfully acculturated native children into European ways of life. Their robust physical strength, a symbol of the missions' imagined healthful environments, is represented through their ability to lift the mission bell into place. This scene also depicts the labor hierarchies within the missions. It is the Indian men who are doing the hard physical labor while the padre directs them in the proper bell placement.



Figure 38: "The Hanging of the Bell" by George Melville Stone. From the collections of the Mission Inn Hotel & Spa. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

San Gabriel is the setting for Stone's "A Daughter of San Gabriel," portraying a young Ramona-esque Native American woman who sits on the mission's front stairway in "brooding content, dreaming perhaps of both earthly and heavenly love." In a third panel, Stone imagines St. Francis standing outside San Francisco's Mission Dolores surrounded by birds and his pet lamb grazing at his side. At Mission San Diego, Stone depicts Padre de Alcala blessing and feeding a naked Indian child whose mother sits nearby with an empty food basket while the pockets of the padre's brown robe overflows with bread.



Figure 39: "Mission San Diego" by George Melville Stone. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Stone completed exterior scenes of San Juan Capistrano and Santa Barbara, where a resplendent St. Barbara watches over the mission. In “Our Lady of the Angles Blessing the City of Los Angeles,” the ethereal saint shines her light on the developing metropolis. A padre treads in solitude along a desolate desert trail in Stone’s final piece, “El Camino Real.”¹²⁶



Figure 40: “Santa Barbara” by George Melville Stone. From the collections of the Mission Inn Hotel & Spa. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Also for the Cloister Walk, William Alexander Sharp designed five stained glass windows for the Refectorio portraying a mission harvest. With adobe facades and arches in the background, the windows, completed in rich autumnal browns, oranges, and yellows, characterize Indians and padres working idyllically together in agrarian splendor to plough fields, pick grapes, and gather garden vegetables. As Inn curator Francis Borton related, the Sharp windows showed “happy days” when the “Indians of California...were being trained in things moral, industrial and spiritual by the Franciscans of Junipero Serra” who were “ever kindly indulgent to their dark skinned charges.”¹²⁷ Once again, the Inn’s artistic work explicitly illustrates the tenets of the mission myth – the native peoples of California were savage heathens before the padres brought them religion; together the padres and neophytes happily cultivated the once desolate landscape into a bountiful agricultural paradise; and the padres were gentle father figures, almost pushovers, not harsh authoritarians who freely used corporal punishment to enforce religious and labor regulations.



Figure 41: Stained glass window pane by William Alexander Sharp. From the collections of the Mission Inn Hotel & Spa. Photo by Bill Rose and courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 42: Sharp's stained glass windows in situ in the Refectorio, circa 1915. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

In early 1912, Los Angeles artist James E. McBurney assumed George Melville Stone's vacated studio in the hotel's Carmel Dome to complete three canvases for Miller of scenes of the Franciscans' early arrival in California. The first scene, titled *Erection of the Cross at Monterey* shows Gaspar de Portola on horseback and flanked by Spanish soldiers watching intently as Serra plants a rough-hewn wooden cross on the shore of the Pacific at Monterey. A group of muscled Indian men gather opposite the Spaniards as Serra lifts his head and arms in devotion. The second panel, *Junipero Serra Praying for*

the Return of the Relief Ship, depicts Serra on the banks of San Diego Bay clutching a rosary and crucifix staring out to sea in despairing prayer. Beside him slump five downcast Spanish soldiers and a native man looking stone faced into the distance. A third work, which is no longer in the Inn's collections, showed Serra journeying alone in between mission sites when he is startled by two Native American men. As a *Riverside Daily Press* article describes at the painting's unveiling, "The priest is crossing a tiny streamlet by means of stepping stones holding the cross before him and gazing at the startled savages whose pose indicates a mixture of superstitious fear and defiance."¹²⁸



Figure 43: *Erection of the Cross at Monterey* by James E. McBurney. From the collections of the Friends of the Mission Inn. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 44: *Junipero Serra Praying for the Return of the Relief Ship* by James E. McBurney. From the collections of the Friends of the Mission Inn. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Even the hotel's kitchen was outfitted with mission fine art by the Inn's longest artist-in-residence, Chicago- and Paris-trained landscape painter, William Charles Tanner. Tanner, who lived and worked at the Inn for nearly a decade from October 1913 to February 1923, created intricate works in the kitchen's coved ceiling alcoves.¹²⁹ In smaller niches, Tanner painted individual mission facades each with a young Native American sitting in the foreground. Another piece, richly bordered in decorative vines

and the Franciscan seal depicts Father Serra hunched and trudging across a California valley followed by an oxen team pulling a wooden wagon. The most expansive piece in the kitchen's main work area was a panoramic view of Juan Bautista de Anza's expedition across the Jurupa Valley in 1775 where the group of Spanish soldiers and padres encounter Native Americans in a desert punctuated by cacti, yucca, and sagebrush. Two padres holding crosses greet a native man and woman near a grass hut. The man appears hesitant, but another Native American assists the padres, reaching an outstretched hand in reassurance. Behind the Franciscans are other Native American followers and mounted Spaniards in military regalia carrying guns and waving a standard emblazoned with a image of the Virgin Mary.¹³⁰ Additional kitchen paintings by Tanner included De Anza crossing the Santa Ana River in 1776, De Anza's companion, Father Garces, in the desert, De Alarcon's expedition on the Colorado River in 1540, and "Indians worshipping on Mt. Rubidoux and beholding a vision of the Fair God," a visual representation of the imagined story performed in Mission Inn pageants.¹³¹



Figure 45: Painting in the Mission Inn's San Pasqual kitchen by W.C. Tanner. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 46: Painting of Juan Bautista de Anza's expedition across Jurupa Valley by W.C. Tanner. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 47: Tanner paintings set into the ceiling alcoves of the San Pasqual kitchen. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The Miller family also immortalized each other within their mission and Catholic collections, envisioning themselves squarely amidst the historical myths they were actively constructing. These insertions proclaimed that the Miller family was the mastermind behind the Mission Inn's reimaginings and that their collections were not solely about preserving the past or tourist promotion, but about their individual role within this process. Like the venerated saints immortalized in works of art, guests at the hotel should remember and honor the Millers for building the Inn. In 1910, after the death of his wife Isabella, Miller, with the religious guidance of Los Angeles Bishop Thomas Conaty and the artistic know-how of stained glass craftsman Harry Goodhue, Miller dedicated the Music Room's St. Cecilia windows to her memory.¹³² Isabella is

shown as St. Cecilia, the patroness saint of music, playing a pipe organ with the Miller's macaw Joseph at her side and a mission campanario in the distance. Miller's sister and longtime Inn manager, Alice Richardson, is memorialized in stained glass in the Spanish Art Gallery as St. Martha, the patroness saint of hospitality, dressed in red robes and carrying a heaping basket of fruit.¹³³ Miller himself is commemorated as St. Francis in a window outside the St. Francis Chapel.¹³⁴ During his life Miller fashioned himself as Junipero Serra, playing him each Christmas in the hotel's annual "Nativity Pageant." In death, he was beatified as none other than the Franciscans' founding father.



Figure 48: Stained glass window in memory of Alice Richardson by Jessie Van Brunt. Photo by Bill Rose and courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 49: Stained glass window depicting Frank Miller as St. Francis by Jessie Van Brunt. The caption reads, “Frank Augustus Miller: Master of the Inn, Idealist for International Friendship.” Photo by Bill Rose and courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

While the artifacts authenticated the Inn’s version of mission history, the hotel’s visual art contextualized those objects to lead visitors to see the missions as charmingly rustic and picturesque, just like the Mission Inn. The hotel’s exterior arches and arcades and the bells and crosses exhibited inside perfectly matched the mission scenes illustrated by the Inn’s artists. The art effectively extended the interpretive work of the hotel’s literature and pageantry – the linking of the Mission Inn to the Franciscan sites, the

eneration of the padres, and the pitying of Native Americans before their Christian conversion. The art achieved this in a static, concrete way that was ever present, not fleeting. The Inn's pageants were at most yearly special events and the mission-themed poetry was romantically esoteric and could be interpreted as not necessarily about the Inn. The art, however, was permanently on display and required little academic extrapolation or advanced analysis to understand the intended meaning.

In the end, critically reevaluating crucial museum texts is necessary to fully deconstruct the importance of the Miller's mission collections to the Mission Inn. Tony Bennett, in *Birth of the Museum*, posited his theory of the "exhibitionary complex," a framework integral to the museum studies discipline. Using London's 1851 Great Exhibition once again as his starting point, Bennett asserts it was the overall museum setting that endowed the objects on display – the majority new industrially manufactured goods and not antiquities – with cultural authority.¹³⁵ The modern novelties had no inherent ability to convey indisputable truths. Yet, the museum structure, the rows of cases housing the objects, and nationalist organization techniques, juxtaposing technologically advanced innovations against the "barbarous" products of the non-industrial world, transparently guided visitors to specific value-based conclusions.¹³⁶ The museum environment begat artifactual power.

Building on Foucault's disciplinary framework, Bennett argues that the architecture and operating mechanisms of the Great Exhibition acted as invisible modes of domestic social control and class stratification. While the exhibition was open to the general public it was not necessarily a place where all social classes freely mixed – the

admission price varied day-by-day meaning that people were immediately separated by their financial status. The objects were not the only ordered part of the exhibition, with nearly 11,000 military troops and police officers at the ready, the crowd was just as orderly.¹³⁷ Rather singularly for Bennett, museums were commanding tools for the “moral and cultural regulation of the working classes.”¹³⁸ The Palace featured an enormously high glass ceiling, clear exhibit cabinets, a lack of room partitions, and open arcades for panoramic views. “One of the architectural innovations of the Crystal Palace,” Bennett explains, “consisted in the arrangement of relations between the public and exhibits so that, while everyone could see, there were also vantage points from which everyone could be seen, thus combining the functions of spectacle and surveillance.”¹³⁹ The museum, then, was a place not simply to look, but to gaze – at the architecture and atmosphere, at the artifacts, and at others. As Bennett and John Urry, in particular respect to tourism, have elucidated, to gaze is to view something or someone and register difference, to visually consume and define it as out of the ordinary or even in complete opposition to yourself and your everyday surroundings.¹⁴⁰

Although provocative, Bennett’s argument on its own does little to explain the centrality of objects to the Mission Inn’s operation. Historical archaeologist Martin Hall, however, provides an updated counter narrative to the “exhibitionary complex,” which is instructive. In his 2006 thought piece “The Reappearance of the Authentic,” Hall surmises that in today’s world of simulated “experiential” destinations, such as Disney’s Wild Kingdom and urban themed shopping destinations constructed to look like Main Street, U.S.A., “authentic” works of art and artifacts have found new uses. Whereas the

cultural power of the museum once invested objects exhibited within its walls with authority, transplanted into an experiential simulacrum, the artifact imbues this constructed environment with a sense of grounded place and history.¹⁴¹ In describing this process at Disney's Animal Kingdom Lodge, Hall writes, "The experiential complex makes use of metonymy... Because the Igbo Ijele mask and displayed objects such as the Pende initiation mask and the feathered hat from Cameroon are evidently authentic, the faux-leopard-skin sofas around the giant television set looping an excerpt from *The Lion King* seem more special."¹⁴² Like the divisions that separated the Great Exhibition's audience, class differentiations are ever-present in experiential enterprises. As private, commercial spaces, these destinations are not open to the general public, but only to those "who can afford to participate [in] the fantasy of a customized world."¹⁴³

Hall contends that the "experiential complex" is a phenomenon of the new millennium, but the case of the Mission Inn complicates his assessment as a site nearly a century ahead of its time. Just as Disney's Wild Animal Park fabricated a perfected African safari articulated with tribal artifacts in suburban Florida's concrete jungle, nearly a century earlier, Frank Miller constructed a perfected Franciscan mission in Riverside where no mission ever existed. Whereas the Animal Park might add a ceremonial mask here, and urban shopping centers may add a town square there in an effort to make their tourist ventures into more than mere simulations, Miller's unerring commitment to, and large-scale production of, his mission myth sophisticatedly blurred the lines of reality on multiple levels. While the artifacts anchoring contemporary experiential sites are not marketed, but instead presented "to be discovered, adding their

value through association,” the Mission Inn’s collections were a main attraction.¹⁴⁴ In the early twentieth-century, museums were the repositories of truth and knowledge gleaned by experts from the cultural and scientific material of the past. And so, Miller fashioned his hotel into a museum, filling it with hundreds of mission, Spanish, and Catholic artifacts that provided historical backing for his mission musings and visual delight for his highbrow guests. Blending amidst the antiques were custom pieces designed by Miller and his artists to even more explicitly convey his message. Was the Mission Inn a deceptive consumer spectacle, whimsical playground for elite tourists, or serious educational museum? The answer lay somewhere in between all three.

Textual Curiosity

Providing an undeniable historical backbone for the hotel was only the first function of the Mission Inn’s collections. Of equal, if not greater, importance was their deployment for the “comfort, rest and entertainment” of the Inn’s clientele. At the height of the Mission Inn’s popularity, prestigious public museums purported to uncover universal historical, scientific, and anthropological certainties through the artifacts they displayed, but this was just one mode of exhibitionary practice. While some museums sought irrefutable truths, other proprietary dime museums, sideshows, and midway pleasures used objects to liberally stretch and mold reality in the name of amusement and profit. The Mission Inn did both. In utilizing artifacts to authenticate the hotel’s mission foundation, Miller began toying with truth by weaving in his own creations amongst the antiques and he (and his staff) quickly moved on to other avenues.

For a hotel, the Inn offered an astounding array of publications detailing “the amazing number of art and historic objects of special interest” guests would find during their stay: *The Handbook of the Mission Inn* booklet was a self-guided tour through each room and from 1912 to 1951 the hotel published seven different editions; the “Bells & Crosses of the Mission Inn” pamphlet described each of the eight hundred bells, crucifixes, and rosaries displayed throughout the Inn; the “Dolls and Animals of the World” gave notes on the over five hundred international dolls and animal figurines in the collection of Frank Miller’s granddaughters, Helen and Isabella; and “Franciscana” outlined the Inn’s two hundred twenty pieces dedicated to St. Francis. Still further, more precise object catalogs were kept in many rooms to enable guests to pick out individual items on display. Incorporating the meticulous museum organization methods of the day, every artwork and artifact was carefully numbered with small copper tags and recorded either according to its location inside the hotel or its acquisition date. As Miller purchased new items, sold others, and rearranged the exhibitions, hotel staff continually updated each booklet to ensure accuracy. The exactitude to which the collections were curated demonstrated definitively that the displays were not merely for decoration, but were meant for the edification of the hotel’s guests. Pamphlets in hand, visitors could connect artifact numbers and locations to descriptions, as they might at a public museum or World’s Fair, learning the age, significance, and country of origin of the objects they encountered.



Figure 50: Front cover of the *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The hotel's various handbooks are still the first reference consulted for information regarding Inn artifacts, chiefly due to Miller's poor documentation of his collecting exploits. Few receipts, shipping invoices, or correspondence regarding Miller's acquisition of his collection remains. What is known about the collections has overwhelmingly come from accounts written by Miller, his daughter Allis, her husband

DeWitt, or Inn curator Francis Borton, a Los Angeles native, Spanish scholar, and former Methodist missionary in Mexico. For an enterprise so fastidious in its curatorial practice, the absence of source material confirming provenance appears suspiciously intentional. A close reading of the Inn's publications reveal that they should be taken as anything but hard fact. Miller desired his hotel to be a respected educational institution while simultaneously turning a profit and offering daily entertainments. In the slightly tempered spirit of P.T. Barnum and other American dime museum operators, Miller, gentleman huckster that he was, employed his collections to foster intrigue and awe in a nuanced way that was exaggerated yet not outlandish. Artifact descriptions always reached just enough to enable guests to imagine the objects' grand connections while not wholeheartedly dismissing the interpretations as elaborate hoaxes.

Since the assemblage of Renaissance wunderkammern and the simultaneous advent of increased global travel and scientific innovations, objects from foreign places, antiquities, natural anomalies, and manufactured items of "ingenious virtuosity" have inspired wonder and amazement within those lucky enough to view the cabinets' contents.¹⁴⁵ This "sense of wonder," according to historian Stephen Greenblatt in his examination of fifteenth and sixteenth century New World exploration, was an overwhelming "ecstatic joy" and "ravishment" in response to confrontations with an almost inconceivable "radical difference" from oneself.¹⁴⁶ This exploration and subsequent colonial domination caused an "avalanche of marvelous new stuff" to flow into Europe.¹⁴⁷ Colonization was expressed both militarily and through the possession of objects that signified the "otherness" of the newly subjugated lands. It was not just this

“marvelous new stuff,” such as horns, feathers, or even shrunken heads that caused feelings of wonderment, it was the fact that what Europeans thought conceivable was so monumentally expanded.¹⁴⁸ Natural and manmade items of size extremes, small and large, were highly prized rarities. Miniatures are easily contained and manipulated, placing the human body in absolute control, but are also appealing because of their domestic links “to nostalgic versions of childhood and history.” The gigantic, in contrast, “represents infinity, exteriority, the public, and the overly natural,” surrounding and enveloping the human body. Whereas the miniature embodies an orderly whole, the gigantic refers to the disordered, primitive, and unknown.¹⁴⁹

Art historian Joy Kenseth has dubbed the European Renaissance the “age of the marvelous,” replete with astonishing discoveries that thrilled all avenues of learned society. Beginning in antebellum America and gaining ground in the industrial Gilded Age through the early twentieth century, “wonder” was a cultivated commodity specially manufactured for mass amusement. To wonder is to question or speculate, while eliciting wonder is to surprise and astonish. Showmen, the most famous being P.T. Barnum who in 1835 mounted his first traveling exhibit of Joice Heth, George Washington’s supposed one hundred sixty one-year old slave nurse, aggressively promoted their events to insight intrigue and attract large audiences to maximize profit. Hucksters continually recalibrated their advertisements and displays to build new layers of fascinating uncertainty. If early museum-goers and consumers were skeptical and cautious of being unwittingly fooled by false claims, they relished the unknown, the absurd, and the unbelievable that was presented to them at traveling sideshows. Exhibitions played upon

and often reinforced deeply imbedded racial stereotypes, featuring manufactured oddities and exploited living curiosities, opening a world of questions by disrupting the strict “normative boundaries” classifying race, gender, and species.¹⁵⁰ Carefully selected language and imagery were central to a sideshow’s success. Through staging, costuming, and elaborately vague descriptions, tricksters actively constructed “freaks” using performers’ physical abnormalities or race as starting points to craft new fantastical stories revolving around their difference. Leading questions guided customers to leave their commonsense and first impressions behind in favor of more alluring possibilities. In Barnum’s wildly popular “What Is It?” displays, which directly tied to debates surrounding the scientific definition of race in the mid-nineteenth century, the showman dressed African American men in tribal garb, exaggerated their physical features, and posed them in tropical backdrops asking viewers, “Is it a lower order of man? Or is it a higher order of Monkey?”¹⁵¹

History and science museums, as places of serious learning and discovery, attempted to distance themselves from “disreputable” commercial sideshows. Writes Steven Conn, “Natural history museums had to display important and meaningful objects, whose value lay not in the world of commerce but in the world of science. Otherwise museums ran the risk of becoming simply another part of the new world of vulgar, meaningless objects.”¹⁵² In between the extremes of the austere museum institutions and the over-the-top huckster shows, however, was the proprietary dime museum, which much like the Mission Inn, straddled numerous exhibitionary lines. The dime museum emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, reaching its peak of popularity in the early 1900s,

amidst the messy process of industrialization, urbanization, and consumerism. As a new form of popular entertainment and leisure, the dime museum combined aspects of the earlier cabinets of curiosities, such as examples of the miniature, gigantic, and other anomalies of nature, but also featured realistic wax displays, artifacts associated with famous people and/or events, and theater productions (later films). While large public museums like the Smithsonian (founded in 1846) maintained cultural authority through their educational missions, claiming to present indisputable truths through displays of fine artworks and instructive artifacts, dime museums were profit-driven entertainments whose proprietors often promised visitors extraordinary exhibits that they sometimes could not deliver, or, at least, that could not fool the audience. Dime museums, like sideshows, were dialogic spaces and provided their audiences with more questions than definitive answers, rendering, as James Cook states, “the classification process itself equivocal, perpetual, subject to endless discussion and revision.”¹⁵³

As entertainment, though, the dime museum was viewed as a suitable urban working-class family amusement – a tool to keep husbands away from the bars after work and a means of getting families out of stuffy tenements. Dime museums were always on the fringe of Victorian acceptability with displays often verging on the grotesque and exploitative, not just the wondrous, magnificent, or morally didactic. Although many dime museums created waxworks depicting lifelike representations of world leaders or the dangers of drinking, others depicted chambers of horrors, executions, and violent crimes.¹⁵⁴ Sexual voyeurism was also a key theme, with some museums promising glimpses (for a price) of naked women, examples of advanced venereal disease, and

aborted fetuses. Additionally, by promoting visually incompatible couplings among freak show performers it inevitably led visitors to ponder the workings of the performers' sexual life.¹⁵⁵ Once again, looking and the creation of hierarchy and difference is a main component of the dime museum, which worked to reaffirm working class "self-worth and the civility of urban life," in relation to the oddities on display.¹⁵⁶

By the early 1900s, museums were a firmly imbedded part of American cultural life. The labyrinth of complementary and competing exhibitionary methods, ranging from the didactic to the fantastic, molded patrons who believed in the power of historic and scientific objects to unlock the mysteries of the past, but who were also highly wary of being duped. The public-at-large were discerning observers, able to parse reality with their unaided eye, but also adept with new modes of technologically-aided vision from magic lantern shows, photographs, and stereoscopes to popular cinema.¹⁵⁷ At huckster performances and dime museum audiences experienced joy not simply from seeing the strange displays and blindly accepting the given interpretations as fact; their amusement was just as much a product of their attempt to decipher the real from the fake and, at least momentarily, suspending their disbelief to imagine what if?¹⁵⁸ Employing huckster descriptive devices and championing dime museum associational significances, the Mission Inn invited guests to take the hotel's collections seriously and to also play along with the believe-it-or-not hoaxes. Inn staff relied on four distinct explanatory strategies to escalate excitement for the hotel's collections: age, distinction, and, above all others, famous or exotic associations.

Trading on an object's age was a simple way to immediately communicate worth and authenticity. Items from the distant past were treasured because they had managed to survive and because they were a reflection of a period radically different from the present. The older the artifact, regardless of what it was, the more it could be "cherished as a precious and endangered resource," which represented "an exotic past that contrast[ed] with a humdrum or unhappy present," writes David Lowenthal.¹⁵⁹ The Inn purported (this being the optimum word) to display several pieces from the far depths of time, including a supposed nineteen million-year old set of shark teeth found in Chesapeake Bay, 200,000-year old saber tooth tiger tusks excavated from the La Brea Tar Pits in 1913, pottery shards from an alleged 50,000-year old pit house on the Tanque Verde peak outside Tucson (an impossibility as analysis of the Clovis culture in the 1930s dates the advent of human life in North America to approximately 13,000 years ago), and Roman and Egyptian bells between 1,900 and 2,500-years old.¹⁶⁰

Besides these few examples, though, the majority of the Mission Inn's collections were decidedly younger artifacts from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Inn's publications, written by curator Francis Borton and later by DeWitt Hutchings, however, liberally attached the term "ancient" to any object over one hundred years old. In clever and purposeful turns of phrase, "ancient" appeared as the artifact's first descriptor, often the first word of an object's entire history, immediately calling to mind thousands of years of history. The object's actual age, almost always decidedly less than ancient, was buried farther in the paragraph. Take for example the analysis of Bell 147 that read, "Ancient mass bell from Stuttgart. The four bells in one denote the unity of the

four Gospels. About two hundred years old.”¹⁶¹ Or, Cross 164: “Ancient monstrance of hand-wrought brass from Northern Spain. About two hundred years old. Very primitive and evidently beaten out on an anvil with a hand hammer. Surmounted by cross. The whole piece is nearly black with age.”¹⁶² With particular flourish, curator Borton asked guests, “Did you ever see a choir book written on vellum? Well here on this ancient music stand is a good specimen from Spain. About 250 years old.”¹⁶³

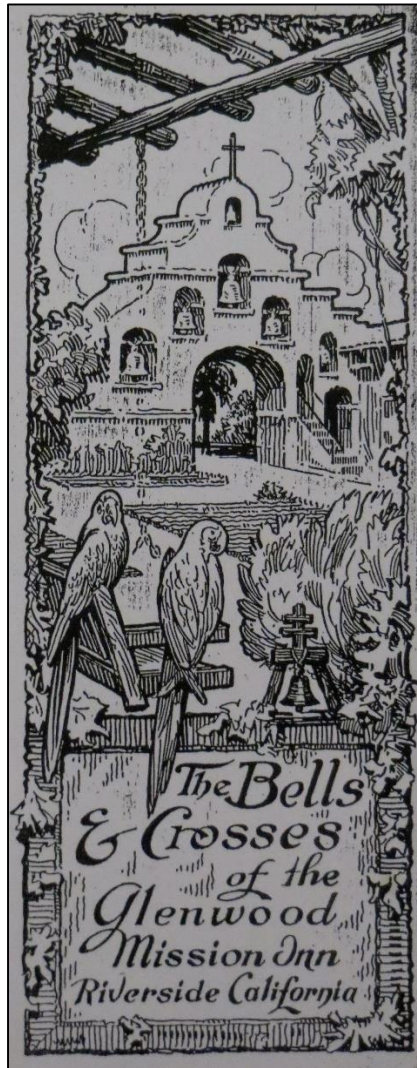


Figure 51: Front cover of “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn.” Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

When not specifically deploying “ancient,” the Inn composed interpretations that emphasized the distance and differences between the past and present, in an attempt to elevate the inherent worth of their collections. In discussing antique European books available for perusal in the hotel’s “Book Nook,” the *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* reads, “Many of them are two or three hundred years old and have quaint title-pages and printer’s devices in black and red, and are embellished with wood-cuts and copper-plate engravings.” The description ended by stating, “There is something very attractive about these old books that were written and printed long before the United States existed,” accentuating how the world had radically changed since these books were published with a relatable and easily understood example.¹⁶⁴ In more elaborate prose, Borton listed a litany of well-known medieval events to tout the age, and therefore the importance, of one of the hotel’s bells cast in 1247: “When this bell was cast the Magna Cart was but 32 years old; Richard the Lion-Hearted had been dead but 48 years; the sixth crusade was being organized by Louis IX of France; ‘Knighthood was in flower’; it was 200 years before the first book was printed and 200 years before Columbus was born.”¹⁶⁵

In a similar vein to the Inn’s dependence on age to demonstrate significance, the hotel labeled many objects and entire collections with impressive distinctions, claiming certain artifacts were “the oldest,” “the best,” and “the first.” Miller declared his bell collection “the most valuable collection historically, in the United States, if not in the world,” and that his cross collection was “unequaled in the world.”¹⁶⁶ Many of the objects marked with special merits came from these two collections, such as the supposed

oldest bell known in the Christian world – the aforementioned Spanish bell cast in 1247 – with Miller proudly refuting scholarship that had previously dated the oldest bell in Christianity to one crafted in Fribourg, Germany, in 1258. Wrote Borton with an air of smugness, “Now as the bell at which you are looking is dated 1247, or eleven years earlier than the Fribourg bell, it follows that the Mission Inn collection possesses the oldest dated bell in Christendom.”¹⁶⁷ Beyond the Christian world, the Inn asserted it held the “earliest dated Japanese gong...so far as known” cast in 646, writing that because of the date “the importance of this gong is therefore evident.”¹⁶⁸ Within the span of ten pages in the “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” the hotel professed ownership of two different artifacts contradictorily deeming each the earliest known bell ever discovered. The first, described as “the most primitive form of bell known, or possible,” was a phonolite volcanic rock, or “clink stone,” that was supposedly from an “ancient phonolite quarry on the Island of Saghalin, China” and was “thousands of years old.”¹⁶⁹ The second example, a pair of New Mexican “ringing stones,” was labeled similarly as “the earliest form of bell or gong.” These stones, “probably 1,000 years old” were excavated from the “Puye ruins of the ancient Cliff-dwellers in the Pajureto district, about 85 miles northwest of Santa Fe, New Mexico.”¹⁷⁰

The supposed merits of the Mission Inn’s artifacts seemingly never ended and often veered into the realm of the ridiculous as Miller, Borton, and the Hutchings grasped to aggrandize the hotel’s collections. There were specially designed brass bells tuned to ring at the highest and lowest pitches “of any bell ever made in the U.S.,” and a Balinese cow bell described as “probably the only one of its kind in any western collection,

and...surely the largest bell worn by cows anywhere in the world.”¹⁷¹ By emphasizing “probably” the Inn made no solid guarantees concerning the credibility of their claims. The collections were laden with items that the Inn contended were “firsts”: there was a bell made of remnant metal from the supposed first bell cast in what would become the United States in 1549, a cross carved from the “oldest known beech tree” in Jamestown, Virginia, America’s first settlement, and a wooden eagle that according to the Inn came from the ship “Niagara” that “laid the first cable across the Atlantic” in 1858.¹⁷² In a local context, Miller owned Riverside’s first school desk, school bell, and church bell, a cross fashioned from the bark of the city’s parent naval orange tree, Riverside’s first “mule car bell,” a “gong from the first electric [street]car,” and the first “locomotive bell heard in Riverside.”¹⁷³ Miller and his staff were not satisfied with merely having items that were old, or were examples of early craftsmanship, or that illustrated civic development. These things could potentially be on exhibit at any museum across the country, so the Inn rebranded their artifacts as exceptional, each the preeminent artifact of its kind, regardless of veracity. Visitors were not just viewing an old bell; they were viewing the oldest. They were not just looking at a display of antique crosses; it was a collection unequalled in the world. They were not just listening to the shrill ringing of a brass bell; it was the highest pitch ever achieved.

While a good portion of the hotel’s collections could be bolstered through subtle age exaggerations and the attachment of one-of-a-kind distinctions, however dubious, Miller and his staff concentrated their inventive interpretive work most heavily on concocting, or, where applicable, expanding, the artifacts’ associational significances. It

was not the specific artifact in and of itself, but the connections that the piece had to influential people, famous events, or exotic practices, which drew guest attention. Miller and his staff were calculating and moderate in their constructed associations, never claiming outlandish links that could be easily disproved and often hedging their bets with passive language, such as “we believe” or “might have been.” In one sense, this creative humbuggery was a playful game of highbrow foolery to enchant visitors – the Inn was, after all, a respectable enterprise so there was nothing potentially unsavory or salacious like one might encounter in a midway plaisance, sideshow, or dime museum. Yet, in another way, the interpretations, all focused on adding historical worth, were indicative of Miller’s quest and continual striving for his hotel to be esteemed as a serious museum.

To escalate both intrigue and prestige, the majority of the Inn’s artifact associations directly related to European dignitaries, important figures in U.S. history, or foreign customs. The most potent descriptions were of course those alleging an object had a direct connection to royalty, that it had been owned or used by someone famous (or infamous), leaving a trace of the extraordinary behind. In the Spanish Art Gallery, for instance, a sixteenth century Belgian tapestry was not solely prized for its age, but because it had the “additional attraction of having at one time formed a part of the hangings in the ducal palace of Eliza, sister of Napoleon, when she was the Grand-duchess of Tuscany.”¹⁷⁴ In the same room was a display of ebony and mother-of-pearl furniture, which “possess[ed] a more than passing interest” thanks to the pieces’ alleged former owner, Lola Montez, nineteenth century consort of Bavaria’s King Ludwig, who gifted his young mistress with the custom furniture.¹⁷⁵ Bell 34 purportedly belonged to

Pope Pius III who, the Inn reminded guests, “excommunicated Henry VIII of England in 1535, approved the order of Jesuits in 1540, and convoked the Council of Trent in 1545.”¹⁷⁶ Bell 418 was supposedly “taken from the wall” of Michelangelo’s family home in Florence, while Bell 480 was from a church in the Aleutian Islands and “most likely it was sent to Alaska by Catherine the Great.”¹⁷⁷ Tucked inside the “Cabinet of Treasures” on the hotel’s Colonial Landing was even a fan supposedly from the French Marquise de Sade, wife of the sexually notorious Marquis de Sade, and a damask napkin once belonging to Maximilian of Mexico, short-term Mexican emperor under the reign of Napoleon III.¹⁷⁸ In keeping with the Spanish theme, there was a lectern from the Granada Cathedral “where repose the august remains of Ferdinand and Isabella,” as well as a cross from Christopher Columbus’s final resting place, and a “quaint little pianoforte, made in Seville in 1788 by the purveyor to the royal family.”¹⁷⁹

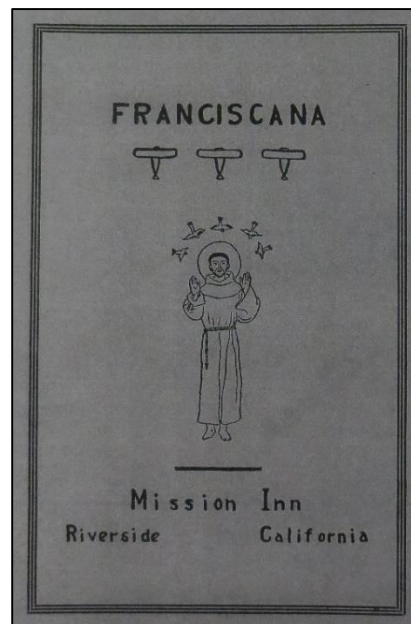


Figure 52: Front cover of “Franciscana,” the guide to the hotel’s St. Francis collections. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 53: The Colonial Landing’s “Cabinet of Treasures” is situated along the left hand wall. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

The hotel claimed items connected to major events in United States history, each tracing the history of a particular celebrated event or person. Examples included a bell that came over on the Mayflower and another from George Washington’s ancestral home in England as well as “One of the most interesting bells in the collection, for historic and patriotic reasons,” the so-called “Town-Crier’s Bell,” specially inscribed stating that it was rung on the day of Paul Revere’s ride in April 1775 to warn people of the impending British attack.¹⁸⁰ Miller would later elaborate even further on the “Town-Crier’s Bell,” writing that it “may be said to have started the Revolutionary War.”¹⁸¹ In the Cloister

Walk sat a baptismal font from Taos, New Mexico, the Inn stated was used by westward pioneer Kit Carson and “other famous scouts” to baptize their children.¹⁸² There were bells that survived the 1871 Great Chicago Fire and the 1906 San Francisco Fire, ox shoes from “Donner Lake where the Donner Party of pioneers perished in the snows of the Sierras,” in addition to artifacts from shipwrecks, and war, like the bell “from the house occupied by Robert E. Lee at Richmond during the Civil War” and an alarm bell snatched by a U.S. soldier from the tent of Philippine independence leader Emilio Aguinaldo during the Spanish-American War.¹⁸³

Much of the hotel’s collections were purchased during the Miller family’s world travels, including their forays into China, Japan, India, the South Pacific, and the Middle East. Descriptions of some pieces from these locales followed the same explanatory devices that focused on an object’s bond to well-known events or notable people. There was, for instance, a bronze bell from Martinique, which was “somewhat discolored as it passed through the eruption and fire of Mt. Pelée, 1902,” an Indian bell from “the seat of the Sepoy rebellion and massacre of 1857,” as well as examples the hotel claimed were previously owned by “the last King of Korea” and a “native Sultan” of Borneo.¹⁸⁴ A key difference is, however, glaringly apparent; whereas the items from Europe and America celebrated nobility and dominance, descriptions of objects from the “East” followed the Orientalist trope of pitting “Orient versus Occident, Europeans versus Others, Us versus Them,” as historian Melani McAlister succinctly sums Edward Said’s concept.¹⁸⁵ The worth of these artifacts was measured not through glorified historical or regal associations, but through their connection to the exotic and barbarous, which the hotel

enhanced by utilizing highly charged rhetoric to emphasize differences and in certain examples, justify continued imperial strongholds.



Figure 54: A small sampling of the exotic and tiny bells in the Mission Inn’s collections. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

In detailing a gong from British North Borneo, the Inn specifically referenced Borneo as the “land of the ‘head hunters,’” while another gong from the Philippine Islands was “used in connection with heathen rites and festivals celebrated by the fierce savages far in the depths of the tropical jungle.”¹⁸⁶ In the discussion of a small bell with a carved tiger handle from Benares, India, the Inn made sure to mention that “ten thousand people are annually eaten by tigers in India, and the natives have a superstitious fear of the animal.”¹⁸⁷ From Korea there was a supposed “sorcerer’s wand” utilized by “hierophants in exorcising evil demons,” along with a Chinese conjurer’s bell, and an iron cow bell said to have saved the life of “Hu Ching, an ancient nomad from the Far

East,” who after becoming lost on a mountain peak was rescued “by the tintinnabulations of this bell which the Ancient had taken with him to ward off evil spirits.”¹⁸⁸ Without the Inn’s added descriptions these pieces would have blended in with the rest of the collections, but through leading language hotel staff worked to astonish visitors by vicariously transporting them to remote places of violent savagery and mystical unknowns.

The Mission Inn disclosed little information regarding the provenance of their artifacts and the authenticating pedigrees for the few items they did divulge were often questionable or secondhand, at best. Miller was almost certainly fed fantastical lines from antique purveyors about the virtues and historical significance of the artifacts he purchased overseas, which he either sincerely believed or did so with tongue-in-cheek, keen to add items wrapped in lore to the growing mythic presence of his hotel. Other objects, steeped in generations of family legend, were eagerly donated to the Inn by individuals excited to display their items at the hotel. And undoubtedly, Mission Inn staff, led by Miller, Borton, and DeWitt Hutchings, took great liberties in their interpretive work, adding an exaggeration here, a potential thrilling connection there. Some stories were accurate, some were slightly embellished, and some were outright fabrications, but it was impossible to definitively discern which was which. You might not find the truth at the Mission Inn, but you would be entertained.

Although delighting guests was a central purpose to the hotel’s overstatements, there is a distinct sense that Miller was earnestly attempting to mold his collections into something more than they were, endlessly pronouncing his artifacts as historically

noteworthy and museum quality. Miller prized his 1247 “oldest bell in Christendom” because of its age, but also because, as Miller related, it was sought after by the British Museum, whose curators, Miller proudly declared, allegedly tried to block his purchase of the bell from a London foundry – “The British Museum came too late!” proclaimed Miller in one 1926 article.¹⁸⁹ The Inn boasted that a Belgian tapestry hanging in the Music Room was marked with a similar weaver’s monogram to one exhibited in the Madrid Museum.¹⁹⁰ In an article on the important artworks of the British royal estate Sutton Place, *The Connoisseur* magazine featured a photo of a Spanish secretary desk identical to one housed in the hotel’s Carmel Dome; Francis Borton therefore decreed the Inn’s desk “a choice piece for a museum or private collection.”¹⁹¹ Even one of the Inn’s most unequivocally precious items, the Tiffany-designed stained glass and mosaic windows adorning the St. Francis Chapel were further propped up in the hotel’s *Handbook* by stating that the doors and frieze of the Manhattan Madison Square Church, from where the windows came, were now part of the Brooklyn Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁹² Large public museums and prestigious private galleries were the last word in taste and value judgments, where the best examples of fine art and cultural artifacts were housed in perpetuity. But, at the Inn’s height in the early 1900s, museums, especially smaller proprietary enterprises and traveling exhibitions, were also popular amusements looking to entertain and amaze patrons while turning a profit. Miller strove for his Inn to be both.

The Perfect Old Curiosity Shop

“A choice collection of Navajo blankets and rugs and Indian baskets from more than a dozen different tribes. Rare old Spanish paintings and carvings and panels in low and high relief,” lists Mission Inn curator Francis Borton of the treasures awaiting guests at the Inn’s Cloister Art Shop. “Very beautiful Spanish dower chests, richly carved doors of the 16th Century; fire dogs, braziers, knockers, spits, keys, locks of antique and artistic design; beautifully marked lanterns, crosses, bells, fire irons, grates, gates from one to three hundred years old,” he continues. “This is in fact a perfect ‘old curiosity shop,’ and you can spend a couple of hours here very nicely looking at the many strange and interesting objects.”¹⁹³

This “perfect old curiosity shop” opened at the Mission Inn in 1911 as part of the hotel’s second addition, the Cloister Wing, and for the next fifty years sold an eclectic array of antiques, art, religious relics, curiosities from around the world, and tourist kitsch. The shop was centered in the hotel’s Ramona Court underneath the Ramona Dome, a stained glass magic lantern depicting scenes from Helen Hunt Jackson’s mission romance – the hotel even advertised that among the Cloister Art Shop’s choicest pieces were baskets “made by the hand of ‘Ramona’” herself.¹⁹⁴ From the court the shop snaked down into the winding halls behind the Music Room toward the Inn’s basement Cloister Walk and El Camino Real galleries, forming a dizzying emporium of items for sale. The shop was an integral part of the hotel’s object-driven enterprise that enabled guests to not just passively look at the Inn’s antique and cultural displays, but also to take a unique souvenir of their stay home. More broadly, however, the evolution of the Cloister Art

Shop demonstrates the growth and exemplifies the larger implications of the national and international traffic in cultural curiosities during the early twentieth century. Comprised of customer receipt books, store inventories, purchase orders, and registers of items sent offsite to former guests and other curio shops, the Cloister Art Shop's dealings are recorded from 1916 until 1963, outlining specific commercial transactions of objects either purchased by or sold from the Inn. Included in these records are itemized lists meticulously compiled by Miller's daughter, Allis, of the month and year specific products were bought, the company name and location from which the products came, the quantity purchased, wholesale price, retail price, and a short description of each product.

What began in 1911 as a way for Miller to make money off remnant pieces that he could not find use for in the hotel transformed within two decades into a sophisticated operation that sold thousands of items from hundreds of vendors. In the shop's early years most of the foreign offerings were brought back first hand by the Miller family from their global excursions, but by the 1930s the shop was linked to a wide network of overseas manufacturers and domestic import companies with the Inn acting as a central hub selling a hodge-podge of antiquities, arts and crafts, and mass-produced trinkets. Even though Borton describes the shop as a charming store crammed with eccentric antiques and handcrafted originals reminiscent of a setting from a Dickens' novel, the majority of the store's offerings were made specifically for the tourist industry. The Cloister Art Shop is a transnational story of cultural consumption, production, and an example of the power of buying and selling to shape interpretations of the past, as

important to the construction of the Mission Inn's imagined world as the hotel's architecture, collections, and theatrics. The Inn offered guests a distinct experience, but the items available in the Cloister Art Shop provided tangible proof to memorialize and remember. As historian of U.S. tourism Marguerite Shaffer states, "In a world increasingly defined by commodities...mementos objectified the tourist experience, transforming experience into substance."¹⁹⁵ The objects in the shop reproduced the themes found throughout the Inn's art galleries and artifact exhibits, helping to prompt the desire to buy while complementing the hotel's well-crafted image. Rather than being displayed for guests to admire from afar, items in the art shop were commodities available for purchase in hopes that visitors would remember their Mission Inn trip in specific ways.

"By 1905 the curio trade was an inescapable presence," writes historian Jonathan Batkin. "Hundreds of dealers offered curios in specialty stores and in corners of groceries, pharmacies, and post offices."¹⁹⁶ The ubiquity of curio items in American life at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century is certainly an expression of the Victorian veneration of artifacts as authentic expressions of the past and cultural differences, but it is also inextricably bound to the rapidly expanding tourism economy and the industrial production and marketing of all manner of consumer goods. The object-based cross-cultural interactions afforded by national and international expositions, however hierarchically empire-driven, first brought fair-goers, as early as 1851's Great Exhibition in London, in greater contact with the products of peoples from across the world. Within the same era, innovations in steamships and railroads meant easier travel around the

globe for elite tourists, like the Miller family, who had the time and money to spare for months-long holiday expeditions. By immersing oneself in new places and cultures radically different from one's everyday routine, tourism was both a transformative experience "where the self could be temporarily reimagined or refashioned" and a means by which individual identity was reconfirmed in response to difference.¹⁹⁷ If tourism – a consumption-driven practice packaged by railroads, tour companies, and resorts – offered personal re-enchantment by promising reinvigorating experience outside the routinized bureaucracies of industrialized capitalism, souvenirs and other artifacts of the curio trade objectified this process providing material, not ephemeral, evidence.¹⁹⁸

Rail tourism and the curio trade in certain instances go hand-in-hand, especially in the American Southwest where by the 1880s railroads, such as the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe (ATSF), linked the desert region to major cities in the East, Midwest, and West. To sell their experience, railroad companies aggressively marketed the exotic wonders, natural and human, awaiting tourists in the wilds of New Mexico and Arizona, promoting the indigenous people and landscape as idyllically primitive and untouched. As tourism, settlement, and commercial development altered Native American life, often further marginalizing native peoples in the name of American progress, railroads set out to preserve for the pleasure of their clients a vision of Indian life that never was.¹⁹⁹ The concept of the "vanishing Indian" made their goods that much more valuable because of its potential future rarity.²⁰⁰ Handmade Indian products, in the form of pottery, baskets, blankets, stone tools, jewelry, and kachinas, signified this archaic otherness in an inanimate, static, and thus nonthreatening way. Railroads and dealers, most famously the

Fred Harvey Company, which contracted with the ATSF to operate Indian curio stores along the rail route, framed the indigenous peoples of the Southwest as “living relics of the past” who were “available for touristic consumption,” just waiting to be discovered by each new railcar of eager spectators.²⁰¹ As historian Leah Dilworth elaborates, “Whatever anxieties might have accompanied touristic desires (e.g., the fear that Indians might resist economic and cultural exploitation) were defused in the spectacle by the representation of Indians as ‘living ruins,’ simultaneously appearing from the past and disappearing from the present.”²⁰²

Native American curios were but one form of cultural objects popular with a wide consumer base by the early twentieth century. Wealthy connoisseurs and collectors had for centuries prized objects from Asia for their artistry, craftsmanship, and exoticism. In the United States, immigration and open-door trade policies, coupled with already established collecting traditions and Anglo Orientalist curiosity, prompted a surge of Chinese and Japanese curio stores, especially in the urban centers of the West coast.²⁰³ Chinese, and later Japanese, immigrants and their families were segregated by racial covenants and largely limited to menial service-sector and domestic labor. Curio shops, as examined by historian Sojin Kim in the context of Los Angeles’ Chinatown, marked “the deliberate attempt by the Chinese immigrant community to use their material culture as a means of generating income and mediating their interactions with non-Asian Americans.”²⁰⁴

The moment that tourists expressed a desire for and a willingness to buy certain cultural items, the creation of these goods became an “interactive process between

producer and consumer,” in which indigenous forms and methods were adapted to fit tourist demands.²⁰⁵ These hybrid objects, as art historians Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner call them, often replicated traditional styles, but relied on “labor-saving mass manufactured materials,” or exaggerated elements of curio objects to reinforce oddity.²⁰⁶ As Sojin Kim aptly remarks, curio dealers “selectively curated a *version*” of the cultures that the products they sold represented.²⁰⁷ By the 1920s, even those who could not afford a European grand tour, Asian adventure, or a cross-country train trip, could purchase Native American and Asian curios, along with any number of other foreign goods from mail-order catalogs and import stores.²⁰⁸ With so much availability and the increasing use of mass production techniques, the questions of authenticity and intent, which thus informed worth, were paramount. Were items made specifically for tourist consumption or were they originally crafted for uses other than sale? Writes sociologist Arjun Appadurai on the ever-evolving meanings, uses, and values of “things,” “Tourist art constitutes a special commodity traffic, in which the group identities of producers are tokens for the status politics of consumers.”²⁰⁹

As a tourist destination marketed as a unique museum-hotel experience, an onsite curio shop was a necessity for the Mission Inn’s operation. Miller originally attempted to open a Mission Inn curio store with the 1903 dedication of the Inn’s first Mission Wing. In August 1903 Miller contacted influential Pasadena collector Grace Nicholson by telegram asking her to consider locating a curio store in the hotel’s new addition. Wrote Miller, “Will you consider proposition to open curio store in Riverside. Can you visit Riverside as my guest and when.”²¹⁰ Nicholson chose not to take Miller’s offer and

instead opened a store in her Pasadena home, which eventually was transformed posthumously into the Pacific Asia Museum.²¹¹ After Miller's Nicholson plan fell through he employed the Campbell Curio Company of Los Angeles to launch a satellite shop at the hotel in November 1903. Managed by Mr. and Mrs. O.A. Bosley, the store lasted only through 1905, perhaps because the Bosleys opened another store in Santa Barbara and spent many months each year abroad searching for treasures in Japan.²¹²

Miller was undoubtedly dissatisfied with outsourcing his curio business and losing the additional profits a curiosity shop could generate. By 1911 Miller had amassed a mountain of extraneous goods from his collecting trips across the world and his newlywed daughter had returned from her honeymoon ready to take the helm as the new in-house curio store's manager. Besides Allis, the shop employed a revolving door of part-time staff – all women – to cover sales, ship goods, and help customers. In 1912, however, the shop and the Mission Inn in general got a new full-time employee when Miller hired Methodist missionary and rare Spanish book dealer Francis Borton as hotel curator. In addition to leading tours, writing historical pamphlets on the Inn's collections, and giving lectures, Borton, a University of Southern California and Boston University Theological Seminary graduate knowledgeable about the art and antiquities trade, acted as Miller's trusted adviser on what the hotelman should collect to display and what he should collect to resell.²¹³

Miller and company worked hard to distance their shop from other curio stores carrying tawdry and inauthentic goods manufactured specifically for tourist consumption. Theirs was a high-end "art shop" specializing in only one-of-a-kind pieces procured by

Miller himself. While the shop did sell “special souvenirs of the Inn” including photographs, postcards, and other “bric-a-brac,” the Inn highlighted the artistic, antique, and international items for sale from “interesting old coppers and brasses, and iron pieces” to “many objects of art and rare old furniture from Spain, France, Italy, the British Empire, and even as far east as the Dalmatian Coast and Persia and Java.”²¹⁴ The Inn advertised the Cloister Art Shop’s “Oriental Sales Rooms” as “one of the finest collections of Oriental art objects in the West.”²¹⁵

Although the hotel staff wanted to promote the distinctive quality of the Cloister Art Shop’s selections, they did so in a manner that emphasized the potential for discovery. The Inn framed the Cloister Art Shop as fundamentally different from other curio stores and luxury art showrooms. The Inn wanted to project that the objects sold in the shop were valuable treasures, yet they carefully displayed items in such a way to evoke stepping into the dusty secluded realm of the Dickensian *Old Curiosity Shop*. Instead of passively browsing, guests needed to sift through a sea of incongruous and peculiar artifacts to find their fancy.²¹⁶ Whatever prize they chose, however, Borton assured guests that each piece held “great historic as well as intrinsic value.”²¹⁷ Miller perhaps did not fit the description of Dickens’ rumped, elderly, and reclusive shopkeeper, but it added to the Cloister Art Shop’s allure that like the aged shopkeeper, he “gathered all the spoils with his own hands.”²¹⁸

Like every other aspect of the Inn’s operation, Miller firmly regulated the Cloister Art Shop’s image, attempting to conceal his profit-driven motivations so as not to disrupt the hotel’s overall highbrow historical ambiance. In a 1909 letter from Miller to John

Steven McGroarty in regard to an article McGroarty was writing about the new Cloister addition, Miller states abruptly, “I hope you will not refer to the curio room in any way. That sounds too commercial.”²¹⁹



Figure 55: Cloister Art Shop souvenir print. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

Additionally, in the 1910s and 1920s, while the hotel commissioned an array of photos and postcards of the Inn’s ever-changing interior displays and exterior architecture to sell as souvenirs, only one professional photograph was ever taken of the Cloister Art Shop shortly after it opened, showing it perfectly staged in its Old Curiosity Shop disguise. Save for the caption labeling it the “Cloister Art Shop,” the image of the room resembles every other exhibit hall at the Inn, which was by design to prime people to buy.

After guests meandered through the hotel's elaborate artifact displays and marveled at Miller's acquisitions, the Cloister Art Shop enabled them to play collector, too.²²⁰ The lone shop image, later turned into a colorized photo postcard, was taken from the bottom of the Ramona Court looking upward toward the court's staircase lined with balconies. A second story window at the back right of the image streams light into the room. The shop is magisterially arranged, yet artfully haphazard, with all manner of surprising eccentricities. Opened trunks are draped with velvets and tapestries, while colorful silk banners, ornately framed mirrors, and oil paintings adorn the walls and hang from iron railings. Craftsmen cabinets overflow with books; bells and watering cans line the tile steps; lanterns and gongs sway from an open overhang; Navajo rugs lie askew on the terra cotta floor; and uneven rustic wooden shelves are stacked with statues, Della Robbia plaques, spinning wheels, and candlesticks. The empty front floor creates the illusion of a set stage and the eye is drawn upwards following the red brick stair support walls to the fuzzy light emanating through the paned windows. The blur of muted browns, golds, and greens around the staircase form clusters of unidentifiable objects, furthering the visual sense of abundance.²²¹



Figure 56: Colorized photo postcard of the Cloister Art Shop. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

In some respects, the earliest Cloister Art Shop records spanning January 1916 to April 1917 do not contradict the feeling of opulent oddity that Miller and his staff marketed in the shop’s promotional materials and images. These “Goods Sent Away” ledgers detail the art and antiquities the Inn shipped to famous customers across the country. Arabella Huntington purchased a Spanish secretary desk and Apache basket for \$1,620 for her home in New York City; Henry Francis DuPont ordered a collection of brass and pewter candlesticks and Catholic vestments for his Winterthur estate; Cecil B. DeMille bought a chainmail shirt, Indian rug, Japanese warrior statue, and three Japanese swords that were sent to Lasky Studios in Hollywood and to his personal address; and Senator James Phelan purchased a carved panel, shield, prayer stool, and pedestal for

\$225.²²² The Cloister Art Shop was a fashionable boutique for the wealthy, especially nouveaux-riche industrialists and entrepreneurs, looking to decorate their homes and offices with unique international antiquities that objectified their worldliness, often buying in bulk, perhaps inspired by the hotel's eclectic luxury. The records are a roll call of American commerce with orders from banking, agriculture, manufacturing, and transportation executives.²²³ J.W.R Crawford, chairman of the Huguenot Trust Company in New Rochelle, New York, for example, purchased forty-three items at \$1,557.25 for his Beechmont estate in February 1917, including such disparate pieces as a gothic chest, moccasins, Catholic chasubles, a reliquary cross, a bullfighter's cape, two swords, and seven Indian rugs.²²⁴ In May 1917, Stuart Olivier, owner of *The News* of Baltimore outspent Crawford with an order of over eighty objects at a total cost of \$1708.50, buying Native American baskets, Chinese and Korean gongs, bells, candlesticks, swords, and even a Spanish crossbow, Filipino bolo knife, and an "instrument of torture."²²⁵

While the items purchased perfectly match Francis Borton's characterization of the objects awaiting guests in the Cloister Art Shop, it was by no means "a chaotic, regressive domain half hidden from 'the public eye,'" as Stephen Bann describes the Dickens setting, but a meticulously curated and popular operation catering to an elite clientele.²²⁶ Regardless of how Miller and his staff packaged the shop, it was unmistakably a big business with prices regularly marked up two to three (or more) times what Miller originally paid.²²⁷ Between January 1916 and April 1917, the Cloister Art Shop sold \$26,617.96 worth of merchandise, a sum that converts to nearly half a million dollars in today's currency valuation. Mission Inn staff handled requests from on-site

guests and mail orders, organizing shipping by rail and international steamer and coordinating payments through personal checks, billing statements, charge accounts, and express collect on delivery.

The Inn emphasized the museum-quality and “historic and intrinsic value” of the items for sale in the shop. If, however, the “museum effect” added value to art and artifacts in part because of their long-term removal from the market economy, the items sold at the hotel, in contrast, were in a continuous cycle of exchange. The “Goods Sent Away” records reveal that the objects in the shop were a dynamic part of the wider commodities market. A major portion of business came not from individual customers, but from other curio and department stores looking to turn around and once again resell the pieces. The Cloister Art Shop sold Indian blankets to the Appel Brothers curio store in Las Vegas, New Mexico; Cuernavaca pottery and Mexican hats to the Mission Curio and Art Shop in San Gabriel; and San Francisco gallery and design company Vickery, Atkins & Torrey bought \$692.50 in goods, including Florentine ironwork, Spanish emblems, mirrors, saint statues, and architectural accents such as a carved pediment and decorative wooden scrolls.²²⁸ The Inn also did a booming consignment trade, selling items for individual vendors and antique stores, marking the records with the seller’s name and their cut (roughly 30 percent or less) of the profit. Borton himself did quite well in the shop selling Spanish books, paintings, and other antiquities leftover from his days as a missionary and rare book dealer in Mexico.²²⁹

The early “Goods Sent Away” ledgers also show, however, that items purchased from the Inn were not limited only to objects on sale in the Cloister Art Shop; Mission

Inn staff notations in the records show that pieces were purchased directly from the hotel displays. A guest could buy nearly anything that caught his or her eye from the thousands of items exhibited throughout the Inn. Pasadena socialite Kate Fowler, daughter of Midwest timber baron and machinery magnate Eldridge Fowler, for instance, bought iron candelabra from the hotel's Spanish Landing for \$250 and an Italian jardinière from the main stairway for \$90.²³⁰ Walter McFarland, a prominent Detroit engineer and former vice president of Westinghouse, purchased two vases for \$15.50 he spied in a lobby cabinet while John Symington from Baltimore took home an "old gate-leg table," a banner, and a rack for \$135 from the Inn's Colonial Landing.²³¹ So impressed with their accommodations, Mrs. K.P. Winter of Los Angeles bought the colonial chair from her guest room (126) and Mrs. E.G. Siebels of Long Island, New York, left the Inn with two "bronze mortars" from the Presidential Suite.²³² In this context, Miller's tireless effort to promote his collections through descriptive exaggeration and incredible associations was as much about advertising his collections in order to sell them off as it was about building a respected museum. Expertly straddling the line between museum and store allowed Miller to turn more profit by constructing an environment that fostered the illusion that guests were buying not tourist souvenirs or curio knick-knacks, but museum artifacts.

Even though Miller and his staff attempted to freeze the Cloister Art Shop in time as a "perfect old curiosity shop" with its one lone photograph, by the early 1930s, twenty years after first opening, the art shop's business model had changed dramatically as a result of internal shifts at the hotel, the expanding market for tourist souvenirs and curios,

and the greater availability of foreign goods. Francis Borton passed away in 1929 and Miller, advancing in years, traveled little except between Riverside and his vacation home in Laguna Beach. Allis Miller Hutchings, now in full control of the shop's operation, radically expanded the store's selections. The Cloister Art Shop's merchandise in its beginning years had been largely supplied from remnants of Miller's travels and supplemented by a small cadre of consignment dealers. The shop's buying records from 1932 to 1936, at the height of the Depression, however, show that during these four years Hutchings purchased approximately 6,000 different kinds of items (many in bulk resulting in a total number reaching the tens of thousands) from over three hundred fifty different vendors.²³³ Whereas the Inn had once supplied antiques and cultural goods to galleries and curio dealers, the hotel now relied on these stores to maintain the shop's inventory. Between 1932 and 1936, the Cloister Art Shop made several bulk purchases from local art and antiquities dealers, buying European and Asian furniture, statues, architectural elements, paintings, and bells. The shop placed seven orders with the Beverly Wilshire Gallery in Los Angeles, purchasing one hundred fifteen pieces for nearly \$1,200, two orders with Santa Monica's Warner Hill Gallery for one hundred items totaling \$1,600, one order from San Diego's Marston Company spending \$400 for sixty pieces of predominantly ironwork, fine cloth, and Catholic chasubles, and two orders with the Los Angeles department store Barker Brothers for fifty items at \$400.²³⁴

In order to supply their guests with a wide selection of intriguing international wares, Allis Hutchings did not have to go on a globe-trotting journey like her father had

decades earlier, she could simply contact vendors abroad to ship goods directly to the Mission Inn. U.S. imports of foreign goods exploded at the conclusion of World War I thanks to open-door trade agreements and high demand. As historian Kristin Hoganson traces, between 1865 and 1920 imports of wool carpets rose from \$900,000 to \$13.6 million, china and earthen ware from \$2 million to \$11.6 million, and furniture from \$200,000 to \$1.9 million, citing additional surges in imports of all manner of other products from textiles and lace to glassware, silver, and baskets.²³⁵ The Cloister Art Shop carried bells, crosses and rosaries from Vester & Company of Jerusalem, Spanish glass and tile from Abelardo Linares of Madrid, Chinese bells from the J.F. Devault Company in Beijing, Mexican antiquities from Salvador Herrera in Queretaro, Japanese books from Tokyo's T. Hosegawa, and Catholic relics and religious paraphernalia from the Franciscan headquarters in Assisi, Italy.²³⁶

The hotel was not immune to the financial crisis of the Great Depression. While the hotel maintained a modest economic cushion from its boom years, Miller and Allis wrote frankly to friends in 1933 concerning the Inn's empty rooms and held little optimism for a speedy recovery, realizing, as Allis Hutchings did, that "The resort hotels will be the last to feel any increase of paying business."²³⁷ And yet, in the midst of this dire financial situation, the hotel still purchased approximately \$23,702.01 in wholesale merchandise to sell in the Cloister Art Shop, earning a net profit of \$43,700.90 with the price mark up, suggesting that the wealthy guests who stayed at the Inn during the economic crisis were still financially secure.²³⁸ The majority of what was now offered in the shop, however, was small souvenir tchotchkes selling anywhere from a nickel to five

dollars with only a limited number of pieces retailing in the ten to one hundred dollar range, an extreme shift from the buying patterns demonstrated in the “Goods Sent Way” records just fifteen years earlier.



Figure 57: Bell tags marked items for sale. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The mainstay of the shop’s inventory came from mail order import and novelty stores specializing in general souvenirs, Native American jewelry, and Asian curios. What the Cloister Art Shop carried was mass manufactured specifically for the tourist industry with Hutchings noting individual item codes so she could easily reorder. Catchall trading companies like Pacific Dry Goods of San Francisco and American Art Leather & Jewelry of Los Angeles provided an array of salt and pepper shakers, animal

figurines, puzzles, and cigarette cases, just to name a short list (out of thousands) of the most popular items.²³⁹ Henry S. Beach, a direct importer of “Mexican, Oriental, European, Hand Made Art Goods” of El Paso, Texas, was one of Allis Miller Hutchings’ favorite purveyors and she placed fifteen orders between 1932 and 1936 for painted gourds, glassware, straw hats, miniature mandolins, and terra cotta ashtrays shaped as sombreros and cowboy hats.²⁴⁰



Figure 58: A page from a Henry S. Beach catalog featuring miniature mandolins, an item the Mission Inn frequently stocked in the Cloister Art Shop. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 59: One of the Cloister Art Shop's most popular items was the terra cotta sombrero ashtray from Henry S. Beach shown in the catalog above. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

From Asian curio and import stores, such as San Diego's Quon Quon Company, Hori Brothers of Los Angeles, Iwata Trading of San Francisco, and Seattle's Pacific Pearl & Ivory Company came a steady stream of bone forks with carved parrot handles

(perhaps an homage to the Inn's resident macaws Napoleon and Joseph), monkey charms, ivory skulls on stands, straw sandals, cardboard lucky dogs, lacquer boxes, and miniature gongs.²⁴¹ The shop also featured a large selection of Native American goods made for the tourist industry, such as hundreds of silver and turquoise rings, pins, necklaces, and bracelets from dealers in Denver, Albuquerque, and Santa Barbara.²⁴²

The souvenirs available in the Cloister Art Shop from the 1930s onward replicated the themes and subject matter of art and objects guests would find throughout the hotel, but in their mass-produced form. Guests could marvel at the Inn's cross collection and buy a carved orangewood crucifix for twenty-five cents; they could be amazed by Miller's collection of eight hundred bells and buy their own replica El Camino Real bell for \$1.35; they could peruse the hotel's Asian art galleries and buy a pagoda charm for one dollar; and after wandering through the Kiva and Hogan they could buy an Indian-made beaded bull's head for fifty cents. Although Miller originally opened the shop to be something more highbrow than simply a tawdry store specializing in cheap amusements, in its later years the Cloister Art Shop was a veritable clearinghouse for the major curio dealers and import stores in the United States. Its shelves were not predominantly lined with valuables from the far reaches of the world, but were stocked, instead, with souvenir teaspoons, papier mache saint statues, sombrero ashtrays, and cactus toothpick holders from companies in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Albuquerque, Seattle, and El Paso. The Cloister Art Shop's shift from antique emporium to a five-and-dime novelty store represents the increased ubiquity of international goods and the robustness of the tourist market, spurred by bulk industrial manufacturing and mail order

ease.²⁴³ This shift, though, further elevated the status of the Mission Inn's collections by framing them as essentially unattainable. Hotel guests and visitors were free to look at the Inn's displays of historic and artistic treasures, but they could only actually acquire ersatz and inferior imitations.

Conclusion

The Mission Inn's collections – whatever the variety – fine art, mission relics, Spanish antiquities, objects with potentially dubious provenance, or goods made to sell, operated together for the purpose of what public historians Spencer Crew and James Sims call “locating authenticity.”²⁴⁴ The collections grounded the hotel's imagined heritage and also helped propel the fantasy yet further. But, as Crew and Sims state, “Authenticity is not about factuality or reality. It is about authority. Objects have no authority; people do.”²⁴⁵ Hotel staff actively molded the meanings attributed to the art and objects in order to advance the Inn's success as both a cultural center and moneymaking enterprise. Final authority, however, rested with Frank Miller. While the hotel's pamphlets and catalogues espoused the virtues of each object on display, the items were also continually referenced back to him, detailing how and where Miller acquired each piece and how fortunate the people of Riverside were to have him bring such a precious item to town. Others involved in the collecting and interpreting process faded away because it was Miller who was the charismatic “poet-hotel man.”²⁴⁶ The Inn did not just have plumed helmets from the Franco-Prussian War, it had them because they were personally presented to Miller by Major E.F.C. Klokke “whose father captured them from the French on the field of battle”; the door to the Carmel Dome contained a “quaint lock and massive key” because

Miller “found them in the market place at old Nuremberg and knew at once just where they would fit into his plan”; a smaller replica of Big Ben “was made to order specially for Mr. Miller” by the original bell’s London manufacturer; and the Pontifical Court of Pope Pius X in the Cloister Walk would be “especially interesting to people, who like Mr. Miller, have attended services in the Sistine Chapel conducted by this Pope.”²⁴⁷

Miller and his collections generated a symbiotic connection in which he garnered local prestige as a result of his ability to own such an expansive assortment of objects. In turn, the objects exhibited at the Inn were exalted by the very fact that he owned them.

The hotel’s collections were ripe for commercial exploitation, but the curation was also an intimate record of Miller’s life through the insertion of his own personal acquisition stories into the record as well as his insertion of himself and his family into the hotel’s art itself. While “the bizarre or humdrum circumstances of the collector’s life intruding on the task of scrupulous description,” was a rather common occurrence for the passionate collector as they organized their treasures, Miller’s inclusion of his triumphant narratives in the hotel’s brochures sold to guests was a self-conscious public act to memorialize his own history.²⁴⁸ The Mission Inn’s art and artifacts enabled Miller to dominate and order his life, using the hotel’s collections to quite literally construct a tightly controlled imagined world in opposition to the rapidly changing real one.²⁴⁹ But, Miller’s world was always for sale, either selling the hotel’s constructed ambiance and “genuine atmosphere” through the display of authentic objects or by actually selling those very objects. As much as Miller staged his hotel to fit his utopian historical vision, he achieved it through contemporary means.

NOTES

¹ “Art Treasures Will Be Viewed,” *Riverside Daily Press*, August 18, 1916, 1; “The Ehrich Loan Exhibition of Old Spanish Masters in the Spanish Art Gallery of the Mission Inn,” file A500-190.III.F.20, Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum. The full list of paintings also included works by Juan Carreno de Miranda, Luis de Morales, Pedro de Moya, Juan Panoja de la Cruz, Juan de Sevilla Romera y Escalante, Juan de Valdes Leal, Josef Ribera, Jacinto G. de Espinosa, Alonzo Sanchez Coello, Claudio Coello, Sebastian Gomez, Jose Antolinez, Eugenio Lucas the Elder, and Filippo de Liano d’Angeli.

² “Art Notables to Gather at the Inn Next Saturday,” *Riverside Enterprise*, August 12, 1916, 3.

³ “Many Gather at Mission Inn,” *Riverside Daily Press*, August 21, 1916, 4; “Spanish Art Society Fiesta Proves a Brilliant Success,” *Riverside Daily Press*, August 21, 1916, 4.

⁴ “Art Notables to Gather at the Inn Next Saturday.”

⁵ “Master of Inn Home: Mr. Miller Plans to Make Riverside Center of Spanish Art,” *Riverside Daily Press*, November 22, 1911, 4.

⁶ “Treasures from the Old World: Have Arrived For Extension of Mission Inn Curio Room. All Are Genuine,” *Riverside Daily Press*, January 5, 1912, 1.

⁷ “Sir Walter Scott’s Dream of Abbotsford Finds Echo in Glenwood Mission Inn,” *Riverside Enterprise*, Art, City Beautiful, Home Life, Section of Women’s Clubs’ Edition, July 12, 1913, 1; Maurice Hodgen and Sherry Bockman, Frank Miller Timeline, History Research Committee, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum; Maurice Hodgen, *Master of the Inn: Frank A. Miller, A Life* (Riverside: Ashburton Publishing, 2013), 211-220; The impact of Archer Huntington in increasing respect for Spanish art and culture cannot be underestimated. As Hispanic Society of America curator Marcus Burke explains, Huntington, whose deep-seated love of Spain blossomed during trips to the country when he was young, focused on widely educating the public about not just Spanish art, but also literature, geography, archaeology, and ethnography. Huntington, an accomplished scholar, opened the Hispanic Society of America in New York in 1904. See, Marcus B. Burke, “Archer Milton Huntington and The Hispanic Society of America,” in *Collecting Spanish Art: Spain’s Golden Age and America’s Gilded Age*, ed. Inge Reist and José Luis Colomer (New York: The Frick Collection, 2012), 203-219 and Shelley M. Bennett, *The Art of Wealth: The Huntingtons in the Gilded Age* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2013), 68-79 and 131-201.

⁸ Richard Kagan, “‘The Spanish Turn’: The Discovery of Spanish Art in the United States, 1887-1920,” in *Collecting Spanish Art*, 24 and 32. Kagan sites that rumblings of the “Spanish Turn” began as early as the 1860s when American painters, such as Samuel Colman and William Merritt Chase traveled to Spain searching for picturesque landscapes and subjects which would appeal to American art buyers. It was not until the late 1880s, however, that American collectors began seriously buying Spanish works, first spurred on by the interest of Isabella Stewart Gardner followed by J. Pierpont Morgan, Louisine and H.O. Havemeyer, Henry Clay Frick, Peter Widener, Archer Huntington, and William Randolph Hearst, 26-36.

⁹ “The Ehrich Loan Exhibition of Old Spanish Masters in the Spanish Art Gallery of the Mission Inn”; The explicit imperial undertones operating in the Spanish art trade coalesced in the paternalist attitudes of many collectors that they were not plundering cultural heritage, but saving precious art works from a country that could not properly care for them. If the United States was the dominant power over Spain’s former empire,

then U.S. collectors and museums were the best custodians of Spanish treasures. Kagan, 36-37. Miller ascribed to this line of thinking on his 1911 Spanish tour, writing that because Spaniards did not value their history he was able to purchase and preserve as many items as he did. "To be sure they don't appreciate atmosphere there; they prefer the modern touch," Miller stated. "It is really wicked the way they are letting the old things go. They don't know it would pay to hang on to them. Of course this was all fine for me. They were tearing down the old to build the new and so I came in for a purchase of the old." "Master of Inn Home."

¹⁰ The Ehrich Gallery was an elite operation, which specialized in supplying museums and collectors with European Old Masters paintings. While it boosted Miller's reputation to show the paintings at the Mission Inn, it also provided a potential new market in Southern California for the gallery to sell their Spanish paintings.

¹¹ The Mission Inn's most prestigious artist-in-residence was French-trained, Armenian-American artist Hovsep Pushman who resided with his wife at the Inn from the summer of 1916 until early 1919. Pushman left France with the outbreak of World War I and headed back to Chicago (where his family had originally immigrated). He came to the Mission Inn for rest at the urging of his physician and became an active part of the Inn's art life, serving on the Spanish Arts Society board, giving art lectures and exhibiting his new works painted at the Inn (including two portraits of Frank Miller), advising Miller on fine art acquisitions, and hosting fundraisers for Armenian relief. "Chicago Artist has Studio Here," *Riverside Daily Press*, August 23, 1916, 4; "Wonderful Portraits are Displayed at Inn: Reception is Given for Artist Pushman," *Riverside Enterprise*, October 17, 1916, 6; "Mr. and Mrs. Pushman Are Tendered Farewell Reception at Inn," *Riverside Enterprise*, January 10, 1919, 3.

¹² "Descriptive List of Paintings and Objects of Art in the Spanish Gallery of the Mission Inn" and "Galeria, Mission Inn," file A500-190.III.F.19-20, Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum (hereafter cited as RMM).

¹³ "Some Details of Russian Pictures Now Being Shown," *Riverside Enterprise*, February 22, 1919, 3; Robert C. Williams, "'The Russians Are Coming!': Art and Politics at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *Missouri Historical Society, The Bulletin* 31, no. 3 (April 1975): 159-173; Miller purchased the Russian works and the William Keith from Oakland art dealer Frank Havens in late 1918. Miller was originally taken by Keith's 1874 *California Alps* canvas when it was exhibited at Golden Gate Park and later at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. He wanted to acquire the painting as the centerpiece for a hotel he hoped to build on the Yosemite Valley floor. Between 1904 and 1914 Miller was in negotiations with government officials to gain a twenty-year concession to operate a luxury hotel and all other tourist activities throughout Yosemite. Miller secured a promise from John Muir that he would act as the hotel's permanent host. Myron Hunt completed rudimentary sketches of the hotel to be built on the north side of the Merced River between Yosemite Falls and Union Point/Glacier Point. The planned hotel had three wings, one with views of Half Dome, one with views of Yosemite Falls, and one with views of El Capitan and was to be constructed of granite and stone to match the natural surroundings. Congressional and Department of the Interior negotiations broke down over Miller's insistence on a twenty-year (not ten-year) concession and his desire to alter the roads leading into Yosemite in order to provide a less arduous path for tourists from the train station at El Portal. Additionally, a bad frost in 1913 devastated the year's citrus crop causing a financial crisis in Riverside prompting the bulk of Miller's Yosemite hotel backers to pull out. By 1914, nothing had been done and Miller withdrew his Yosemite claims. Frank Miller to Brother Cornelius of St. Mary's College, 12 April 1935, file A500-190.I.B.23, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; Yosemite files, 1904-1914, files A500-190.I.C.25-37, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁴ Andrea Stulman Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997). Dennett utilizes the phrase "weird and wonderful" to describe the oddities, objects

and human, on display in American dime museums in the mid-nineteenth century, which piqued the curiosity of the viewing public and made dime museums a center of popular entertainment.

¹⁵ Francis Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1917), 5.

¹⁶ Mission Inn lobby photograph, circa 1910, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum photo archives.

¹⁷ Mission Inn Presidential Suite photographs, circa 1920, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum photo archives (hereafter cited as MIFM); DeWitt Hutchings, "Presidential Suite," in *Handbook of the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1951), 18-20.

¹⁸ Mission Inn Cloister Music Room, circa 1911, MIFM photo archives; Borton, "The Cloister Music Room," in *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 12-15; Hutchings, "The Cloister Music Room," in *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 21-23.

¹⁹ "Court at Glenwood Being Handsome Decorated by Graduate of Roman Academy," *Riverside Enterprise*, August 15, 1914, 1; Borton, "The Spanish Patio," *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 37-39; Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 38.

²⁰ "Catalog of Treasures in Cabinet, Colonial Room, Mission Inn," April 1942, found box 75, MIFM; Francis Borton and DeWitt Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1924-1925), 51-52.

²¹ DeWitt Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1940), 60-64; Mission Inn Fuji Kan Room photo, circa 1926, Mission Inn Foundation photo archives. The other Asian art rooms included: Room of the Little People, Cherry Blossom Room, Ginza, Abode of the Kwannons, Shrine of the Buddhas, Nichiren's and Shinran's Room, Room of the Gongs, Lacquer Shrine Room, Pagoda Room, Silk Room, and Lodge of the Samurai.

²² Mission Inn Atrio historic photographs, circa 1934, MIFM photo archives; Hutchings, "The St. Francis Atrio," in *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 42-46.

²³ *Ibid.*, "St. Cecilia Oratory," 32-33 and "The Galeria," 58-61.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, "The Chapel of St. Francis of Assisi," 46-58.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 96, 106, 111.

²⁶ Borton, "The Kitchen," in *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 41-42; Mission Inn kitchen historic photographs, circa 1925, MIFM photo archives.

²⁷ Borton, "The Cloister Art Shop," in *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 51-52.

²⁸ L.J. VandenBergh, "Riverside is Treasure House of Ancient Art: Collection Rivals Greatest Museums of Old World in Rare and Beautiful Relics," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1925, Part III.

²⁹ Hodgen and Bockman, "Frank Miller Timeline."

³⁰ Cloister Art Shop Bill Book, May 1932-March 1936, MIFM.

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- ³¹ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 5.
- ³² Mark Howland Rawitsch, *The House on Lemon Street: Japanese Pioneers and the American Dream* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2012), 55-57. The Crewdson scenario also neglects to account for other collecting and art enthusiasts that Miller interacted with in the early stages of the Mission Inn, most notably Henry Huntington and Charles Fletcher Lummis.
- ³³ Joan H. Hall, *Pursuing Eden, Matthew Gage: His Challenges, Conquests, and Calamities* (Riverside: Highgrove Press, 2008), 79-81. Crewdson and Gage would later become embroiled in a series of heated lawsuits as Gage attempted to reassert control over and earn income from his former landholdings, claiming that the Riverside Trust Company had not properly documented their earnings in order to withhold dividend payments to him as a major shareholder.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.
- ³⁵ Rawitsch, *The House on Lemon Street*, 57-58.
- ³⁶ Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938), 45.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4-9.
- ³⁹ Frank Miller to Cordell Hull, 11 January 1935, file A500-190.I.B.23, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.
- ⁴⁰ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 388.
- ⁴¹ James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
- ⁴² "A Railroad Man's Impressions of Hotel That Became Castle in Spain," *Riverside Daily Press*, October 30, 1929, 4.
- ⁴³ Michael Leja, *Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 2-4.
- ⁴⁴ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 9.
- ⁴⁵ Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, 16.
- ⁴⁶ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 41; Tony Bennett, "Exhibition, Difference and the Logic of Culture," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Karp et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) 63.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Barbara Maria Stafford and Frances Terpak, *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2001), 6.

⁴⁹ Stephen Bann, "The Return of Curiosity: Shifting Paradigms in Contemporary Museum Display," in *Art and Its Publics: Museum Studies at the Millennium* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 123; Orhan Pamuk's 2008 novel, *The Museum of Innocence* extends this notion of a collector's collection as a personal record of his/her life. In the novel, a wealthy young man in Istanbul becomes so consumed by his love for a young shop girl and distant cousin, Fusun, that he creates a museum of items that are all in some way connected to her or their time together. While writing his Nobel Prize-winning novel, Pamuk also conceived of an actual physical museum based on the novel. The museum, which opened in April 2012, exactly mirrors the pieces and arrangement detailed in the novel. It is at once a visual illumination of Pamuk's text and the obsession of his main character Kemal, an illustration of Pamuk's own collecting, and a historical record of a particular moment in the history of 1970s Istanbul. Orhan Pamuk, *The Museum of Innocence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009); J. Michael Kennedy, "Orhan Pamuk Opens Museum Based on His Novel in Istanbul," *New York Times*, 29 April 2012, accessed April 3, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/30/books/orhan-pamuk-opens-museum-based-on-his-novel-in-istanbul.html>.

⁵⁰ Bann warns that too often the road from wunderkammern to the well-ordered Victorian museum, which flourished during the Mission Inn's early development, is discussed as a simple evolution, moving from the wunderkammern's chaotic and individualized organization to the rational public museum. As Bann shows, the museums of the nineteenth century "did not 'grow' from cabinets of curiosity," but rather developed out of a complex web of shifting "paradigms of knowledge." Bann, "The Return to Curiosity," 118.

⁵¹ David Carrier, *Museum Skeptics: A History of the Display of Art in Public Galleries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 12 and 68; As Andrea Stulman Dennett further elaborates, once guests had been vetted and received their tickets, visits to the British Museum were limited to rushed tours and only 120 people were allowed in at a time, Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 11-12.

⁵² Carrier, *Museum Skeptics*, 23.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 12-16.

⁵⁴ Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 and Joyce Henri Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's 'Indian Hall' at Monticello," in *Acts of Possession: Collecting in America*, ed. Leah Dilworth (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 23.

⁵⁶ Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 12.

⁵⁷ Philipp Blom, *To Have and to Hold: An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting* (New York: Overlook Press, 2002), 92; Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, 37; Joyce Henri Robinson has shown that before the opening of the first public U.S. museums, elite early Republic collectors filled their private curiosity cabinets with "primitive" objects of the continent's indigenous population that represented the "other" next door, helping colonial Americans define themselves against what they were not while providing tangible fuel for continued expansion. Additionally, in the Revolutionary American context, which, at the late 18th century was at the end of wonder cabinets' popularity, cabinets were not solely the domain of private elites, but were largely associated with the development of libraries and historical

societies. These institutions were not open to the general public, but were more communally, not individually, created. Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities," 20-23.

⁵⁸ Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 13.

⁵⁹ Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, 35.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶¹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 73.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 82; Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 57-60 and 235-236.

⁶⁵ Herbert Gutman traces U.S. industrial development into three distinct periods between 1815 and 1919. In the first period, 1815 to 1843, American social and work structures remained largely preindustrial and rural with very few factories. The years between 1843 and 1893 marked dramatic industrialization and urbanization, especially in the Northeast, which did not suffer the same level of devastation during the Civil War as the agricultural South did. From 1893 to 1919, Gutman identifies the U.S. as a "mature industrial society." Although he cites three discrete periods of development, each period was marred with conflict as workers adjusted to the constraints and dangers of industrial work. Writes Gutman, "In each of these distinctive stages of change in American society, a recurrent tension also existed between native and immigrant men and women fresh to the factory and the demands imposed upon them by the regularities and disciplines of factory labor." This tension, according to Gutman, was "regularly revitalized" by the millions of new immigrants continually flooding the workforce. Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture & Society in Industrial America* (New York: Vintage, 1977), 13. John Bodnar, in his equally influential history of immigration, refutes earlier histories of American immigration that asserted European immigrants were fleeing "underdeveloped, backward regions for the riches and unlimited opportunities offered by the American economy." Instead, Bodnar demonstrates the intricacies of European immigration to the U.S., which were based on complex sets of circumstances. So as not to provide an essentializing argument of immigration, Bodnar outlines how immigrants – the first wave coming from western and northern Europe during the mid-1800s, the second wave coming from southern and eastern Europe during the late-1800s – were not the "huddled masses" flooding America's shores as earlier immigration scholarship posited. Bodnar shows how immigrants were already active in capitalist economies in their homelands, were largely middle class in their home countries, and made conscious decisions to immigrate to the United States based on established kinship networks. Immigration was caused just as much by changes in the economies of the immigrants' homelands as it was by the perceived bounty of the U.S. As Bodnar states, "Because immigration was structured and selective, notions and myths about immigrants being tradition-bound, provincial peasants or excited and eager men on the make can no longer be sustained." John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1985), 54-56. Both Bodnar and Gutman focus exclusively on immigration to the urban cities on the East Coast. More recent scholarship has expanded the discussion of U.S. immigration history to examine Pacific Rim and U.S. borderlands immigration processes. While early immigration historians limited their scholarship to the European immigration experience, historians such as Mae Ngai, Nayan Shah, and Erika Lee trace the immigration patterns of peoples from Mexico, China, Japan, and The Philippines, as well as examining the restrictive U.S. legislation passed to prevent their entry. See, Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), Nayan Shah, *Contagious*

Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

⁶⁶ Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, xix; Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *The American Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (June 1973): 555.

⁶⁷ T.J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Wrightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 3-10.

⁶⁸ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 207; Warren Susman, "Personality and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture," in *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 271-285.

⁶⁹ Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 69 and 76. As Rabinovitz explains, while all could look, only a few could actually buy; clerks were more eagerly attentive to those who presented the visual cues of refinement and financial means; they thus employed a hierarchical gaze to make sure they made their commissions. Writes Rabinovitz, "The equality shared among women through their looking in the department store may well have been undercut by their inequality in buying and, what is more important, by the ways that both department store clerks and the increasing systemization of the department store exploited those very inequalities," 75.

⁷⁰ Leja, *Looking Askance*, 11.

⁷¹ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 94; See also, John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990); Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See American First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

⁷² Edward Bruner, "The Masai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism," in *Tourists and Tourism*, ed. Sharon Bohn Gmelch (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2004), 147.

⁷³ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett considers heritage tourism and heritage sites, such as Mystic Seaport, Plimoth Plantation, and Colonial Williamsburg "value added" enterprises. Writes Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Heritage adds value to existing assets that have either ceased to be viable (subsistence lifestyles, obsolete technologies, abandoned mines, the evidence of past disasters) or that never were economically productive...Heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer occupied or functioning or valued will survive. It does this by adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference, and, where possible, indigeneity." Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 150. This process certainly operated at the Mission Inn regarding mission tourism, but at its beginning, Miller had no historical site to add to.

⁷⁴ "The Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn," no date, 5.

⁷⁵ Frank Miller, draft of article on bell collection, no date, file A500-190.II.A.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 295.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 67.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 67-69.

⁸¹ “The Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” 7 and 18.

⁸² Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 48.

⁸³ Ibid., 42.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 33.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 31-32.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 80.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 95 and 102.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 113.

⁸⁹ Allis Miller Hutchings, “Franciscana,” 1945, 27, 2000.60.1, found box 76, MIFM

⁹⁰ “The Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” 111-112.

⁹¹ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 25-26; Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 16.

⁹² Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 27-29.

⁹³ Ibid., 30-31; Francis Borton and DeWitt Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1929), 26 and 29.

⁹⁴ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 16.

⁹⁵ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 29-31.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 24; Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 20-22

⁹⁷ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 31-32.

⁹⁸ Miller to Hull, January 11, 1935.

⁹⁹ On November 19, 1920, Walter Ehrich telegraphed Miller regarding an upcoming New York auction featuring Spanish antiques that, as Ehrich noted, “will sell cheap.” Miller authorized Ehrich to spend \$1,000 and mailed him a check the same day. Ehrich telegraphed on November 22 to detail his purchases for Miller. The spoils included, “Ten bells total \$65; Five Spanish doorknockers total \$49; Pair seventeenth century Spanish still life paintings \$52 pair; Sixteenth century iron toasting forks \$13.” Ehrich asks if Miller is interested in any other items for “rooms or for sale” with Miller responding “Please get more bells and more knockers also iron candlesticks and reading stand and anything more you think desirable [sic].” Telegrams between Miller and Walter Ehrich, 19 November to 23 November 1920, file A500-190.III.F.10, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁰⁰ Hutchings, “Franciscana,” 3.

¹⁰¹ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 19, 30, 42, and 55.

¹⁰² “Bells and Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn.”

¹⁰³ Crosses 87, 99, 100, 121, and 133 are listed as containing saintly relics. *Ibid.*, 92-99.

¹⁰⁴ “Consistory of Holy Father is New Feature of Artistic Beauty at Inn,” *Riverside Enterprise*, March 3, 1918, 3; Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 30.

¹⁰⁵ “Bloch Wax Figures,” shipping inventory list detailing each figure in the Papal Court, stamped “Received June 26, 1917,” F2000.1871, found box 108, MIFM.

¹⁰⁶ T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 184-185.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 186.

¹⁰⁸ Bodnar, *The Transplanted*, 94.

¹⁰⁹ David S. Reynolds, *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 430.

¹¹⁰ Kropp, *California Vieja*, 88; As William Deverell further elaborates, this process was also intricately connected to the greater control Protestants wielded over Catholic labor in the form of Mexican workers being relegated to working-class, hard labor jobs William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 36-40 and 129-171.

¹¹¹ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 186.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 187-192.

¹¹³ Miller unabashedly utilized Catholic imagery and relics as an exotic gimmick, but he still harbored great respect for Catholic Church officials. To add an element of grandeur and ritual to many Inn occasions, Miller brought in Los Angeles Bishop Thomas Conaty to say prayers and give blessings, using the Bishop and the rites of Catholicism as a spectator performance for secular events. Bishop Conaty consecrated the Serra Cross on Mt. Rubidoux in 1907 and was toastmaster for the Mission Inn dinner

honoring President Taft in 1909. But, Miller and Conaty were close friends, working together in the Landmarks Club, and Conaty acted as a sort of Catholic advisor for Miller's displays of religious relics. In a February 1925 letter to actor Otis Skinner brainstorming new memorials for Mt. Rubidoux, Miller extolled Conaty's virtues and expressed his plans to add a commemorative plaque on the mountain dedicated to Conaty: "This Bishop was one of the greatest souls of California – his great ability combined with unselfishness and charity for all. There has never been a church man so universally loved...the memory of his friendship is one of the greatest of my possessions. What shall his shrine consist of? This should be more elaborate than Mr. Loring's [Riverside civic leader Charles Loring], and perhaps as elaborate as any that would be built, at least very definitely Catholic." Conaty's shrine on Mt. Rubidoux never came to pass, but Miller did prominently feature a portrait of Bishop Conaty in the hotel's Presidential Suite. Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 19; Photo "Bishop Conaty Consecrating the Serra Cross," in *The Story of Mount Rubidoux* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1926), 5; Frank Miller to Otis Skinner, 21 February 1925, file A500-190.I.B.4, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; Landmarks Club Membership, Charles Fletcher Lummis Collection, MS.1.7, box 171, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center. For more on the relationship between Miller and Conaty see, Katherine D. Moran, "Catholicism and the Making of the U.S. Pacific," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 12, no. 4 (October 2013): 434-474.

¹¹⁴ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 89.

¹¹⁵ Digital image of Raincross patent, Mission Inn Museum website, accessed September 2, 2013, www.missioninmuseum.com/collect_missions/popups/Missions/mis00007_p1.htm.

¹¹⁶ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 58.

¹¹⁷ Allis Miller Hutchings, "Legends of the Cross," *Hobbies – The Magazine for Collectors*, April 1938, 10, box 2, file 15, Esther Klotz Collection, MIFM. Soon after his Raincross patent, Miller granted permission to the City of Riverside to use the Raincross as the city's official emblem, which over a century later is still Riverside's symbol. The Raincross not only connected the Inn to the California missions, but as the city's official seal it effectively stated that the Mission Inn was Riverside and Riverside was the Mission Inn.

¹¹⁸ Several local history examinations have refuted the claim of an ancient Navajo, Pueblo, or Central American "rain cross" symbol used in rain-bringing ceremonies. As local historian Maurice Hodgen has most convincingly shown, although iconography and symbolism varies greatly within the customs of indigenous peoples throughout the American Southwest and Central Americas, "there appear to be no commonalities linking, rain, rain gods and double barred crosses." More probably, the double-barred cross entered native life through Spanish explorers and missionaries. Maurice Hodgen, "The Romance of the Rain Cross," *Journal of the Riverside Historical Society*, no. 9 (February 2005): 17-31; Tom Green, "Riverside's Raincross may be a fraud, but it's a nice kind of double-cross," *Press-Enterprise*, December 14, 1972.

¹¹⁹ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 188.

¹²⁰ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 12; It has been a long established that William Alexander Sharp was the escutcheon's designer, but a recent newspaper discovery has thrown this into question. A *Riverside Daily Press* article states that Mission Inn resident artist George Melville Stone was the escutcheon's mastermind in 1909. Although the *Daily Press* article could have easily listed the wrong artist, the local history literature that makes the claim for Sharp does so with little primary source backing. "Coat-of-Arms for Mission Inn," *Riverside Daily Press*, September 29, 1909, 4. See also, Nina

Allene Archibald, "William Alexander Sharp: Artist of the Mission Inn," (M.A. thesis, University of California, Riverside, 1989).

¹²¹ Archibald, "William Alexander Sharp," 58-59; Escutcheon image, Mission Inn Museum website, accessed September 2, 2013, http://www.missioninmuseum.com/collect_missions/Popups/Missions/mis00004_p3.htm.

¹²² Cloister Art Shop bill books, 1932-1936 and 1944-1948, MIFM.

¹²³ "Bells and Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn," Bell #531, 69.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, Bell #536, 70.

¹²⁵ Dr. Robert Soppelsa, George Melville Stone scholar and Senior Curator at U.S. Department of State, Art in Embassies Program, Mission Inn Foundation public lecture on George Melville Stone, January 29, 2012.

¹²⁶ "Beautiful Decorations for Mission Inn Cloister," *Riverside Daily Press*, June 18, 1910, 1; Images of Stone's work consulted in Friends of the Mission Inn, *Historic Mission Inn* (Riverside: RB Graphics, 1998), 6 and 52; "George Melville Stone," Mission Inn Museum website, accessed September 4, 2013, http://www.missioninmuseum.com/collect_artisans/art00001.htm; Stone's paintings are currently on display at the Mission Inn in the Frank Miller Dining Room and the Spanish Art Gallery.

¹²⁷ Refectorio historic photographs, MIFM photo archives; Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 21; Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1929 edition, 19.

¹²⁸ "Angeleno Artist at Mission Inn: James E. McBurney is Doing Mural Decorations for the Glenwood," *Riverside Daily Press*, February 15, 1912, 10; Images of McBurney's work consulted in Mission Inn Foundation collections database ARGUS.

¹²⁹ "Noted Artist Working Here: W. Charles Tanner is Producing Interesting Paintings in His Tower Studio," *Riverside Daily Press*, October 10, 1913, 3; Frank Miller to W.C. Tanner, 28 April 1923, file A500-190.I.B.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM. Miller expressed disappointment that Tanner was leaving Riverside, but agreed that it was time for the artist to take a "wider field of work."

¹³⁰ Mission Inn kitchen and W.C. Tanner artwork historic photographs, MIFM photo archives.

¹³¹ Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1929 edition, 42.

¹³² Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 23; Frank Miller to Otis Skinner, 21 February 1925.

¹³³ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 36; Image of Alice Richardson St. Martha window in Friends of the Mission Inn, *Historic Mission Inn*, 64.

¹³⁴ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 45; Image of Frank Miller St. Francis window in Friends of the Mission Inn, *Historic Mission Inn*, 83.

¹³⁵ Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *The Birth of the Museum*, 59-88.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 80-84.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 72.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 73 and 84.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 65.

¹⁴⁰ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 1-15; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett expands this notion of the gaze to more broadly encapsulate what she calls the “museum effect” on everyday life. Writes Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Like the picturesque, in which paintings set the standard for experience, museum exhibitions transform how people look at their own immediate environs. The museum effect works both ways. Not only do ordinary things become special when placed in museum settings, but the museum experience itself becomes a model or experiencing life outside its walls.” Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 51-52. In other words, thanks to the ways of seeing taught within the museum environment, people were trained to look and examine differences they came across in public on any given day not just in a museum exhibition, as well as to think about what differences others were registering when looking at them.

¹⁴¹ Martin Hall, “The Reappearance of the Authentic,” in *Museum Frictions*, 70-99.

¹⁴² Ibid., 96.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 81.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 96.

¹⁴⁵ Robinson, “An American Cabinet of Curiosities,” 20.

¹⁴⁶ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 14-16.

¹⁴⁷ Lawrence Weschler, *Mr. Wilson’s Cabinet of Wonder: Pronged Ants, Horned Humans, Mice on Toast, and Other Marvels of Jurassic Technology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 77.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 80-81.

¹⁴⁹ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 68-74.

¹⁵⁰ Cook, *The Arts of Deception*, 121.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 122-124; Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 2-11. As Bogdan further describes, there is a difference between simply being unusually tall and being a giant. “Being extremely tall is a matter of physiology – being a giant involves something more,” states Bogdan. “Similarly, being a freak is not a personal matter, a physical condition that some people have. The onstage freak is something else off stage. ‘Freak’ is a frame of mind, a set of practices, a way of thinking about and presenting people,” 3.

¹⁵² Conn, *Museums in American Intellectual Life*, 40. However, as Tony Bennett illustrates, the divisions between science, history, and sideshow were sometimes negligible, with professional scientists and professors acting as showmen, using their status to build intrigue and lend credibility to huckster-esque lectures on “primitives.” Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2004), 14-17. The work of Stephen Asma provides a more complete discussion of the exhibitionary intersections between science, art, and humbug deception. See, Stephen Asma, *Stuffed Animals and Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁵³ Cook, *The Arts of Deception*, 125.

¹⁵⁴ Dennett, “Waxworks and Film,” in *Weird and Wonderful*, 106-123.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, “Freaks and Platform Performers,” 66-85.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1990), 97-136. In his later work, Crary further extends his analysis of aided visibility to the early 1900s and the new problem of “paying attention” in the midst of modern distraction. For Crary, the concept of an individual’s “gaze” was only one layer of vision, which by the turn of the twentieth century could be manipulated with devices aimed at providing viewers with new ways of seeing. As Crary states, “Within modernity vision is only one layer of a body that could be captured, shaped, or controlled by a range of external techniques; at the same time, vision is only one part of a body capable of evading institutional capture and of inventing new forms, affects, and intensities.” Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1999), 3.

¹⁵⁸ Cook, *The Arts of Deception*, 17.

¹⁵⁹ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvii.

¹⁶⁰ “Catalog of Treasures in Cabinet, Colonial Room, Mission Inn,” #132 and #133; “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” Cross #256, Bell #118, and Bell #396. The shark teeth were donated to the Inn by Jules Charbneau, proprietor of a popular national traveling exhibition, “The World of Miniatures,” which included such items as a miniature piano played with a toothpick. The peak of Charbneau’s popularity was his exhibition of miniatures at the 1962 Century 21 Exposition in Seattle. See, Jules Charbneau and Manuel Andrade, *Jules Charbneau’s World of Miniatures* (Seattle: The Museum, 1968).

¹⁶¹ “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” 21.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁶³ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 27.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 and 43.

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- ¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 45.
- ¹⁶⁸ “Bells & Crosses,” Bell #354, 44.
- ¹⁶⁹ Ibid., Bell #212, 27.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid., Bell #307, 38.
- ¹⁷¹ Ibid., Bells #339 and #340, 42; Bell #597, 76.
- ¹⁷² Ibid., Bell #328, 41; Cross #199, 107; Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1924-1925 edition, 54.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid., Bells #69, #70, and #75, 12; Bell #376, 47; Bell #426, 52; Cross #236, 112; Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1929 edition, 20.
- ¹⁷⁴ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 36.
- ¹⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁶ “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” 7-8.
- ¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 51 and 60-61.
- ¹⁷⁸ “Catalog of Treasures in Cabinet, Colonial Room, Mission Inn,” #90 and #125.
- ¹⁷⁹ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 32 and 33; “Bells & Crosses,” Cross #110, 96.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Bell #60, 11; Bell #383, 47; Bell #561, 72.
- ¹⁸¹ Frank Miller, “The House of Bells,” *The Sunday At Home*, October 1926, 45.
- ¹⁸² Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1924-1925 edition, 26.
- ¹⁸³ “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” Bell #73, 12; Bell #424, 52; Bell #82, 13; Bell #442, 54; Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 21; *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1951 edition, 20; “Catalog of Treasures in Cabinet, Colonial Room, Mission Inn,” #96.
- ¹⁸⁴ “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” Bell #174, 23; Bell #280, 35; Bell #327, 41; Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 17.
- ¹⁸⁵ Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, & U.S. Interests in the Middle East since 1945* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 9.
- ¹⁸⁶ “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” Bell #196, 25; Bell #252, 32.
- ¹⁸⁷ Ibid., Bell #171, 23.

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- ¹⁸⁸ Ibid., Bell #275, 35; Bell #313, 39; Bell #343.
- ¹⁸⁹ Miller, "The House of Bells," 42.
- ¹⁹⁰ Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1929 edition, 36.
- ¹⁹¹ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 29-30.
- ¹⁹² Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 51.
- ¹⁹³ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 51-52.
- ¹⁹⁴ "Sir Walter Scott's Dream of Abbotsford Finds Echo in Glenwood Mission Inn," *Riverside Enterprise*, Women's Edition, July 12, 1913, 1.
- ¹⁹⁵ Shaffer, *See America First*, 264-265.
- ¹⁹⁶ Jonathan Batkin, "Tourism Is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880-1910," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 297.
- ¹⁹⁷ Shaffer, *See America First*, 264.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 261-265; Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization," 2.
- ¹⁹⁹ Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 16-18; Ethnographers, anthropologists, and wealthy relic hunters predated the railroads into the American Southwest by over a decade, coming just after the waves of western-bound migrants on the Overland Trail. Collecting artifacts of Native American life cannot be disengaged from frontier Manifest Destiny and Indian removal. Writes Dilworth, "It was not until 1879, when the Bureau of Ethnology was established as part of the Smithsonian Institution, that the native populations came under systematic scrutiny as the government tried to figure out what to do about the 'Indian problem,'" 15. By the end of the nineteenth century private collectors and public institutions had taken millions of native artifacts from the Southwest, some of which would enter the art and antiquities market while others formed the backbone of the country's most prestigious anthropological museums. See, Shepard Krech III and Barbara Hail, eds., *Collecting Native America, 1870-1960* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 1-19.
- ²⁰⁰ Batkin, "Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade," 294.
- ²⁰¹ Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, 79.
- ²⁰² Ibid., 79-80.
- ²⁰³ For a more detailed discussion of collecting practices centered on goods from China and Japan, please see chapter three of this dissertation.
- ²⁰⁴ Sojin Kim, "Curiously Familiar: Art and Curio Stores in Los Angeles' Chinatown," *Western Folklore* 58, no. 2 (Winter 1999): 133.

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- ²⁰⁵ Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter," in *Unpacking Culture*, 9.
- ²⁰⁶ Ibid.; Kim, "Curiously Familiar," 135.
- ²⁰⁷ Ibid., 132.
- ²⁰⁸ Kristin Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 22.
- ²⁰⁹ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 47.
- ²¹⁰ Telegram Frank Miller to Grace Nicholson, 26 August 1903, box 6, Grace Nicholson Manuscript Collection, Huntington Library.
- ²¹¹ "Mission and History," Pacific Asia Museum website, accessed April 24, 2014, http://www.pacificasiamuseum.org/_about/mission.aspx.
- ²¹² "New Curio Store," *Riverside Daily Press*, October 12, 1903, 9; "Rare Gems From California," *Riverside Enterprise*, September 22, 1905, 4.
- ²¹³ "Funeral of F.S. Borton To Be Today: Mission Inn Curator and Southland Pioneer's Last Rites at Long Beach," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1929, A3; For a larger discussion of the life and work of Francis Borton, please see chapter three of this dissertation.
- ²¹⁴ Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1929 edition, 31.
- ²¹⁵ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 20.
- ²¹⁶ Bann, "The Return of Curiosity," 121-122.
- ²¹⁷ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 52.
- ²¹⁸ Bann, "The Return of Curiosity," 121.
- ²¹⁹ Frank Miller to John Steven McGroarty, 1909, Mission Play Collection, MIFM.
- ²²⁰ Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, 85-86.
- ²²¹ Cloister Art Shop historic postcard image, circa 1911, MIFM photo archives.
- ²²² "Goods Sent Away" ledger January 1916 to April 1917, 7 February 1916, 4; 1 August 1916, 63; 14 September 1916, 70; 9 October 1916, 76; 17 October 1916, 77; 21 February 1917, 117; 3 March 1917, 124, MIFM unprocessed collections.
- ²²³ Examples of this include purchases by A.D.R. Collie, executive at Texas cotton distributor King Collie Company, E.R. Behrend, President of Hammermill Paper Company, C.F. Jensen executive at Detroit's

Motor Products Corporation, S.H. Velie, President of John Deere Plow Company, F.T. Heffelfinger, executive at the elevator manufacturing firm F.H. Peavey & Company, J.C. Dold of Dold Packing Company, R.M. Hurd, Vice President of the Mortgage Bond Company of New York, Mrs. Charles Knox, head of Knox Gelatine Factory, and Chauncey D. Parker, chairman of the Boston firm Seaboard Utilities Shares Corporation whose shady dealings and inflated share prices is cited by economist Kenneth Galbraith as a contributing factor to the 1929 stock market crash, Kenneth Galbraith, *The Great Crash 1929* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Books, 2009 edition), 50-51; “Goods Sent Away,” January 1916 to April 1917, 13 February 1916, 7; 24 February 1916, 8; 4 September 1916, 68; 23 March 1917, 135; 31 March 1917, 139; 1 April 1917, 140; 9 April 1917, 142; 13 April 1917, 145.

²²⁴ Ibid., 20 February 1917, 115-116; Huguenot Trust Company advertisement, *Pelham Sun*, April 6, 1934, 5, accessed November 20, 2013, <http://fultonhistory.com/Newspaper%2018/Pelham%20NY%20Sun/Pelham%20NY%20Sun%201934/Pelham%20NY%20Sun%201934%20-%200192.pdf>.

²²⁵ “Goods Sent Away,” May 1917 to February 1920, 2 May 1917, 2-4.

²²⁶ Bann, “The Return of Curiosity,” 121.

²²⁷ The “Goods Sent Away” records unfortunately do not include information on where Miller originally procured the items he was selling or how much he paid for them. In later records beginning in 1932, however, the general Cloister Art Shop retail mark up is upwards of two times the wholesale price.

²²⁸ “Goods Sent Away,” January 1916 to April 1917, 2 February 1916, 3; 30 December 1916, 94; 14 February 1917, 112. The “Goods Sent Away” records from May 1917 to February 1920 include further examples with items purchased by the Shing Wah Trading Company of Los Angeles, a direct importer of Chinese goods; Dickson Brothers Company of Tacoma, Washington, a clothing and furniture store; Melvin & Badger, an apothecary and general store based in Boston; Bancroft Hat & Fur Company of Springfield, Ohio; Rice-Stix Dry Goods wholesale in St. Louis; and Pasadena’s Old Curiosity Shop.

²²⁹ The consignments were marked with only a last name or abbreviation making deciphering exactly which individual or company sold goods in the Cloister Art Shop difficult. Certain markings, such as Borton’s last name or the initials “D.V.H.” for DeWitt V. Hutchings (who in May 1917 sold an “Indian drum” on consignment) are easily discerned. Additionally, Los Angeles department store Barker Brothers, Los Angeles Chinatown importer F. Suie One Company, Woo Chee Chong curio store in San Diego, and San Francisco’s L.R. Markell can be discerned as consigners at the Cloister Art Shop.

²³⁰ “Goods Sent Away,” January 1916 to April 1917, 8 April 1916, 39; Biographical abstract, “Eldridge M. Fowler Papers, 1805-1931,” Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed November 20, 2013, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?c=wiarchives;view=reslist;subview=standard;didno=uw-whs-mcc0000n>.

²³¹ “Goods Sent Away,” January 1916 to April 1917, 22 February 1916, 11; 23 October 1916, 78; “Walter McFarland,” *International Marine Engineering* 15, (May 1910): 225.

²³² “Goods Sent Away,” January 1916 to April 1917, 30 November 1916, 83; 12 February 1917, 110.

²³³ Cloister Art Shop Bill Book, May 1932 to March 1936, MIFM. In order to quantify and sort through the information contained in the Cloister Art Shop records I created a spreadsheet of each record culminating in a list of 6,063 individual purchases. The spreadsheet includes the company’s name and address, the item purchased, the quantity, the cost, retail price, and inventory code.

²³⁴ Ibid. The Cloister Art Shop purchased goods from the Beverly Wilshire Gallery in May and November 1932, January, May, June, and September 1934, and June 1935; Warner Hill Gallery in November 1932 and January 1934; Barker Brothers in September 1932 and January and July 1934; and Marston Company in November 1932.

²³⁵ Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, 22.

²³⁶ Cloister Art Shop Bill Book, May 1932 to March 1936.

²³⁷ Allis Miller Hutchings to Elsie Younggren Carlstrom, 29 August 1933 and Frank Miller to Elsie Younggren Carlstrom, 4 September 1933, file A500-190.I.B.18, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²³⁸ Special thanks to Andrew Garrison for his expert skills figuring out the Excel calculations.

²³⁹ Cloister Art Shop Bill Books, May 1932 to March 1936. Between May 1932 and March 1936 the Cloister Art Shop placed eighteen orders with Pacific Dry Goods and fifteen orders with American Art Leather & Jewelry.

²⁴⁰ Henry S. Beach Catalogue, MIFM. During my tenure at the Mission Inn Foundation & Museum, the Collections Manager Steve Spiller found and purchased a Henry S. Beach catalogue on eBay. It is undated, but clearly from the late 1920s or early 1930s because many of the items and inventory codes in the catalogue match the Cloister Art Shop records, such as item #37-X, the painted terra cotta sombrero ashtray and item 44, the miniature mandolin. Henry S. Beach claimed “authenticity” for the items they sold by focusing on their handmade, not manufactured, quality. The company’s catalogue featured Native American and Mexican workers hand throwing pottery using a foot powered wooden spinning table and firing their pots in a crude pit kiln.

²⁴¹ Between 1932 and 1936, the Cloister Art Shop placed fifteen orders with Quon Quon, sixteen orders with Hori Brothers, five with Iwata Trading, and four with Pacific Pearl & Ivory.

²⁴² By 1932 the majority of the Cloister Art Shop’s Native American offerings centered on jewelry coming from Denver’s F.F. Hurd, Santa Barbara’s Turquoise Indian Trading Company, and Maisel’s Indian Trading Post in Albuquerque.

²⁴³ As Jonathan Batkin asserts in his study of the Pueblo pottery in New Mexico, the curio trade in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries owes much of its popularity to mail order catalogues put together by in situ curio stores throughout the American Southwest. It was the marketing made possible through the extended reach of the mail order business that fueled the desire for curio items. Physical tourism was essential to this process as well, but the role of mail order catalogues have been largely forgotten because so few of these curio catalogues remain. Writes Batkin, “In reality, however, those dealers were instrumental in developing an enormous market that did not rely on tourism... Through wholesale distribution and mail-order marketing, the dealers shipped pottery by the barrelful on trains. By the early twentieth century the curio trade comprised hundreds of dealers throughout the United States, many of them offering Pueblo pottery supplied by dealers in Santa Fe.” Batkin, “Tourism Is Overrated,” 282.

²⁴⁴ Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims, “Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue,” in *Exhibiting Cultures*, 159-175.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 163.

²⁴⁶ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 6.

²⁴⁷ Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1917 edition, 14 and 27-28; Borton and Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn*, 1924-1925 edition, 27; "Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn," 9.

²⁴⁸ Bann, "The Return of Curiosity," 123; Art historian Carolyn Kastner instructively analyzes the use of collections by Edward Ayer to actively memorialize his life and explore the "self-conscious relationship of the collector to his collection," Carolyn Kastner, "Collecting Mr. Ayer's Narrative," in *Acts of Possession*, 138-162.

²⁴⁹ Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion: Psychological Perspectives* (New York: Mariner Books, 1995).

Chapter Three

“Take a Swing Around the World in One Afternoon’s Joy Ride”: Internationalism and Imperial Collecting at the Mission Inn

In October 1917 Riverside newspapers reported Frank Miller’s purchase of the painting *Charge Up San Juan Hill* by Russian artist Vasili Vereshchagin.¹ The massive canvas, measuring ninety-five by sixty-eight inches and clad in a heavy ornately carved gilt frame, depicts the Spanish-American War’s most famous (and mythologized) battle waged between Teddy Roosevelt’s Rough Riders and their Spanish foes in Cuba in July 1898. Vereshchagin, known for his realist war scenes and anti-war sentiments, completed the piece in 1902 after interviewing San Juan Hill veterans, consulting maps and plans of the siege with the U.S. Secretary of War, and visiting the Cuban site twice.² Vereshchagin even met with Roosevelt who personally related (and supposedly acted out) his account of the battle to the artist.³ Painted in the perspective of a soldier in the thick of the ascending charge toward Spanish forces waiting atop the hill, Vereshchagin captures the battle’s chaos, depicting swarms of unregimented infantrymen scrambling upward in waist-high grass. Soldiers carry billowing American flags and Rough Rider eagle banners with swords and guns pointed forward in the direction of the invisible Spaniards, who are illustrated as nothing more than a haze of cannon smoke on the horizon. Roosevelt is the main focus, placed at the center of the canvas. While the other soldiers are shown leaning forward struggling up the steep incline, Vereshchagin painted

Roosevelt sturdily upright with a pistol in one hand and a rifle in the other – the model of masculine courage.

The painting is triumphantly patriotic and celebrates vigorous white manliness; the African American soldiers from the Tenth Regiment who formed much of the frontline force have been eliminated and the Cubans' role in their fight for independence all but erased.⁴ The absence of African American infantrymen in Vereshchagin's painting can potentially be attributed to Roosevelt's retelling of San Juan Hill events to the artist. As historian Amy Kaplan details, although Roosevelt acknowledged the presence of African American troops, in his accounts of San Juan Hill he largely denigrated their service, portraying them as hapless soldiers who needed his violent threats to prevent them from retreating. Roosevelt's depiction of African American soldiers refuted the stories of the Tenth Regiment's heroism published in the black press in an attempt to crush the counter-narrative that declared African American soldiers essential to U.S. victory.⁵ *Charge Up San Juan Hill* represents the distinctly American brand of paternalist protectorate imperialism ushered in by the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War. Vereshchagin, however, also embeds critiques of the war's violence and hints at the campaign's horrors by adding trampled bodies and dying men barely visible underneath the brambles. Roosevelt was so pleased with Vereshchagin's finished product that he used it to illustrate his *Rough Riders* history. After a public exhibition and auction of his work at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria in November 1902, the painting was sold to a Brooklyn engineer before eventually making its way to California art collector Frank Havens.⁶ Miller purchased *Charge Up San Juan Hill* from

Havens at a San Francisco auction, and according to reports, the piece “created [a] great sensation at the sale and was one of the highest priced pictures sold.”⁷



Figure 60: *Charge Up San Juan Hill* by Vasili Vereshchagin. From the collections of the Mission Inn Hotel & Spa. Photo by Bill Rose and courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Vereshchagin's painting was, and still is, a cornerstone of the Mission Inn's fine art collection. The piece's dual message – veneration of American military might as a liberating force and the lamentation of war's grisly realities – personifies the U.S. imperial program at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. While the U.S. did formally annex Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam after its decisive victory against Spain, the country largely shied away from the "outright colonialism" long favored by their European allies. Instead, the United States' expansionist policies concentrated on negotiating a series of protectorate agreements in Cuba, Panama, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Haiti that allowed the U.S. to militarily occupy these countries, set up permanent strategic bases, and extract economic concessions.⁸ The discourse surrounding these campaigns, however, focused on the imperative of securing American interests abroad and the benevolence of U.S. intervention in uplifting the indigenous peoples perceived as uncivilized. Inextricably bound to the country's own deep-seated and unresolved racial prejudices, U.S. imperialism was rooted in paternalism, which as historian Mary Renda, in her examination of America's Haitian occupation from 1915 to 1940, describes as the flagship principle of U.S. overseas growth. "Paternalism was an assertion of authority, superiority, and control expressed in the metaphor of a father's relationship with his children," writes Renda. "It was a form of domination, a relation of power, masked as benevolent by its reference to paternal care and guidance, but structured equally by norms of paternal authority and discipline."⁹

Territorial control was just one way in which the United States' cultural hegemony crept ever outward. Overwhelmingly, U.S. imperialism was a consumer

enterprise based on exporting the American way of life worldwide. As historian Victoria de Grazia has demonstrated, U.S. corporations scoured the globe for new markets, assembling intricate multi-national business networks and launching aggressive advertising campaigns abroad to mold new “citizen consumers.”¹⁰ American imperial endeavors and the success of the country’s economic expansion were also evident in the ability of American consumers to import foreign products and collect exotic “trifles and savories.”¹¹

Miller’s purchase of *Charge Up San Juan Hill* complemented his other Spanish-American War relics, which included a bell from a Cuban rancho “picked up” by Rough Riders’ chief surgeon Colonel Rob Church after the San Juan Hill battle; a bell from the Don Juan de Austria cruiser “one of the last Spanish ships to be sunk” by Admiral Dewey in the Battle of Manila Bay; and the personal flag of Philippine revolutionary independence leader Emilio Aguinaldo, who was captured and deposed by U.S. forces in 1901.¹² More broadly, the hotel’s collections – the objects, the interpretations of those objects, and Miller’s acquisition methods – connect directly to the larger processes of America’s overseas imperial agenda. Historian A.K. Sandoval-Strausz defines “imperial hotels” in the American West as those hostelries that sprouted up in conjunction with Anglo-American settlement and the regional tourism boom from transcontinental rail service. Often, as in the Mission Inn’s case, the architectural and promotional foundations of these hotels “entailed the expropriation or commodification” of the Native and Hispanic peoples displaced by Anglo migration.¹³ The Inn, while illustrating Sandoval-Strausz’s definition, also dramatically extends it. The hotel began as a

celebration of U.S. Manifest Destiny, commemorating the imperial work of the Franciscan missions and crowning Anglo migrants the successors to finish the job. As the United States expanded its global influence, so too, did Frank Miller expand his collections.

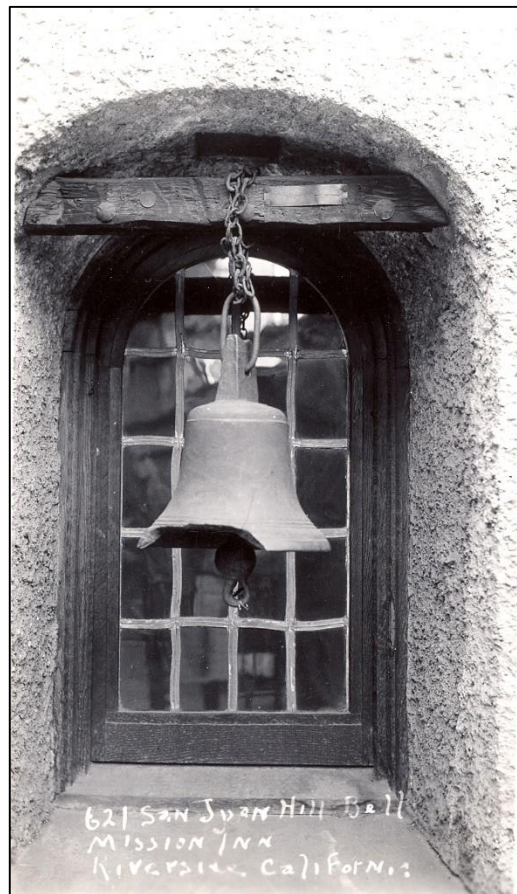


Figure 61: Bell taken from a Cuban rancho during the Battle of San Juan Hill and later acquired by Frank Miller. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

A central tenet of Miller's enduring local legacy is his deep involvement in the internationalist peace movements and his use of the hotel, his artifact collections, and his world travels to foster cross-cultural understanding and international friendship. Miller's son-in-law DeWitt Hutchings wrote in January 1935, five months before Miller's death,

“Mr. Miller came to feel the most vital thing today is the need for international peace, and his interest in and work for international understanding has led to new contacts and friendships, and new fame for the Inn.”¹⁴ Miller expressed his ideals in stone through the hotel’s final International Rotunda wing. The rotunda itself was dedicated as the International Peace Rotunda with tile shields from countries around the world encircling the open-air staircase. As Miller biographer Maurice Hodgen claims, the architecture “expressed Miller’s internationalism and unavailing efforts at promoting peace.”¹⁵

But, the Mission Inn exemplified global tensions, not global unity. The Inn’s displays, and those who created them, glorified some cultures while denigrating others and exalted certain artifacts while maligning their makers. Miller’s concept of international peace and harmony was one not based on the equality of all peoples, as current universalizing interpretations have posited, but was centered on demonstrating American supremacy around the world. In some ways, imperialism at the Inn was domesticated, rendered quaint and non-threatening, even decorative, in the hotel’s home-like hospitality. In other instances, Miller employed his collections as a promotional tool, exploiting the cultural differences and strangeness of artifacts to cultivate intrigue and business. The tension comes, however, from the fact that amidst these imperial power dynamics was also an underlying desire to better understand the world through the objects produced in its far-flung regions, locations that were once isolated, but now more readily accessible thanks to the global consumer marketplace. For Riverside, the Mission Inn helped quench, as Kristin Hoganson examines in other U.S. locales, the “yearnings for connection to the wider world” within “small-town insularity.”¹⁶ It is no coincidence

that the Mission Inn reached its height of popularity as the United States aggressively expanded its territorial holdings and economic influence. Miller's global collections and his ties to the peace movement celebrated greater international contact while also continually negotiating America's dominant place in the world. To deconstruct the Mission Inn is to deconstruct American empire building.

"The Greatest Exemplar of Peace"

On December 13, 1925, Frank Miller's friends surprised the hotelier, who had just returned to Riverside after six months traveling in Asia, with a monument on Mt. Rubidoux commemorating his work in promoting world peace. The monument, designed by Mission Inn architect Arthur Benton, featured a granite turret crowned with a cross and a small pedestrian bridge that bisected the mountain's winding road. According to reports from the monument's dedication, the "peace tower" and "friendship bridge" were to be "the initial step in a new world-wide movement which would banish forever the god of war from the earth." California poet and journalist John Steven McGroarty served as the master-of-ceremony, declaring in his keynote address:

I have come here to lend my sympathy to the greatest movement in the world – universal peace. I have come to pay a tribute to Mr. Frank A. Miller, the greatest exemplar of peace I know. Frank Miller sprang from a race which loved peace, and it is more than fitting that this monument, dedicated to world peace, should be a testimonial to the man I love. This is the most sacred monument standing on the continent of America today.¹⁷

McGroarty's proclamation of Miller as the "greatest exemplar of peace" derived from the international spirit he fostered at the Inn. Mission Inn histories to date have focused on a number of examples to illustrate this spirit. First, on top of the hotel's international art and artifact collections, Miller was a founding member of several local and national peace societies. During World War I the hotel was abuzz with workers from

the Red Cross Society who set up an office in the Inn's adobe. Miller also headed war bond drives, organized war relief fundraisers, and made the Inn an example for wartime food conservation. Miller famously extended exceptionally warm hospitality to his international guests, decorating the Inn with their home country's flag and holding special concerts in the Music Room to sing their national anthem. The hotel hosted dozens of foreign celebrities, dignitaries, and ambassadors, including Russia's Prince Troubetszkoy, Japan's Prince Kaya, Sweden's Crown Prince Gustavus Adolphus, and the Indian Princess of Mandi.¹⁸ The Inn was also home for two years during World War I to Armenian artist Hovsep Pushman who maintained an active studio at the hotel and who worked to raise awareness concerning the plight of Armenian refugees.



Figure 62: The Arthur Benton-designed Peace Tower at Mt. Rubidoux dedicated to Frank Miller in 1925. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

Additionally, as described in the first chapter, Zona Gale suggests that Miller's internationalism was based on his "great feeling and fondness for those of other races," which was shown through his employment of a multicultural staff of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, and African-American workers.¹⁹ Miller's admiration of Japanese history and art is the most widely cited example of his promotion of global harmony. By all accounts, Riverside's Japanese community greatly respected him. In addition to his Japanese collections, Miller financially supported Riverside's Harada family in their 1918 legal fight against the Alien Land Law. He organized annual Japanese Boys' and Girls' Day celebrations at the Inn and hosted regular events at the Inn for Riverside's Japanese business community, in addition to serving on the city's Japanese Association.²⁰ In 1929 Miller was even awarded the Japanese Imperial Order of the Rising Sun medal by the Japanese consulate for his work in promoting Japanese culture and in 1933 he was honored again by Japan with an emblem from the country's exhibit at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago.²¹

Miller's efforts should not be diminished, but neither should they be exaggerated as wholly selfless acts. The hospitality he extended to foreign guests and dignitaries was part of his job as the proprietor of a luxury hotel in one of the country's most popular tourist regions; the arrival of royalty and political officials offered Miller guaranteed publicity. As the hub of local society, the Inn was also the natural choice for charity dinners and fundraisers. While in residence, Miller and Pushman enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship. Miller utilized the internationally known artist as an added hotel attraction, making use of him for demonstrations, lectures, and special art exhibitions,

which also helped Pushman extend his reputation in the United States. Miller's employment of a diverse staff demonstrated the relegation of ethnic and racial minorities to the service industry, working to cook, clean, carry bags for, and entertain the hotel's white guests. Certainly Miller's public support of Riverside's Japanese community flew in the face of growing popular nativist sentiment, and his wide-ranging Japanese events at the hotel provided a space for interaction between Riverside's Japanese residents and the city's "social aristocrats."²² As Mark Rawitsch states, "Subsequent community connections between local Japanese and the other Riverside citizens who attended Miller's banquets at the Mission Inn helped to develop cultural understanding among the two groups and strengthened Riverside's acceptance of its well-behaved Japanese minority."²³ It is a historical fallacy to make the ideological leap that Miller's acceptance and regard for the city's "well-behaved Japanese minority" translated into a universal love of all races. In his recent biography of Miller, local historian Maurice Hodgen, touches on this with his acknowledgment that "Miller's practices at the hotel appear to organize comfortably around the conventions of gender, race and work of his time" and that his "independence of mind and [his] resilient contrarian streak allowed neither a crusade against social and ethnic divisions nor disregard of the proprieties of the time."²⁴ The benign "sign of the times" argument, however, does little to explain the historical processes underpinning Miller's conception of internationalism.²⁵

A minor detail of the peace tower dedication ceremony begins to problematize and historicize Miller's triumphant portrayal, placing him squarely within the parameters of ascendant American imperialism. At the monument's dedication, flags from the "two

most powerful nations on earth” – the United States and Britain – flanked the granite structure and etched banners of “other world powers,” with the United States at the top, encircled the turret’s top.²⁶ The monument’s message was not just about the struggle to forge universal peace (however vague and undefined), it was about fostering peace in the world while maintaining, and strengthening, American and Anglo dominance. As Miller stated himself in a 1932 letter to British journalist Sir Philip Gibbs, “I am not a pacifist. I believe that the English-speaking peoples must stand together or the present civilization is liable to pass away.”²⁷ The racialized imperial hierarchies implicit in Miller’s conception of international peace, and fundamental to the larger international peace movement, are illuminated when Miller’s collecting practices are juxtaposed against his peace activities and when his own words are contrasted with his mythic depictions. While Miller proclaimed fostering world peace as a main goal of the Inn and its global collections, he opportunistically obtained many of his prized pieces at cut-rate prices during the bloodiest conflicts of the twentieth century, including the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, the Mexican Revolution, and the Great War. Miller firmly believed that it was his right (and duty) to take artifacts out of countries he deemed unfit, and therefore unworthy, of caring for them.

After attending several sessions of the 1907 International Peace Conference at The Hague during his Northern European travels, Miller’s involvement in the peace movement did not formally begin for another four years.²⁸ On February 27, 1911, the Mission Inn hosted the “Conference for Peace and Arbitration” under the auspices of Andrew Carnegie’s Endowment for International Peace, a major funding organization for

foreign relations and diplomatic policy scholarship.²⁹ This two-day event was billed as the “the first peace conference in the west” and featured an impressive program of leading academics, politicians, and journalists, including John Muir, Ida Tarbell, A.K. Smiley, and former Vice President Charles Fairbanks, with Stanford president David Starr Jordan giving the keynote address titled “The Degeneracy of the Nations as a Result of War.” In the local fervor aroused by the conference, participants formed the Riverside Peace Society and initial membership topped two hundred people. In true Miller fashion, the event was just as much, if not more, about promoting the Mission Inn as it was about promoting international peace. Held in the Music Room, which had opened only two months earlier as part of the Inn’s second addition, the Cloister Wing, Miller used the fanfare and increased hotel occupancy surrounding the peace conference to dedicate his new twenty eight hundred-pipe Kimball organ, unveiled with a special concert by Mormon Tabernacle organist John J. McClellan.³⁰

Not much materialized with the Riverside Peace Society until 1915 when the urgency of the Great War in Europe called the organization to regroup, electing Miller president. The first meeting was held at Riverside’s First Congregational Church on February 16, 1915, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812 and ushered in a century of peace between Great Britain and the United States.³¹ To advertise their cause, Miller commissioned the manufacture of dozens of official peace movement flags that read “Peace Among All Nations” to adorn the Inn and buildings across downtown.³² Although the Riverside Peace Society decreed their denunciation of all war, what was the group’s actual purpose? As historian

Emily Rosenberg has examined, “internationalism” and “international peace” were ambiguous terms, which gave few clues into how the peace movement purported to achieve its goals.³³ The Riverside Peace Society’s mission statement is precise yet elusive. At the inaugural meeting, the society passed a resolution stating their long-term goal:

Resolved, that we memorialize the United States government to invite the present neutral nations of the world to unite in forming a friendly pact with the object of securing at the psychological moment when peace is declared between the warring nations of Europe proportionate disarmament culminating in an international police force and a new era of civilization, when disputes between nations shall be settled by properly constituted courts of law rather than by brute force.³⁴

The resolution summons the U.S. to organize a “friendly pact” of neutral nations to form an “international police force” that would diplomatically resolve future conflicts before they elevated to violence. The Riverside Peace Society’s entreaty for the U.S. to lead the post-World War I peace charge, as well as its reliance on democratic law and order principles, points to the fact that the objective of the international peace movement in the United States was to achieve world harmony through the global extension of American liberalism.³⁵

Internationalism reached its height in the aftermath of the Great War’s horrors, spurred on by the American-centered liberal-democratic foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, who championed the formation of a peaceful global community based on open door economies and the triumph of private enterprise, helped create as Rosenberg states, “A world dominated by American values and held together by American-based institutions.”³⁶ Historians of U.S. imperialism, however, have widely noted that American influence was most directly spread through non-governmental

private corporations and volunteer service organizations that proliferated abroad in the Great War's aftermath.³⁷

One such organization domestically preaching Wilsonian internationalism was the Institute of International Relations. The Institute was formed in 1926 by University of Southern California president and noted eugenicist Rufus Von Kleinsmid to act as the main peace organization on the Pacific Coast.³⁸ Miller served on the Institute's original board of advisers and the Inn was the site of Institute's annual meetings each December from 1926 to 1956.³⁹ "Now we find ourselves with the eyes of the world upon us," Von Kleinsmid stated of the United States at the Institute's first session at the Mission Inn on December 5, 1926. "In the present conference we hope to learn something from one another, obtain different points of view, and reach an enlightened tolerance regarding other nations."⁴⁰ Like the majority of internationalist groups, the Institute sought enlightenment through a top-down educational approach. Membership in the Institute was strictly by invitation only and carried the steep price of ten dollars.⁴¹

The Institute's executive and advisory boards were comprised of elite professionals from the academic, political, and business communities, a veritable who's who of liberal-internationalists, many having served directly under President Wilson. In addition to dozens of prominent social science professors from West Coast universities, the original 1926 board roster included General Tasker Bliss, former Chief of Staff of the Army and member of the U.S. delegation at the 1918 Paris Peace Conference; former Treasury Secretary (and future California Senator) William Gibbs McAdoo; Leo S. Rowe, director of the Pan-American Union; James Brown Scott, director of the Carnegie

Endowment for International Peace: Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University and head of the Institute of Pacific Relations; and Harry Chandler, editor of the *Los Angeles Times*.⁴² It was not until 1929 that the advisory board included two women, Dr. Aurelia Reinhardt, president of Mills College, and Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, Director of Public Relations for the Motion-Picture Producers and Distributors of America.⁴³ Approximately one hundred to one hundred fifty people attended each annual conference, comprised of delegates from organizations on the frontline of U.S. foreign relations, which were, in part, responsible for the country's growing international influence. Representatives from churches, universities, women's clubs, service organizations, non-governmental diplomatic societies, and international businesses, such as the National Foreign Service Fraternity, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Rotary International, the American Friends Service Organization, the National Women's Relief Corps, the Press Congress of the World, the Fellowship for Christian Social Order, and the Petroleum Securities Corporation, comprised each meeting's guest list.⁴⁴



Figure 63: Mission Inn exhibition of international politicians and diplomats during an annual meeting of the Institute of International Relations, circa 1930. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

The weeklong annual conference featured daily back-to-back closed session panels and roundtable discussions with special lectures open to the public each night.⁴⁵

Founded on the democratic principles of free debate, the Institute consciously avoided taking a stand on any issues, but, instead, posited that education would “harmonize

interests and bring international cooperation.”⁴⁶ In a 1932 local press account, the

Institute was described as:

Solely educational in purpose, the Institute takes no action on any of the subjects it discusses. Vitaly important information on world affairs is made public and discussed in open forums at the Institute, and this information is carried back to their [participants] institutions of learning...In turn, the information is disseminated among students of higher learning and becomes the ground

work for a better and more equitable understanding of world relations – hence, a ground work for international understanding and peace.⁴⁷

The Institute's lectures and debates focused exclusively on international political, economic, and military concerns, examining how global conflicts affected U.S. commerce and diplomatic relations. Although the panels specifically addressed the history and current political climate of individual countries and regions in order to broaden the internationalist viewpoints of its members, the Institute's answer for achieving peace was through the Americanization of the world. "We are not the less patriotic because we have regard for the world. We do not love America less, but as America extends her blessings to other countries we love her more," proclaimed Von Kleinsmid in his closing remarks at the 1926 meeting.

The group consensus was that the global spread of American democracy and consumer goods, which would raise the international standard of living to one comparable to the United States, would end all war, while strengthening the U.S. economy and its international authority.⁴⁸ "Better feeling between nations will result from raising the standard of less favored countries to that of the United States rather than by any downward process," concluded the Institute's round table on "World Markets and World Understanding" at the 1927 conference. "People who are well fed, well clothed, and able to enjoy material comforts, are less susceptible to jealousy and bickerings."⁴⁹ The advance of American business and industry into all corners of the globe was heralded as a service to "backward" countries because "American enterprise and inventive genius" enabled "a higher civilization."⁵⁰ The early Institute meetings grappled with concepts of race. While Institute members largely agreed that notions of racial superiority

contributed to conflict and that “no race as a race appears to be vastly superior to any other race,” they still praised the U.S. imperial agenda, citing the “very fine gift of America” bestowed upon U.S protectorates who were “not at present in a condition to be given their absolute independence.”⁵¹

The U.S.-centric Wilsonian internationalist mindset espoused by the Institute of International Relations also colored Frank Miller’s collecting practices. Miller gained many of the Inn’s most prized artifacts as a result of the international conflicts he publicly railed against. His acquisition of goods from Mexico during the Mexican Revolution, including the Rayas reredos (altar screen), as well as a calvaire from a Belgian Catholic church decimated during World War I, and a large bell from Nanking purchased in the midst of the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, exemplify the solidification of American economic and diplomatic imperialism. Miller’s access to these items, his connections that enabled him to finagle them out of their countries of origin, and the paternalist language and entitled attitude, sometimes veiled and sometimes overt, he (and others at the Mission Inn) used during the artifact transactions demonstrate imperial power dynamics on both the local and global scale. These processes are also tightly wound to the workings of the international art and antiquities trade during wartime, in which foreign markets were flooded with the legally procured and illicit spoils of war.

Big Bells and Little People: China and Japan in Context

In March 1912, Frank Miller’s daughter Allis and her new husband DeWitt Hutchings came home to Riverside after their ten-month honeymoon tour across Eurasia. The couple traveled in Europe with Miller and his wife Marion before striking out on

their own to trek through Greece, India, China, and Japan. The Hutchings admired Japan's "artistic feeling" and considered their Japanese hotel accommodations the "finest...since leaving Europe." About India, Allis and DeWitt reported that they were impressed by Britain's influence and the infrastructural improvements enacted by the colonial government, although "there was still much superstition" in the country. "All over India we saw the wonderful work of the English," related DeWitt to a *Riverside Daily Press* reporter. "The government sends its best men to the colonies, men who are dependable and who peg away and give their lives to the job. We had been told the railroad travel would be difficult in India but we were agreeably surprised. A large compartment with two sofas and once even a bathtub, we couldn't have been more comfortable." The newlyweds were decidedly less enthusiastic about their short time in China. Stopping only in Hong Kong and Shanghai, they left for Japan early because of the nationalist "revolutionary spirit" and warnings that riots were "expected hourly and foreigners were in danger." DeWitt Hutchings' only comment regarding China was that while "policemen and city officials still wore their queues...most of the citizens had lost theirs."

The couple spent a good portion of their grand tour shopping for artifacts for the Mission Inn's collections and shipped one hundred twenty bells back to the hotel, "many of them interesting historically and many of them beautiful in design."⁵² One of their most prestigious finds was from China, the country they had liked the least. The Hutchings met a Chinese import executive during their travels and were alerted to the "Nanking Bell," as it was called, after the importer discovered it in "the ruins of the

Buddhist Temple there which had been sacked by the Revolutionists.”⁵³ At over four feet in diameter, six feet high, and weighing nearly three tons, the Nanking Bell was by far the largest in the hotel’s ever-increasing bell collection and would also become a famous hallmark of the Inn’s Asian art displays.

The Nanking Bell, purchased by the Hutchings after returning home, is the earliest example of Miller and company’s opportunistic collecting practices, acquired in the midst of the political and social upheaval of China’s nationalist revolution against the Qing dynasty. As a case study, the Nanking Bell provides an inroad to examine Miller’s attitudes toward China, attitudes that were widely shared and disseminated. Although the bell was a crowning jewel of his collection and prized as an exotic set piece for the Inn, Miller largely pitied China and its people as “backward,” pointing to what art historian Vimalin Rujivacharakul describes as the “paradoxical approach to collecting Chinese objects,” in which collectors separated “the sociocultural conditions of China from the Chinese materials they were collecting.”⁵⁴ China was simultaneously reviled as “backward, primitive, and unprogressive,” but respected for its historical civilization, which stretched back thousands of years and was responsible for much scientific and artistic innovation.⁵⁵



Figure 64: The Nanking Bell sitting in front of the original adobe and next to the parent navel orange tree. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

More broadly, the Nanking Bell is an instructive segue to explore the hotel's Asian art collections. By contrasting Miller's views on China with his admiration for Japan, it is clear that Miller's praise for Japan centered on the country's imperial power and its measured welcome of Western influence. As Steven Conn succinctly puts it, "Japan could...be seen as a compatriot of Western nations, which made it that much easier to reject China for its obstinate refusal to westernize."⁵⁶ Miller is persistently regarded as tolerant and accepting of diverse cultures based upon his love for Japan, but it was Japan's similarities to the United States that made its cultural differences acceptable and safe. Miller utilized his Asian collections in a multitude of ways. As decoration, his

pieces from China and Japan, which he displayed in elaborate theme rooms, demonstrated his “cosmopolitan ethos” – his open-minded appreciation of other cultures and his economic ability to travel and buy. This brand of cosmopolitanism, however, was not egalitarian asserts historian Kristin Hoganson and instead “contributed to particularistic racial, class, and national identities” that supported U.S. imperial expansion.⁵⁷

The Mission Inn’s Asian exhibitions bear this contention out. The Nanking Bell was used primarily as part of the hotel’s outdoor décor and was valued for its substantial size and association with the violence in China. In contrast, Miller focused the Inn’s educational activities in “aid of cordial international relations” on his Japanese artifacts.⁵⁸ One such activity, his annual celebration of Japanese Boys’ and Girls’ Day each March and May, centered on Miller’s display of Japanese friendship dolls and the invitations he extended to local schoolchildren to view the dolls at the Inn. The success of the yearly doll shows inspired Miller, through his granddaughters Helen and Isabella, to start an entire collection of international dolls and animals “with the idea of stimulating international friendship among the younger generations.”⁵⁹ The doll exhibitions, which were eventually added to the Inn’s permanent displays, appeared benign and innocently juvenile, but their organization and individual descriptions worked to strengthen racial stereotypes and imperial hierarchies, rather than refute them. The Nanking Bell and the collections it was connected to exemplify the tight bond between decoration, education, and commerce that typified Miller’s use of his international artifacts, as well as revealing the ways in which certain cultures were privileged over others and why.

The Hutchings secured the Nanking Bell after meeting a representative from a large U.S. importing company on a steamship from Hong Kong to Shanghai in January 1912. “We told him of our bell collection and that the large bells of China made us envious and that if by chance any time he should find an over-sized temple bell that wasn’t needed he must let us know,” wrote DeWitt in a later article about the hotel’s bell collection.⁶⁰ After DeWitt and Allis returned to Riverside in March 1912, the importer contacted them about his finding in Nanking. As DeWitt remembered,

We had hardly returned home March 1912 when we got a letter from him showing pictures of a huge bell lying on its side among the ruins of a building. His letter stated that the bell was in Nanking in the ruins of one of the principle temples destroyed in one of the recent revolutionary battles. We said nothing to Mr. Miller about this find and his surprise and delight were good to see when this two-ton bell entered the court on a truck some months later.⁶¹

Originally cast for the Nanking Temple of Manchu to commemorate the appointment of General Gai-yu to the imperial armed forces during the reign of Guangxu, Eleventh Emperor of the Qing dynasty (1875-1908), the bell features a scalloped bottom, geometric and floral banding, as well as a stylized dragon handle. The script around the bell’s circumference describes Guangxu’s rule: “Learning and militarism are more and more prominent. There is justice throughout heaven and earth. The Emperor’s purpose is steady and forever, and his heart is with the people. His wishes prosper. His desire is for budding and fulfillment. Over heaven and earth loyalty hangs on the sun and moon.”⁶² This sentiment did not portend the growth of Chinese nationalism and the eventual overthrow of the Manchus and Qing Dynasty in 1911 after decades of rebellion and unrest.

Miller and the Mission Inn staff were not particularly interested in the Nanking Bell’s historical meaning. The bell arrived at the Mission Inn on March 26, 1913, and

Miller placed it in front of the hotel's original adobe boarding house to greet guests as they ambled through the front arcade to the lobby doors.⁶³ The bell's enormous size and picturesque setting in the landscaped courtyard adjacent to the rugged red-tiled roofed adobe made it a standard photo opportunity for visitors eager to capture the hotel's exotic atmosphere. Postcards and prints, which included Miller and other guests sitting next to the bell in order to demonstrate its size, were also top sellers in the Inn's Cloister Art Shop. In promotional materials, the Nanking Bell was first referenced by its 2,800-pound weight and its distinction as the largest bell in the hotel's bell collection, followed by the fact that it was acquired from a looted Buddhist temple.⁶⁴ It was a big bell, but defining it as "the largest" constructed a special meaning for the Nanking Bell in relation to the other Mission Inn artifacts. In China, the bell was a forgotten casualty of the nationalist uprising, but for Miller, its origin story of being found in the ruins of a temple decimated during the civil war endowed it with authenticity and provided a provocative anecdote connected to current events. The Mission Inn remade the Nanking Bell from an abandoned object to an intriguing artifact.⁶⁵

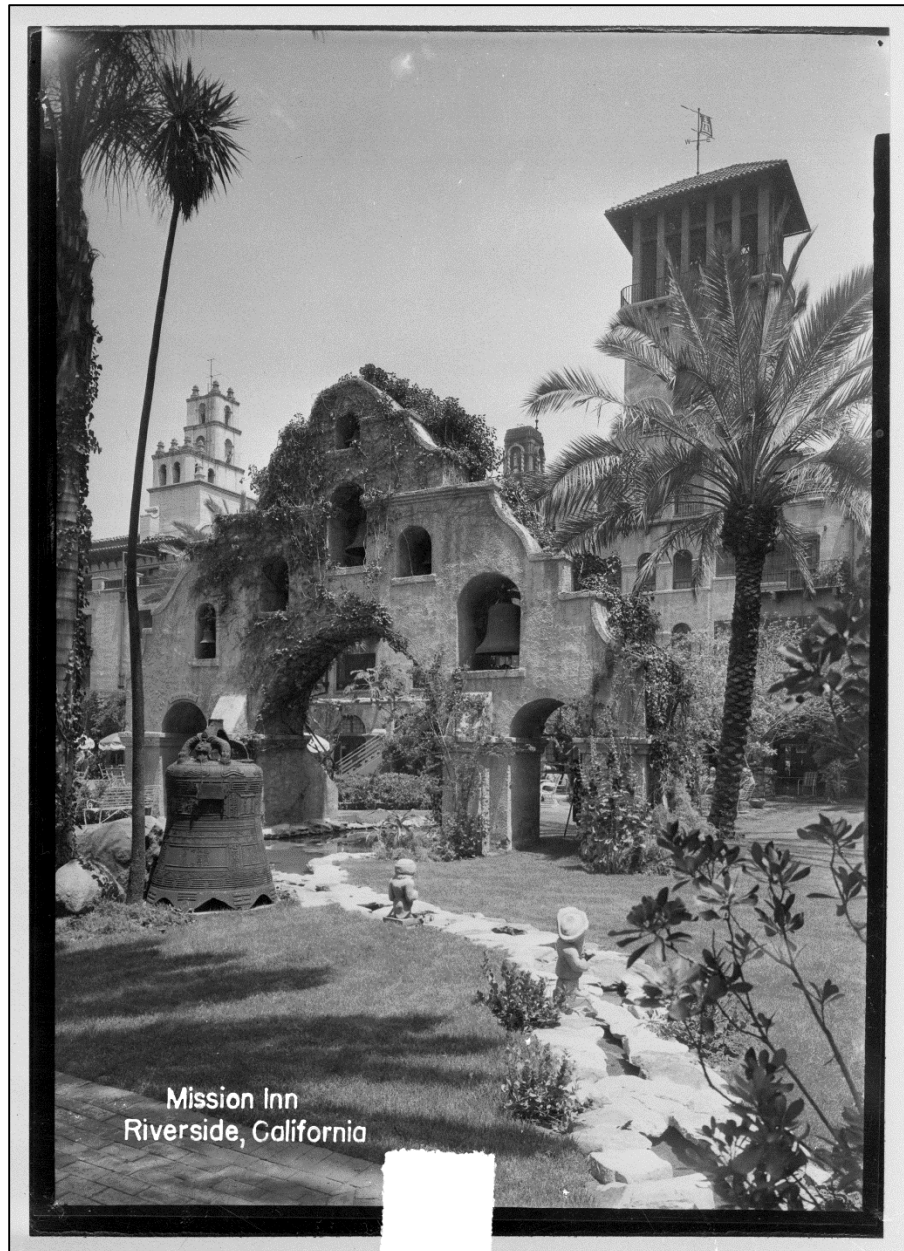


Figure 65: Another view of the Nanking Bell, circa 1950, after it was moved in front of the main entrance. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

An August 1914 local newspaper article aids in examining the bell's interpretation and reception at the Inn. To advertise the Cloister Art Shop's new line of 7x11-inch photographic prints of the Nanking Bell, the *Riverside Daily Press* ran a short

piece detailing how after purchasing a print, a Pennsylvania tourist asked Inn curator Francis Borton about the bell so she could write a note to her friends back home. He told her that it was from Nanking, to which she replied, “Where did Nan King get it?” Borton responded that “Nanking was one of the cities that suffered considerable destruction” during the nationalist uprisings. The woman professed to never having heard of Nanking because she took “very little interest in ancient history and for this reason I am not up on such matters.”⁶⁶ The bell, however, was nowhere near ancient, it was not even especially old, cast approximately thirty-seven years before the Hutchings’ purchased it in 1912.

The Pennsylvania tourist’s equation of contemporary Chinese events with “ancient history” and Borton’s appraisal of the bell’s historical significance demonstrates Conn’s and Rujivacharakul’s argument that Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries “saw China through two sets of lenses.”⁶⁷ On the one hand, China was revered as a once great civilization, a massive empire that birthed such inventions as “printing, gunpowder, and the compass,” in addition to “dazzling works of art and literature.”⁶⁸ But, China’s prominence was in the past, not the present. China’s resistance to Western influence, the harmful legacy of widespread opium addiction, and the ongoing political violence against the ruling elite recast American conceptions of the country and its people as inferior. Chinese society was viewed as unable to meet the demands of modernity. As historian Klaus Muhlhahn states, “Western powers stressed their obligation to educate and develop China: Western ‘reason’ should be brought to Oriental ‘culture.’”⁶⁹

On the international scale, at the turn of the twentieth century, China was a main target for thousands of U.S. Protestant and Catholic missionaries who strove to cure the country of its “wretchedness and degradation” through the acceptance of Christ.⁷⁰ Rather than inculcating a new regime of Chinese Christians, cultural misunderstandings and the missionaries’ paternalist attitudes often helped fuel anti-foreign sentiment and a forceful return “to traditional ways and religions.”⁷¹ Although its people were seen as inferior, since Britain’s foray into the opium trade, foreign investment in China was a prize sought after by the European powers and, by 1900, the United States. The U.S. hoped its imperial campaign and naval presence in the Philippines would enable the country, as Paul Kramer states, to “gain a strategic foothold from which to wedge open China’s markets.”⁷² The U.S. dispatched troops from the Philippines to suppress the first wave of Chinese nationalist uprisings during the Boxer Rebellion, and after the successful overthrow of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, the U.S. ratcheted up its industrial and financial presence in China.⁷³

Domestically, American visions of China, especially on the Pacific coast, cannot be disentangled from xenophobic nativist sentiment, which culminated in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The legislation targeted Chinese workers who had immigrated en masse to provide essential labor for U.S. infrastructural development, but it also barred all Chinese immigrants in the country from obtaining naturalized citizenship.⁷⁴ The Exclusion Act summarily identified all Chinese people as unassimilable “permanent foreigners.” Writes immigration historian Mae Ngai, “Excluded from the polity and for the most part confined to Chinatown ghettos and an ethnic economy, Chinese

Americans remained marginalized from the mainstream of society well into the twentieth century.⁷⁵ Chinatowns and their inhabitants were depicted as depraved, unsanitary, diseased, and drug-addled, providing an essentialized racial justification for exclusion.⁷⁶ In Riverside, Chinese merchants, laundrymen, domestic servants, and citrus and canning workers established an early presence in the city, setting up a small community of shops and living quarters within the downtown core. By the mid-1880s, however, local newspaper publisher and real estate developer Luther Holt launched a crusade to push the Chinese population out of the city center. Citing health code violations, the Chinese business owners were arrested and their shops demolished, forcing Riverside's Chinese community to reestablish itself in its own Chinatown a mile and a half southwest of downtown.⁷⁷

Yet, while Chinese people were classified as unwelcome, Chinese objects – whether antiquities from its imperial glory or curios from Chinatown import stores – were in high demand. The desire for Chinese art and artifacts during the early twentieth century revolved around a complex blend of collecting and decorating fashions, increased tourist travel, Chinese political unrest, and U.S. foreign and domestic policy regarding China. At this particular moment, the market for Chinese goods in Europe and the United States was at its height. As Rujivacharakul writes, the years 1900 to 1920 was the period “when Chinese aristocrats had to disperse their ancestral collections, when treasures from temples and shrines in China [like the Nanking Bell] were placed on the market, and when the imperial holdings were circulated out of the country. It was the golden age for antique and art traders, as well as for buyers, collectors, and thieves.”⁷⁸

For highbrow tastemakers who acquired their pieces on world tours or through elite art dealers, an “Oriental” room filled with Chinese rarities symbolized class and wealth.⁷⁹ Even middle-class homemakers participated in the Chinese decorating trend on a modest scale as reasonably priced imports from China became more readily available thanks to “Open Door” trade agreements and a greater knowledge of foreign interior design practices was disseminated in the popular press. Incorporating Chinese accessories to one’s home was, according to Kristin Hoganson, a declaration “against conventionality,” which “aimed to express a fluid individuality, notable for its receptivity to wider currents and outside influences.”⁸⁰ Collecting and displaying Chinese items was a self-reflexive endeavor that signified the collector’s social status and individuality.⁸¹ In spite of this, China remained a “backwards” wonder and barbarous curiosity, its people and politics problematic. Nonetheless, it was a place that produced attractively exotic decorative objects.⁸²

Miller’s opinions regarding China are somewhat difficult to deduce because, unlike Japan, he spoke infrequently on the subject, which perhaps provides a clear estimation of his ambivalence. In the rare instances when he did discuss the country and its people, however, Miller ascribed to the “two lens” viewpoint, temporarily pitying China, but respecting its historical civilization, while also coveting Chinese items for his hotel. Since its early days as a boardinghouse, the Inn employed Chinese workers as cooks and kitchen help, continuing to offer employment to Chinese men even after the Exclusion Act and even hiding Chinese employees on a relative’s ranch if they were in danger of deportation.⁸³ In 1911, eighteen Chinese men worked in various capacities in

the hotel's kitchen, while Japanese men and white women were hired to interface with the public as servers in the dining room.⁸⁴ Miller's sister and Mission Inn manager, Alice Richardson, detailed to Miller's biographer, Zona Gale, that Miller "had great respect for the Chinese," especially the hotel's head chef Quon Quong, who worked at the Inn for twenty-seven years.⁸⁵ But underlying Richardson's talk of the Miller family's esteem for the Inn's Chinese workers, she discusses them as childlike eccentrics in need of protection. Esteemed for their obedience and unquestioning faithfulness to Miller, the Inn staff referred to the hotel's Chinese employees as "our Chinese" or the "Chinese boys."⁸⁶

Miller was actually the last of his family members to travel to China, going there for the first time in 1925, and his notions about the country undoubtedly were colored by family member's earlier accounts. After the Hutchings' 1911 honeymoon, Alice Richardson journeyed to China, Japan, and Hawaii for three months in 1922 with David Starr Jordan and his family.⁸⁷ Upon arriving home, Richardson expressed admiration for China's ancient temples as well as "the remarkable statuary," and the "other architectural wonders" of the imperial palaces. Her highest praise, however, was for the work of American and European missionaries in China, stating, "To these workers must go much credit for sanitation, medical advance and, of course, the spreading of the influences of Christianity."⁸⁸ Five years later at a Mission Inn dinner honoring Santa Fe Railroad head Edward Ripley, Richardson sourly described the "rude railway travel which she had experienced in China," disparaging it in relation to the luxury of riding on the Santa Fe line once she reached the U.S. "The discomfort, mental and physical, suffered in that

eight hundred-mile trip to Shanghai made the contrast with the journey on the Santa Fe seem like falling into the arms of your mother in a rocking chair,” declared Richardson.⁸⁹

In June 1925, Frank and Marion Miller left on a six-month voyage to Hawaii, Japan, China, and the Philippines. Days after coming home to Riverside, Miller related his impressions of China to Santa Fe Railroad executive, W.K. Etter in a letter discussing the construction of Riverside’s memorial auditorium in commemoration of local World War I veterans: “Any individual or community which has not sufficient moral courage and spiritual insight to know that proper recognition of services rendered is vital, has an ill future before it. Oh, the lack of all this sort of thing in poor China, from where I have just returned. It does seem as if there were nothing to build upon there, and that it must all fall to pieces.”⁹⁰ Although he held little faith in the Chinese people, Miller purchased enough goods on his tour to construct an entire section of his hotel dedicated to displaying his new Asian collectibles. In her examination of her family’s Los Angeles curio store, F. Suie One, author Lisa See describes an instance from her family history when Miller’s delight in exhibiting Chinese objects and his paternalist attitudes toward the people of China collided. Miller frequented F. Suie One for art pieces and items to resell in the Cloister Art Shop. See recorded her great uncle Ray’s memories of Miller’s trips to the store:

He remembered as a tiny boy that whenever the man from the Mission Inn, out in Riverside, came to the store, his father would get all the kids dressed in Chinese getups, like a bunch of Manchu princes. After hours of negotiation, with the deal finally closed, the man from the Mission Inn would ask to take a few snapshots. Milton and Ray would have to stand outside the store with the man’s daughter and have their pictures taken. She would always be placed in front because she was the important one. Milton and Ray were decoration.⁹¹

In order to make the sale, F. Suie One's proprietor dressed his sons in exotic Chinese finery, essentially turning them into objects for Miller's amusement, the hierarchy firmly established by snapping a souvenir photo with the white girl placed in front and the Chinese-American boys on the periphery as "decoration."

In his examination of Chinese and Japanese displays at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Steven Conn illustrates how Japanese preeminence was demonstrated through its comparison to China's displays and its privileged placement in the Chicago exhibit halls. Writes Conn, "Just as Japan's exhibits in 1876 reflected a newly ambitious relationship with the West, China's reflected a country still falling in Western estimation. The Chinese display in the main building was less than half the size of Japan's." In 1893, the Japanese built a grand pavilion to house their cultural artifacts and featured exhibits in each of the fair's main buildings; China had only an anthropological "Chinese Village" on the Midway.⁹² The ways in which the two countries were juxtaposed at the Mission Inn were not nearly as blatant, but the hotel unambiguously asserted that China's worth was in the past, while Japan was the future.

Miller's 1925 expedition to Asia was both a pleasure tour and business trip with the express purpose of buying Chinese and Japanese goods to display at the hotel. Before setting off, Miller contacted Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. Miller had met the future president during his European collecting endeavors in the aftermath of World War I when Hoover headed the American Relief Administration (more on this relationship in the following sections). To ensure Miller could get all of the art and artifacts he wanted

safely back to the United States without hassle, one month before Miller set sail, Hoover sent a letter to George C. Howard, the American Trade Commissioner stationed in Shanghai. “This letter will introduce to you Mr. Frank A. Miller of Riverside, California,” wrote Hoover, “who is traveling in Japan and China in quest of suitable material for Japanese and Chinese museum rooms which he is planning to build in connection with the Mission Inn at Riverside. I bespeak for Mr. Miller every assistance you can render consistent with your official duties.”⁹³

The trip was a success. Miller arrived home in November 1925 with an imposing collection of vases, furniture, carvings, sculpture, banners, and lanterns from the East and immediately set about creating a series of theme rooms to exhibit his new treasures. With the completion of the International Rotunda in 1931, the Inn boasted the Court of the Orient, Japanese Tea Garden, Fuji-Kan Room, Ho-O-Kan Room, Hall of the Gods, the Cherry Blossom Room, and a half dozen other small niches throughout the hotel dedicated specifically to housing Miller’s Asian objects. Unlike the nationalistic goals of World’s Fairs, Chinese and Japanese items melded together in each of the hotel’s packed display halls. Japanese Buddhas sat in front of Chinese banners; Japanese Torii gates arched over Chinese pagodas; Japanese temple paintings were illuminated by Chinese teak lanterns; Japanese carved dragons stood next to Chinese foo dogs.⁹⁴ Hundreds of bells from both countries lined the exhibits, each valued for its age, unique shape or decoration, and connections to unique cultural practices.⁹⁵ The rooms were neither Chinese nor Japanese, but were designed to be generally “Oriental,” allowing guests to

experience the aesthetic delights of Asia without leaving the hotel's confines. Of course, much of the Chinese and Japanese goods on display were also for sale.⁹⁶



Figure 66: The Court of the Orient constructed after Miller returned from his 1925 grand tour of Asia. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Miller's construction of the hotel's Asian rooms was not solely for guests' pleasure and was not merely an exercise in Orientalism that pitted the strangeness of the East as irrevocably different from the West. Narratively, the Inn attempted to illuminate the longstanding trade relations between China and Mexico initiated by Spain, while also linking this to the history of the California missions, tidily connecting the new Asian

displays to the Inn's historical backbone.⁹⁷ In the introduction to the "Oriental Rooms," the Inn's collections guide, the *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, states,

Because of its proximity to California, very intimate trade relations existed between the Orient and Spain, Mexico, China and the Philippines from 1572 until the present century. One of the reasons for establishing a presidio at Monterey in 1770 was that the Spanish galleons in the Orient trade might have a place on the California coast to get fresh supplies of food, wood and water. Much of the furniture and sometimes even the altar cloths of the Missions were Oriental.⁹⁸

The Chinese and Japanese exhibits, arranged for quiet contemplation and filled with Buddhist symbols and Shinto imagery, also fit well into the Miller's view of the Inn as an antimodern place of spiritual renewal. As T.J. Jackson Lears has detailed, those who struggled to cure themselves from the "passionless" banality of modern life and "regenerate a lost intensity of feeling" often looked to the mysticism of the Orient.⁹⁹ Miller himself ventured to China, Japan, and Hawaii in 1925 to treat what he vaguely described to friends as "nervousness," a euphemism for his chronic exhaustion brought on by overwork and what biographer Hodgen deems as general "fatigue, depression, anxiety, and unstable emotions."¹⁰⁰

More than anything, however, the Mission Inn's Asian displays provided a stage for Miller to further explore and associate with modern Japan. Although the hotel's exhibits included just as many Chinese artifacts, China was interpreted as only historically significant. On the other hand, Miller utilized his Asian collections in a series of educational activities and popular festivals to foster greater interaction and understanding between the U.S. and Japan. Miller's admiration for Japan stemmed somewhat from the country's artistic and cultural traditions, but was predominantly a product of Japan's contemporary military and industrial might, which Miller hoped would reinforce U.S. interests in the East. Miller viewed Japan as Asia's superior

civilization, one that needed to act in order to “stem the tide of red radicalism” coming from Russia and gaining a foothold in China. Miller was enamored of Japan’s imperial leaders and discussed them as pillars of peace. As part of each Institute of International Relations conference, Miller designed a peace exhibit at the Inn comprised of photographs of the men he considered the world’s greatest peace advocates, including Emperor Hirohito and pioneering Japanese banker and industrial capitalist, Eiichi Shibusawa.¹⁰¹ Gushing in a 1926 letter to Cecil B. De Mille encouraging the director to make a film about a Japanese general during the Russo-Japanese War, Miller wrote,

There is no one people more in the center of the world’s interest today than the Japanese. The conditions in the Orient are pitifully chaotic. England and the United States need Japan with them...this film would be accepted by the civilized world more universally than may be any other type of historical thing. Why isn’t it consistent to depict a living and vital civilization, and help it, and why won’t that nation so helped be sure of responding to the appeal?¹⁰²



Figure 67: A reception for local Japanese business leaders, circa 1930. Frank Miller is standing at center wearing a kimono. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

With Japanese military, industrial, and capitalist development rapidly expanding, Miller views the popular promotion of Japanese interests – and the framing of Japanese empire-building in Asia as a civilizing mission – as potentially beneficial to Western powers in the future. Further, in 1933 Miller wrote to Harry Carr at the *Los Angeles Times* about publishing a story on Japanese naval officer Viscount Saito, stating “As you know, he has the political power, and also he is backed by the Emperor. He made Japan the third naval power in the world, and yet he is one of the most sincere men in behalf of world peace.”¹⁰³

In the last decade of his life, Miller increasingly dedicated himself to promoting the virtues of Japan to the Riverside community, directing his work specifically to schoolchildren. The most dramatic way in which he achieved this goal, while, as always, garnering publicity for the hotel and entertaining his guests, was through his elaborate celebrations of Japanese Boys’ and Girls’ Day beginning in 1927. Miller extended the annual commemoration of Japanese children’s birthdays held on March 3 for girls and May 5 for boys to an entire weeklong event at the Inn.¹⁰⁴ Bedecking the hotel in ceremonial banners, lanterns, and Rising Sun flags, the boys’ festival included demonstrations of Jujitsu, archery, and fencing, nightly lectures by Japanese scholars, music performances, as well as special exhibitions of Samurai armor and dolls depicting “heroes of old Japan, soldiers and famous warriors.”¹⁰⁵ In addition to lectures, music, and traditional dances, dolls were the main attraction for Girls’ Day, also known as the “Festival of Dolls.”¹⁰⁶



Figure 68: The International Rotunda prominently flying a Japanese Rising Sun flag, circa 1931. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

Amidst the Fuji Kan Room's already full capacity, Miller displayed tables of two hundred miniature, intricately costumed porcelain "imperial" dolls depicting "a court scene showing the palace, the emperor and empress, ladies in waiting, guards, court musicians" and "the symbolic cherry trees" synonymous with Japan's natural landscape.¹⁰⁷ Included in each Girls' Day display were Miss Chiba and Miss Fusa, friendship dolls sent to Miller, and sixty other U.S. locations, in 1927 by the Japanese government.¹⁰⁸ Above each exhibit hung custom made "Mission Inn" lanterns emblazoned with a Raincross and flags decorated on one half with Japan's Rising Sun

and the other with American Stars and Stripes.¹⁰⁹ The events were not fully open to the general public or even to the city's Japanese population, but required, for non-paying guests, either a special invitation or a paid subscription to the hotel's weekly song service concert series. One afternoon during each celebration Miller opened the Inn's doors to local elementary schools and reserved an evening specifically for the region's Japanese community.¹¹⁰

The Nanking Bell and Japanese dolls are a study in contrasts. Valued for its large size and connection to Chinese social and political strife, the Nanking Bell reinforced stereotypes of China as curious and primitive. The Mission Inn's Japanese doll exhibitions, however, honored Japan's empire as a means of cultivating future international cooperation between the U.S. and its imperial neighbor across the Pacific. Through the lavishly costumed dolls and their tiny ornate sets, Miller celebrated Japanese artisanship and attention to detail. While the displays and events focused on the country's foreign exoticism, by displaying toys and tailoring the exhibits to children, the Japanese empire was rendered less aggressive, even whimsical. In some ways, the displays sought to tighten the Japanese and American alliance by demonstrating the universality of childhood play. But, the Boys' and Girls' Day festivities were chiefly for Mission Inn guests, only open selectively for schoolchildren and Japanese residents. Miller's efforts to foster "cordial international relations" was still a segregated enterprise; his was a conception of cultural understanding that served to entertain, neither revolutionary nor disruptive to business. The exhibition of miniatures can also be read as a pointed demonstration of power, an attempt to show Japan as non-threatening and

potentially easily dominated. As Susan Stewart elaborates, “The miniature, linked to nostalgic versions of childhood and history, presents a diminutive, and thereby manipulatable, version of experience, and version which is domesticated and protected from contamination.”¹¹¹



Figure 69: Riverside schoolchildren tour the exhibit of Japanese Friendship Dolls displayed in the hotel’s Ho-O-Kan Room. Notice the custom flags featuring half of the American flag and half of the Japanese flag. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.



Figure 70: Display for Japanese Boys' Day. Notice the specially-designed Mission Inn lanterns emblazoned with a Raincross. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

The success of the Boys' and Girls' Day doll exhibitions spurred an entire new permanent collection and annual doll festival at the Mission Inn. The "Dolls and Animals of the World," organized by Miller's granddaughters, expanded the goal of "international friendship" from Japan to all countries. Eventually including over seven hundred dolls and animal figurines from six continents, the collection was started in the early 1930s by "Isabella Hutchings, who mother[ed] the little people of many lands, and her sister Helen, who [was] keeper of the international zoo."¹¹²

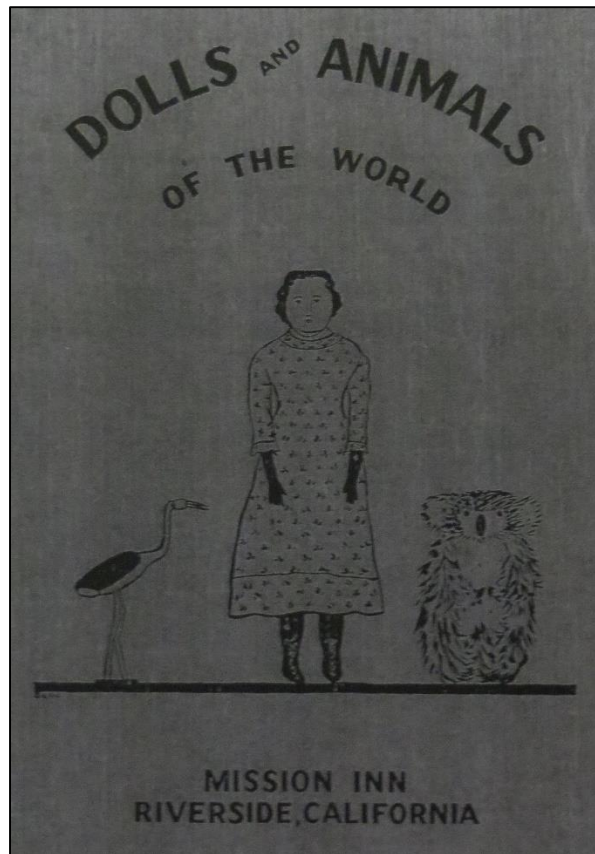


Figure 71: “Dolls and Animals of the World” booklet written by Allis Miller Hutchings. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The Inn naturally marketed the Dolls and Animals displays to children, creating a curatorial book with hand-drawn cartoons and opening their “Festival of Dolls and Animals of the World,” begun in 1933, to local school groups.¹¹³ Yet, beneath the façade of innocence and earnest goodwill loomed explicit instruction as to which world cultures stood above the rest. The entire “doll family” was headed by Uncle Sam, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln.¹¹⁴ Other non-white examples from the U.S. included such examples as “crude” Native American dolls named “Mary Squint Eye,” “Josie Bow Legs,” and “Chief Good-Thunder, one of the Sioux chieftains who valiantly stood by and helped the white people during the Sioux uprising in 1862.”¹¹⁵ The U.S. group also

featured African-American examples like “Old Black Joe” and “Diminutive Mammy Lou” who “totes in her arms her twin white ‘honey chilluns.’”¹¹⁶ In contrast to the descriptions of the extravagant clothing worn by the European dolls were Mexican figures made of “gay rags,” a Philippine Igorot girl who “represents the savage tribe of former head hunters,” and dolls from Haiti, in which “voodoo rites are brought to mind by the black boy...who sits astride a primitive goat skin drum.”¹¹⁷ What the example of the Nanking Bell and its numerous tangential associations begins to unravel, and what will be thematically picked up again in the following two case studies, is that even though imperialism at the Mission Inn has often been overlooked, it was always overtly present.



Figure 72: Display of international dolls. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

“Americans will, in the future, go to Mexico for the things they formerly sought in Europe”

In November 1920, Frank Miller and his son-in-law DeWitt Hutchings travelled to Mexico City as part of a sixteen hundred-person Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce envoy to celebrate the election of President Alvaro Obregon. After a decade of violent civil war and continual presidential turnover, the three-week Chamber trip was a show of diplomatic support to renew cultural relations between the neighboring countries. Miller and Hutchings were impressed with the “many excellent restaurants” and pleased that “no signs of the revolution were visible, save on the trip southward,” but they expressed disappointment that “the hotels [were] not equipped with some of the conveniences that seem indispensable in the north.” Upon his return to Riverside, Miller stated that he was confident Obregon would usher in a “season of peace and prosperity” in Mexico and that the new leader had already shown wisdom by choosing “Dr. Dillon, an Englishman” as his foreign affairs adviser. He cautioned, however, that it was “up to the United States to boost the new administration in Mexico.” Rather than participating in the preplanned excursions, Miller and Hutchings, instead, enjoyed the “freedom of the city” that their Chamber of Commerce visitor badge afforded them and went treasure hunting. The duo spent their time “in the antique shows where [they] unearthed some fine things” for the Mission Inn, including an 18th century double barred cross inscribed by a Mexican bishop and a stone sculpture of the Madonna and Child. Mexico City was a “never ending source of delight” for the hotelmen, thanks to its “old world culture, the grace of manner of the people, even the poorest, and the beautiful old churches, city palaces, and country villas.” Hutchings concluded that, “Americans will, in the future, go to Mexico for the

things they formerly sought in Europe.”¹¹⁸ Mexico’s long history of colonization by Spain had filled its churches and noble houses with Spanish antiquities. This, coupled with the country’s contemporary political upheavals and shared borders with the United States, meant that Mexico potentially offered the artistic riches of Europe, but with more readily available inventory, reduced prices, and less custom’s oversight.

The Mission Inn’s complex vision of Mexico venerated the Spanish period, denigrated Mexicans, feared the revolution, and unwaveringly supported continued U.S. economic and political intervention in Mexican affairs. Although Miller’s visit to Mexico City with the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce was meant to reinforce the friendly, not exploitative, relationship between Mexico and the United States, Miller and Hutchings viewed Mexico as one giant antique store.¹¹⁹ Within Miller’s restrained praise of Obregon’s “strong hand” and the new president’s choice of Englishman Dillon as the country’s foreign affairs officer was the hope that the Mexican marketplace might be, once again, open for U.S. business.

The specter of the Mexican Revolution loomed large at the Mission Inn. The mass populist uprising from 1910-1920 erupted after decades of autocratic rule under Porfirio Diaz, who had advanced foreign (predominantly U.S.) investment and industrial growth at the expense of the country’s workforce. Revolutionaries demanded widespread social restructuring centered on land reform, public education, the limitation of Catholic Church influence, and the nationalization of Mexican industry. As labor historian Devra Weber explains, the Mexican Revolution was the “first mass social revolution of the twentieth century” with both rural and industrial workers demanding “the return of

communally owned land” and “higher wages and improved conditions.”¹²⁰ The fighting between revolutionary and liberal factions spread across the country and left over two million dead.¹²¹ The revolutionaries’ staunch nationalism, which was punctuated by their demands for the expulsion of all foreign interests, threatened America’s widespread Mexican industrial investments, leading some political officials to call for an end to diplomatic relations or even military intervention.¹²² Fearful of Francisco Villa’s revolutionary northern army, Miller eschewed his peace loving ways in 1913 and installed Maxim machine guns at the hotel’s entrance to protect the Inn from a Mexican invasion. “If an attack were to be made the Seventh Street side of the hotel would offer the least resistance and for this reason Mr. Miller has stationed a Maxim at the very entrance of the drive and also one on the roof of the adobe,” details a *Riverside Daily Press* article.¹²³

During the revolutionary period, the Inn hosted numerous lectures about Mexican affairs featuring presentations by regional academics and Inn curator Francis Borton. Before taking his position at the hotel, Borton worked for twenty-five years as a Methodist missionary and rare Spanish book dealer in Puebla, Mexico, where, according to Charles Fletcher Lummis, he “wheedled all the old books out of the churches and sold them at high prices.”¹²⁴ The lectures painted Mexico as sad and its citizens as ill-equipped to resolve their country’s problems, concluding that the U.S. needed to act as Mexico’s threatening, yet wise, big brother.¹²⁵ Borton also gave special lectures targeted at Riverside’s Mexican population on the causes of the revolution. The lectures were framed as a public service and special attention was drawn to the fact that Borton

conducted them in Spanish. The underlying implication, however, was that Borton thought Riverside's Mexican population was either incapable of understanding the political intricacies of their home country or that they needed guidance to dampen any potential local revolutionary fervor.¹²⁶

The combination of fear, pity, and infantilizing that characterized the discussions of Mexico at the Inn were bound to the racialized constructions of Mexicans promulgated by Anglo settlers beginning after the U.S. annexation of Mexico's northern territories in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Depicted as mysterious, colorful, quaintly lazy, unhygienic, and often over sexualized, Mexicans in newly American Southern California were depicted by Anglos as a potentially violent "problem" which needed to "fade away."¹²⁷ As the Anglo population blossomed, boosters worked to frame Mexican residents as inferior and unthreatening, while at the same time utilizing their sanitized exoticism to promote tourism and permanent Anglo migration. Mexico was popularly viewed as a sensory place of primitive authenticity, where the citizens, while "childlike" were "endowed with superior aesthetic and spiritual sensibilities."¹²⁸ As William Deverell states, Southern California boosters, such as those on Miller's Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce excursion, "had long coveted Mexico, just as they expressed simultaneous discomfort with Mexicans on either side of the international boundary."¹²⁹

In their Mexican collecting endeavors, Miller and Hutchings conceptualized Mexico as relatively weak in comparison to the "economic and military preponderance of the United States," referring to the country as "our little neighbor right at our door."¹³⁰ The hotelmen expressed surprised consternation when Mexican officials did not

enthusiastically meet their demands. The period following the revolution was marked by unprecedented cultural exchange between Mexico and the United States with renewed Mexican nationalism culminating in a renaissance of indigenous art, craft, and music that reverberated across the border.¹³¹ During and after the revolution, however, Miller and Hutchings were not interested in purchasing indigenous artifacts. They coveted Mexico for its Spanish goods. The Mission Inn was, after all, ground zero for Southern California's mythmaking machine, which revered Spanish colonization "as a harbinger for coming American success."¹³² As quintessential representations of America's imperial present, Miller and Hutchings ventured to Mexico hunting for remnants of the country's colonial past.

In October 1914 the Mission Inn's Spanish Wing was well under construction and scheduled to open in time for the start of San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition the following February. The new addition included its own cavernous art gallery that was in sore need of paintings to cover the towering walls. As reports of the Mexican Revolution's continued brutality and church looting, fueled by anti-Catholic sentiment, filled Riverside's newspapers, DeWitt Hutchings looked to Mexico to cheaply outfit the hotel with all the Spanish art it could hold. Francis Borton had recently received word from the dean of the Puebla Methodist school where he had worked as a missionary that the Mexican Constitutional Army, under the leadership of Venustiano Carranza, had reached the city. "The new government is attacking the priests in every sort of way," wrote the dean. "In every city entered the confessionals in all the churches are pulled out and burned. In Puebla and other cities the troops are quartered in the

churches and the images of the saints are chopped up for kindling wood and the niches used for horse stalls and the robes of the saints taken by soldiers' women for shawls and skirts."¹³³ Hutchings was alarmed by the devastation, but also keen on the potential opportunity it provided to grow the Inn's collections.

Calling on his knowledge of Mexican churches from his background as a missionary and rare Spanish book dealer, Borton scribbled a list of the Spanish paintings, tapestries, and Catholic relics that were potentially up for grabs in parishes and cathedrals in Puebla, Mexico City, Queretaro, Guadalajara, San Luis Potosi, Durango, Agua Caliente, Guanajuato, Leon, and Orizaba.¹³⁴ Hutchings, meanwhile, drafted a memorandum to Miller describing the revolution's possible benefits: "With this state of affairs it occurred to me it might be possible now to get some valuable old pictures from Mexico if the right man were attending to it." Hutchings suggests Mexico City curio dealer, Ygnacio Galvan, who had earlier contacted Miller about consigning art and artifacts through the Inn's Cloister Art Shop. With Galvan coordinating efforts in Mexico, Hutchings proposed bribing soldiers and priests, as well as outright looting abandoned churches, to obtain choice pieces for the hotel. "In some cases it might be possible to bribe the soldiers as they are about to loot a church to save a picture or two," writes Hutchings to Miller. "In other cases it might be possible to pay the priests who know their church is about to be sacked and who need money to escape with. In still other cases a church might have been sacked and the priests might have all gone and there might be a chance to go in and take pictures."¹³⁵

Although concerned that Galvan, being an art dealer, “would know the real worth of the pictures,” Hutchings contacts him on October 9, 1914.¹³⁶ Detailing his specific plan, Hutchings tells Galvan “It might be an easy matter to obtain some of the things from [the churches] as in many cases it would be a choice between destruction of these things and sending them out of the country.”¹³⁷ He includes descriptions of the specific items he wants Galvan to find and the prices he is willing to pay in gold for each piece: \$200 each for six Rubens tapestries in the Puebla cathedral, \$1,000 each for Murillo paintings in Guadalajara and Mexico City cathedrals, \$2,000 for Old Spanish Masters, such as Zurbaran, Titian, Rubens, Tiepolo, and Guido Reni, \$25 each for other Spanish paintings by lesser-known artists, \$2 each for up to one hundred priests robes, and \$50 each for tapestries that are at least three hundred years old. In order to justify the low prices he is looking to pay for artworks that would fetch more on the international market, Hutchings assures Galvan that his scheme will produce fast cash for the curio dealer.¹³⁸ Writes Hutchings, “Of course I know that these prices would be very small for most of these things in normal times but I am considering that for a few dollars things of great value can be obtained now and I am considering the fact that for your own interests you may have need of this amount of money that can thus be quickly secured.”¹³⁹

Unfortunately, the historical record ends at Hutchings’ first letter to Ygnacio Galvan. While incomplete, this short example is illustrative of key frameworks and viewpoints that inform all Mission Inn collecting efforts. It was Borton’s role as a Mexican missionary that first inspired Hutchings’ plan. Protestant missionaries at the turn of the twentieth century, such as Borton, were at the frontline of America’s imperial

efforts. According to Emily Rosenberg, missionaries were “the most zealous and conspicuous overseas carriers of the American Dream” and “provided Americans’ first substantial personal contacts with people of many nations.”¹⁴⁰ Through Borton’s Methodist brethren still living and working in Mexico, he was privy to first-hand accounts of the Revolution’s destruction and his local knowledge of church art holdings enabled Hutchings to map a precise itemized list of the pieces he wished to acquire.¹⁴¹ But, Borton was a missionary *and* antique book dealer who, like many missionaries, was directly tied to U.S. economic expansion.¹⁴² Borton’s experience exporting antiquities out of Mexico undoubtedly encouraged Hutchings to move ahead with his scheme.

While working as a missionary, Borton regularly sold rare Spanish texts across the border and from 1903 to 1905 he was a major contributor to the Los Angeles Public Library’s Spanish-American Department headed by Charles Fletcher Lummis. Borton spread the Protestant gospel while earning extra money ridding the country of its Spanish-Catholic past. The correspondence between Borton and Lummis shows that Borton was a consummate salesman. Writing Lummis on March 5, 1903, Borton asks, “Are you still building up your Spanish-American library? If so I think I could help you, and at the same time save you some money.” He writes Lummis again on March 23, 1903: “I have sent many good things to the Los Angeles Public Library. Have you seen all that I have sent them? They now have, thanks to me, a better Spanish-American Library than those in San Francisco outside of the Bancroft, which is not for the unwashed plebs.” After Lummis consents to an order for the library, Borton writes on October 2, 1905, “I am glad to know that you are going ahead with the Spanish American

department and will do all I can to offer you good books, my prices will always be a little lower, as a rule, than those quoted in the catalogue.” As a thank you to Lummis for his purchases, Borton even sent him an antique Mexican cigarette case and a small idol he took from a Puebla grave mound.¹⁴³

After Borton helped him craft his list of paintings and relics, Hutchings attempted to use his comfortable financial and geographic position to exploit those most affected by the revolution’s upheavals, while cloaking his actions in an air of benevolence. He surmises that priests might be so desperate to leave Mexico that they would welcome the opportunity to sell their parish’s paintings as a means to fund their escape. In his letter to Galvan, Hutchings emphasizes that although he is only willing to buy paintings at low prices, he will pay Galvan his commission quickly. Hutchings’ power derives from his access to readily available cash and his desire to employ it to get what he wants from those with limited options.

Hutchings’ main argument for clandestinely acquiring artworks during the Mexican Revolution was a moral one. He felt justified in bribing, looting, and paying a pittance for the antiquities because, as he stated, in many cases it was a “choice between destruction of these things and sending them out of the country.” His attitude is undeniably imperial, yet also tied to complex ethical questions about who has the right to own, destroy, or sell cultural artifacts. Hutchings views himself as a pragmatic preservationist who is saving the Spanish art from the savagery of the revolutionary armies in order to install the pieces at the Mission Inn where they would be properly

appreciated and secured, or sold off for a profit if the items proved unusable in the hotel's displays.

Hutchings' reasoning is a classic example of what philosopher Karen Warren terms the "rescue argument" applied by opportunistic wartime collectors to rationalize, and even valorize, their theft. The "rescue argument" justification reads as follows: "Many of the sorts of cultural properties at issue would have been destroyed if they had not been rescued by those foreigners or foreign countries with the skills and resources to preserve them. Those who rescued them now have a valid claim to them, whether or not they had such a claim prior to their rescue."¹⁴⁴ The other side of this argument is, of course, that foreigners have no right, under any circumstance, to unlawfully remove from another country art and artifacts "which form an integral part of their cultural heritage and identity."¹⁴⁵ Debates regarding the ethical treatment of cultural property and its sale or theft across ethnic and national boundaries have been waged as far back as ancient Rome.¹⁴⁶ The rise of internationalism in the early twentieth century marked greater diplomatic efforts to curb the global decimation of and illicit trade in items and places of artistic and historical significance. The 1907 Fourth Hague Convention on the Laws and Customs of War on Land, which Miller attended, internationally banned the pillage of war torn cities and towns, as well as forbidding the "willful destruction" of historic sites, churches, and museums.¹⁴⁷ The convention's rules of conduct, however, did little to stop antiquities looting and the destruction of cultural sites in future wars.¹⁴⁸

The devastation wrought by revolutionaries in Mexico's Catholic churches was a deliberate act of what archaeologist Neil Brodie calls "cultural cleansing."¹⁴⁹ The

ruination of Catholic institutions and the Spanish art held within was an attempt to physically erase the “material symbols” of both Spain’s colonization and the authority the church wielded under the Diaz regime.¹⁵⁰ The taking, selling, or defacing of cultural property during armed conflicts, international and civil, is always, as arts policy scholar Patrick Boylan examines, an assertion of power.¹⁵¹ The revolutionaries’ actions declared the rebirth of an independent, anti-colonial, distinctly Mexican national identity. Certainly if Hutchings’ plans had worked, he would have preserved dozens of artworks, but his efforts to seize the Spanish art and his unquestioning confidence in doing so, on the other hand, can be read as his attempt to reestablish a sense of imperial dominance. On the surface, Hutchings did this through the paternalist attitude and language he used when interacting with Galvan and hatching his hypothetical plans to acquire the Mexican church goods. Hutchings’ less transparent, but perhaps more pernicious, defense of the old imperial order, however, was his desire to buy these politically charged artworks for the Mission Inn. The Inn was the structural celebration of California’s Spanish colonization, imagined and popularized by the region’s new Anglo conquistadors. At the core of Hutchings’ unsuccessful foray into the Mexican Revolution antiquities trade was a reaffirmation of American empire.

While Hutchings’ designs on Spanish art in Mexico did not materialize in 1914, six years later Frank Miller began the lengthy process of acquiring one of the Mission Inn’s most prized pieces – the *Rayas reredos*, a decorative ecclesiastical screen once in the family chapel of a Spanish colonial noble family. On December 30, 1920, just three weeks after returning from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce excursion to Mexico

City, Miller received a letter from his buying agent in Mexico, Margaret M. Crane, alerting him to a carved reredos that had recently been put up for sale by a Madame Louisa Alcazar.¹⁵² “While we were in the City,” wrote Crane, “I got track of a very beautiful old altar, which you should have at the Inn – it has been in this little private chapel since 1764...I do wish you could have seen it.”¹⁵³ Miller is intrigued by Crane’s find and asks her to “have it as fully photographed as possible” for his inspection.¹⁵⁴ In March 1921, Crane sends Miller a detailed photograph, stating, “At last I have a photograph of the altar to send you. It gives you an idea of the carvings and figures – but the beauty of coloring – the gold leaf – and the draperies on the figures, you can only imagine...I doubt if there is an altar in the U.S. as beautiful.”¹⁵⁵

The altar screen is a magnificently crafted piece. Standing at twenty-five feet tall and sixteen feet wide, the ecclesiastical artwork was carved from red cedar and covered in gold leaf. Inset within the imposing structure are thirty painted Biblical figures from the Jesuit and Franciscan orders, including icons of the Trinity, eleven saints, the Archangels Michael and Raphael, several unnamed virgins and martyrs, and an image of St. Peter the Apostle, the first Pope. The reredos is an exquisite work from the Spanish colonial period, displaying the import of Spain’s extravagantly ornate Churrigueresque style to Mexico. Handcrafted between 1764 and 1776 by Spanish artisans who “executed the designs of one of Spain’s most celebrated architects of the time,” the altarpiece was built for the family chapel of the Marquis de Rayas in Guanajuato, Mexico.¹⁵⁶ Born Vicente Manuel Sardanenta y Legaspi, the Marquis was knighted by the Spanish king thanks to “a vein of ore which made him the greatest silver mine owner in the world.”¹⁵⁷

By 1920, as a result of revolutionary land reform and anti-Catholic attitudes, the elaborate reredos was for sale on the Mexican art market.



Figure 73: Frank Miller standing in front of the Rayas reredos in the St. Francis Chapel, circa 1932. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

After viewing the photographs, Miller expressed qualified interest in acquiring the piece, but was unwilling to pay its \$9,000 price.¹⁵⁸ He was also skeptical as to whether or

not the reredos could actually make it across the border. Rail travel in Mexico was plagued with continued “banditry” and by a series of large-scale strikes beginning in February 1921 by members of the Confederation of Mexican Railroad Societies who were fighting to gain collective bargaining rights.¹⁵⁹ Complained Miller, “The Express Company and Railroad Company refus [sp] to be responsible for the transportation of any goods out of Mexico.”¹⁶⁰ Crane assured Miller that he should “by all means have this altar in the Inn” and that she has “a way and reason for thinking” she can secure the altar screen for \$5,000.¹⁶¹ Crane also guarantees that although “there is no freight moving any place in Mexico,” if Miller has the reredos specially crated, insured, and sent express across the border to El Paso, it will arrive safely.¹⁶²

Although Miller writes to Crane that he is certain the reredos is the “finest thing I have ever had offered, and I am anxious to own it,” he is, at the same time, untrusting of Crane’s ability to spot a truly unique treasure.¹⁶³ Miller frets that in the immediate aftermath of the Great War there has been “a world of stuff brought into New York lately from Spain.” While he was the first person “to go to Spain in California for the purchase of goods” there were now “two merchants in Los Angeles who go regularly” and who were offering two carved Spanish altar screens for only \$1,750. “There is very seldom a sale for a thing of this kind,” Miller writes Crane, “its being of real artistic value would be the only way we could get any satisfaction out of it.”¹⁶⁴ In order to secure the deal, Miller asks Crane to post half of the screen’s price, which she was able to negotiate down to \$5,800. Writing to Crane on April 20, 1921, Miller states,

I do not feel justified in buying these goods solely on your valuation. I have implicit confidence in your honesty and sincerity, but I have not in your knowledge of what is good architecture or good

form in this matter. Therefore, if you are not willing to take some risk in the matter, as I wrote you, I cannot see how we can proceed. On the other hand, if you are willing to put half into it I am willing to proceed.¹⁶⁵

An agreement is finally reached between the two on May 15, 1921. Miller agrees to pay \$3,866.66 if Crane contributes \$1,933.34, with her portion paid back (plus profit) if Miller sold the reredos or decided to keep it for display at the Inn.¹⁶⁶ Miller is confident that the lower asking price will hold, advising Crane that she need not worry about “shopkeepers from the United States” coming to Mexico and driving up the price before she can finalize the purchase because even though “some individual might come along and take a fancy to it...the whole American market is loaded with stuff from Russia and all the war districts.”¹⁶⁷

With the price and transportation method in place, there was still the nagging issue of securing the proper permits to remove the altarpiece from Mexico. Crane’s initial request to Mexican customs authorities to ship the reredos to the U.S. is firmly denied because of its artistic, cultural, and historic significance. “I can inform you that your request having been presented to the superior authorities, has been denied, and the exportation of said object not allowed, as said panel is considered more artistic in its carvings and decorations, and also a sample of what the chapels of the wealthy contained in New Spain in the Eighteenth Century, and also as it is one of the few remaining examples,” states the customs translation.¹⁶⁸ Miller’s earlier purchase of Mexican goods was also stalled, not simply because of railway strikes, but because Mexican authorities denied his permits to take the antiques out of the country. Writing Crane in May 1921, Miller states that he had even hired a private attorney “with authority to have the goods shipped that he can get a permit to cover and to sell the balance if possible store them

until there is a change of administration or better feeling.”¹⁶⁹ He warns Crane that if the reredos is as “desirable” as she thinks it is, she will need “to use a good deal of caution and diplomacy in order to get the goods out of the country.”¹⁷⁰ Miller’s earlier praise of Obregon’s presidency is somewhat tampered once his ability to operate freely within Mexico is hindered.¹⁷¹

Crane, however, is undaunted by the government’s permit refusal, writing to Miller on April 6, 1921, that it would simply take a two hundred-peso bribe to smuggle the screen through to Texas.¹⁷² In later correspondence between Crane and Miller, Crane states that she had the altar screen shipped from Juarez across the border to El Paso in the name of the Mexican owner, Louisa Alcazar, not in the name of Frank Miller, because “the officials in Juarez are not so fussy as when the goods are shipped out in the name of an American.”¹⁷³ In yet another report, according to a 1964 oral history interview with Miller’s second wife, Marion, when the Mexican government refused the sale of the reredos, Miller was able to get the piece out through the German consulate.¹⁷⁴

The Rayas reredos successfully arrived at the Mission Inn on August 25, 1921, disassembled in thirty-two crates and listed as “household goods” on the customs forms.¹⁷⁵ Local history lore contends that the altar screen was packed in used stable hay, in an attempt to dissuade potential thieves with the pungent smell of livestock droppings.¹⁷⁶ After seeing the stunning piece, Miller was “perfectly delighted” with it and wasted no time in enacting his advertising machine to build intrigue surrounding his new acquisition.¹⁷⁷ Miller directs DeWitt Hutchings to write Crane to gather “all the history and poetry and sentiment you can find out about it, as that will help us in making

the public understand its value.”¹⁷⁸ The very day the reredos is delivered to the hotel, Miller contacted *Los Angeles Times* journalist Harry Andrews asking him if he wanted “the first whack at this thing.” Miller continues, “In many ways it is the finest thing of its kind in our country... This is something I have been working on to get out of Mexico for a long time... Please handle the photograph carefully. It is the only thing of its kind in existence.” Miller further tells Andrews that he is in awe the “proper permits were secured” and that the piece actually arrived at the Mission Inn, since he was unable to “get a permit for a lot of stuff that is nothing but junk.” He also makes sure to alert Andrews that Mission Inn architect Arthur Benton had appraised the cost of reproducing the altar screen at \$75,000.¹⁷⁹

Mission Inn curator Francis Borton composed a history of the reredos, emphasizing its Spanish, not Mexican, craftsmanship and proclaiming this the reason why the altarpiece is comparable to those found in Europe. “People who have travelled extensively in Europe will have difficulty in recalling anywhere a more beautiful altar,” wrote Borton.¹⁸⁰ His history continues as a proclamation of Frank Miller’s artistic vision:

When you have seen and felt the influence of this beautiful altar of Christian faith you will be thankful that there is in Riverside a man like Frank A. Miller, with the vision, the courage, the knowledge and determination to bring such a treasure into our midst, not for his own personal pleasure simply, but to gain pleasure and inspiration to all the thousands who shall see it in the coming years.¹⁸¹

Like Miller, Borton emphasizes the monetary value of the reredos, but claims the piece is worth \$150,000 with just the gold leaf estimated at \$10,000 to \$15,000.¹⁸² Of course, at the end of Borton’s history he insists that the only way to fully experience the altar screen’s greatness is to stay at the Mission Inn and “study this wonderful altar in detail slowly, carefully, and reverently.”¹⁸³ For the next decade the Rayas reredos was

displayed on the Spanish Art Gallery's south side balcony. In 1931, it was installed as the centerpiece of the Inn's unconsecrated and nondenominational St. Francis Chapel, becoming the main attraction for the hotel's new lucrative wedding business. While still representative of each owner's financial means, the reredos shifted from an object representative of religious devotion to one of secular decoration in service of consumer gain.

Within the process of Miller's Rayas reredos acquisition reverberate many of the same imperial viewpoints that drove DeWitt Hutchings' earlier unsuccessful attempt to purchase Spanish artworks. Miller is first able to gain access to Mexico's antiquities through his inclusion on the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce diplomatic trip to Mexico City and later through his association with expatriate antiquities dealer Margaret Crane. Miller was able to purchase the altarpiece at a low price, thanks to Crane's negotiating skills, and his persuasion of her to bear one-third of the initial cost. But, on top of that, the interpretation of the Rayas reredos focuses on the piece's monetary worth. The altar screen may have been a monument to Christian faith, but once it reached the Mission Inn its significance was predominantly measured in dollars – its appraised value and how it could be utilized to bring greater fame to the Inn. The imperial power dynamics also revolved around Miller's ability to own the reredos, export it out of Mexico, and bring it to Riverside, skirting Mexico's customs protocols to do so and potentially relying on the German consulate, demoralized and stripped of its international standing and imperial holdings following the World War I peace treaties. Writes Borton, "Riverside should feel proud to have it, for there is not to be found its equal anywhere in

the United States today.”¹⁸⁴ But, before the reredos was a unique artifact for the U.S., it was, as the original Mexican customs rejection letter stated, “one of the few remaining examples” of its kind left in Mexico that represented eighteenth century Spanish ecclesiastical craftsmanship.¹⁸⁵ Although Miller – thanks to the efforts of Margaret Crane, who is all but erased from the hotel’s first interpretations of the reredos – is eventually victorious in getting the altar screen across the border, he is stunned and agitated when Mexican officials resisted his desire to remove cultural property from their country.¹⁸⁶

Frank Miller and DeWitt Hutchings’ Mexican collecting expeditions were about more than filling the Mission Inn’s halls and galleries with artwork that complimented the hotel’s Spanish ambiance; they were cross-cultural interactions about negotiating the changing international relations between the two sides in this particular historic moment. As Mexico asserted revolutionary nationalist ideologies, which countered decades of U.S. influence, Miller and Hutchings still approached the country with the eyes of imperial shoppers, assuming that their American diplomatic and economic privilege would secure them their pick of Spanish treasures. The Spanish were the exemplars of an earlier era of colonial supremacy. Miller’s ownership of the Rayas reredos, an impressive Spanish work from the New World, symbolized the passing of the imperial torch. Just across the room in the altar screen’s original home in the Spanish Art Gallery hung Vereshchagin’s *Charge Up San Juan Hill* to make that point yet more explicit.

**“A Shrine from the Devastated Regions of Belgium”:
Collecting Tragedy to Memorialize the Great War**

During Frank Miller’s 1921 negotiations to secure the Rayas reredos, he commented to Margaret Crane that the American art market was flooded with goods from “Russia and the other war districts.”¹⁸⁷ The outbreak of the Great War was a boon for U.S. art museums, dealers, and collectors who directly benefitted from the conflict’s turmoil, as Miller’s remark suggests. Fearful of looting and theft, museums and galleries in the Allied nations sent artworks across the Atlantic Ocean for safekeeping and with the European art trade all but shut down by the war, aristocrats and dealers alike, desperate for money, turned to bargain-hunting American collectors. London-based art dealer Charles Carstairs noted in 1915, “England acquired her great Masterpieces during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars and now America’s opportunity has come.”¹⁸⁸ As art historian Cynthia Saltzman further elaborates, “The war, like others before it, caused an upheaval in the possession of art – forcing paintings out of the hands of those trapped in the crossfire,” which “created a buyers’ market for bystanders and victors.”¹⁸⁹ Some of America’s most prestigious private art collectors, such as Isabella Stewart Gardner, Henry Clay Frick, and Samuel Kress, whose collections would later form the backbone of the country’s largest public art museums, acquired many prized pieces during the war with the guidance of European dealers hungry for sales to stay afloat.¹⁹⁰

Although Miller’s collecting budget was a trifle compared to the purchasing power of America’s nouveaux-riches industrialists and businessmen, the Mission Inn’s collections grew as a result of the booming wartime art trade. In 1917, for instance,

Miller acquired Vincenzo Pagani's 1532 canvas, *The Annunciation*, from Marshall Field & Company's art department. For over two hundred fifty years the painting was part of the art collections of the Monterubbiano Collegiate Church, a Catholic parish in the artist's hometown on the central eastern Italian coast.¹⁹¹ Beginning in the early 1800s, it was successively sold to the noble Ottaviani family, the French Cardinal Fesch in Rome, English politician William Bromley Davenport, and the Marquis of Bath.¹⁹² At the Great War's eruption the painting was on exhibition at a Berlin art gallery, which shipped the piece to a satellite store in Florence following Germany's declaration of war. The Italian government was in discussions to purchase Pagani's masterwork for the state museum in Urbino when the nation formally entered the war and the acquisition process was halted. After the Urbino museum's failed purchase, the Florentine gallery sold the painting to the Marshall Field department store, from where Miller bought it.¹⁹³



Figure 74: *The Annunciation* by Vincenzo Pagani. Image courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.



Figure 75: The Mission Inn's Galeria. *The Annunciation* is visible at left. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Miller's World War I collecting endeavors went beyond the dealer-arranged fine art transactions that typified much of the transatlantic movement of art during the war period. The hotelman was interested in procuring deals on more than just pristine paintings from European masters; in the wake of the war's unfathomable destruction, Miller personally secured damaged religious relics from L'eglise St. Pierre, a bomb ravaged Catholic parish in Ypres, Belgium. The hallmark of Miller's purchase was a ten and a half foot tall, one and a half ton, Calvary – a wooden cross sculpturally depicting Christ's crucifixion – that had, before the war, adorned St. Pierre's exterior. Miller hoped

to use the Calvary as the focal point of a new memorial on Mt. Rubidoux dedicated to Riverside's war dead. Miller's desire to quickly commemorate the local lives lost in combat reflected the broader memorialization impulses that swept the globe at the war's end as people attempted to honor the dead and find closure after four years of tragedy. The Ypres Calvary, scarred by bombs and gunfire, provided Riverside with a tangible and authentic link to the frontlines. The war memorial, however, also offered Miller an added attraction for his Mt. Rubidoux mountain park, and the opportunity to further promote himself as the city's penultimate peace lover. Miller publically interpreted his Calvary purchase as charitable, although he, once again, utilized his financial stability as leverage to acquire the piece. St. Pierre's priest was hesitant to part with the Calvary, but was also desperate for funds to rebuild. Additionally, it was only through his diplomatic connections to Herbert Hoover and the Commission for Relief in Belgium that allowed Miller to ship the Calvary out of Ypres and to the Mission Inn. In the end, the memorial was never constructed and the Calvary never even unpacked. Miller's Belgian relic hunting, however, is a complex example of his layered, and often contradictory, motivations, as well as growing U.S. postwar international dominance centered on the country's ability to provide aid to war torn regions.

Miller's quest to build a war memorial on Mt. Rubidoux began only three weeks after the November 11, 1918 Armistice decisively ended fighting. Concerned that the city would be "carried away by misguided enthusiasm" and erect a "fantastic and ridiculous" memorial, Miller and the other Riverside Chamber of Commerce directors passed a resolution on December 6 to spearhead the city's war memorial effort to

commemorate the eighty-seven soldiers in Riverside County who died in combat.¹⁹⁴ They resolved to ensure that the community “take great care in perfecting its plans for such [a] memorial as may properly express in a dignified and permanent manner, Riverside’s undying appreciation for the sacrifice of her noble sons and the world significance of the approaching peace settlement.”¹⁹⁵ Immediately following the Chamber of Commerce’s declaration, Riverside’s local press was abuzz with memorial proposals vying for popular support from community groups.¹⁹⁶ The ideas ranged from constructing a bridge across the Santa Ana River, and building a new city hall adorned with memorial tablets (the idea favored by Riverside mayor Horace Porter), to placing an obelisk on the Riverside County Courthouse grounds, and Miller’s plan for creating a grotto atop Mt. Rubidoux featuring statues of Christ and a “soldier of liberty.”¹⁹⁷ The Rubidoux memorial was highlighted for its potential as a “great tourist attraction,” but the Chamber warned that tourism should be of only secondary importance. Further, they stressed that the memorial needed to be constructed on public property – conveniently ignoring Miller’s ownership of Mt. Rubidoux – and “planned to voice public sentiment in a spirit of patriotism, not to promote private interests.”¹⁹⁸

City officials were charged with deciding the most appropriate way in which to honor the dead. As the Riverside proposals show, some sought to reaffirm citizenship through useful civic buildings and needed infrastructural improvements, while others wanted somber monuments where mourners could contemplate wartime sacrifices. Despite the Chamber’s initial idealism, commemoration was a business opportunity, as evidenced by the Chamber of Commerce’s interest, and was not immune to the

competitiveness of local politics. As historian Jay Winter states, “However sacred the task of commemoration, it still touched all the chords of locally loyalties, petty intrigues, favouritism, apathy, and indifference. It also was about contracts, payments, and profits.”¹⁹⁹ While the ad hoc committee claimed that tourism was not a priority, they strove for a war memorial that would remember fallen soldiers and “do credit to the fame of Riverside.”²⁰⁰

Within days of the Chamber of Commerce’s inaugural memorial meeting, Miller was advertising his Mt. Rubidoux proposal to civic groups across Riverside in hopes of winning citywide backing. On December 16 he presented his plan to the Riverside Ministerial Union, divulging for the first time that he could secure “a shrine...from the devastated regions of Belgium” to complete the memorial. Miller made sure to mention that his design had already received “the splendid endorsement” of “prominent men throughout the country to whom he [had] confided his plans.” The ministers voted unanimously to support Miller’s Mt. Rubidoux memorial.²⁰¹

Miller’s Belgian “shrine” addition was both strategic and convenient. The proposed shrine was composed of the Eglise St. Pierre’s Calvary, pierced by crossfire, and statues of Mary and Peter, decapitated by artillery, all of which had decorated the Ypres chapel’s northern elevation before the church’s bombardment.²⁰² Rather than just listing names of Riverside’s war dead on a newly constructed civic building or monument as the other proposals suggested, Miller’s memorial would include artifacts that bore witness to the devastation experienced by the local soldiers. Belgium, at the center of the conflict’s land battle, was a cautionary tale for the horrors of total war. As Belgian

historian Laurence van Ypersèle describes, the country “experienced not only the horror of the trenches, but also the human shields and the massacres of around five thousands civilians in August 1914, the destruction of several cities...the deportation of civilians in 1916, misery, hunger and systematic pillaging during the Occupation...at the end of the conflict the nation was ruined and in mourning.”²⁰³

Ypres, in Belgium’s northwest corner, was the first region hit by Germany’s gas warfare campaign with tests beginning in October 1914 and a full-fledged attack starting on April 22, 1915.²⁰⁴ Throughout the war, the city and surrounding area were the location of intense Western Front clashes between Allied and German forces that lay waste to the landscape. Soldiers in the Third Battle of Ypres from July to November 1917, for example, unleashed four million shells in the first ten days of fighting and after three months of stalemate, over 375,000 British troops were dead or wounded.²⁰⁵ Even into the late 1990s, each year nearly 250,000 kilograms of unexploded ordnance was extracted from the Ypres countryside.²⁰⁶ At the war’s conclusion, Ypres transformed into a place of pilgrimage for mourners who flooded the city to remember the dead and missing.²⁰⁷ As a well-known battle site subjected to the atrocities wrought by modern warfare, Ypres held a war-specific cultural significance – it was, as historian Paul Fussell notes, “a byword for a city totally destroyed.”²⁰⁸ The relics Miller secured from L’eglise St. Pierre acted as a metonym for the Great War’s incomprehensible (and undiscerning) violence and decimation.

Miller’s choice of Belgian artifacts for his memorial reflected his interest in the plight of Belgian war victims, but was also a matter of connections and availability.

Miller acquired the St. Pierre Calvary through his relationships with diplomats Herbert Hoover and Perrin Galpin. During the war, Hoover first rose to political prominence as chairman of the U.S. Commission for Belgian Relief from 1914-1917 and was then appointed by President Wilson to lead U.S. food rationing efforts as director of the U.S. Food Administration. Before serving as Secretary of Commerce under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, Hoover directed the disbursement of U.S. aid abroad as head of the postwar American Relief Administration.²⁰⁹ Galpin worked as an administrator of the Belgian Relief Commission in Brussels and Lille, served as secretary of the American Relief Administration from 1919-1923, and in 1920 founded the Belgian-American Educational Foundation.²¹⁰

The Mission Inn was the headquarters for the local Riverside branch of the California Committee for Belgian Relief, but it was thanks to Miller's own political associations and the Mission Inn's international reputation as a luxury hotel that he became acquainted with Hoover and, subsequently, Galpin.²¹¹ During and immediately following the war, Miller organized public lectures by prominent Belgian diplomats and American relief workers, including W.L. Honnold, Hoover's immediate successor at the Belgian Relief Commission.²¹² From 1916 to 1920, the hotel hosted Belgian senator Henri La Fontain, Dr. G.M. Roose-Bonn described in the local press as "one of the most prominent men in Belgium," former secretary of the Belgian embassy and assistant to Hoover for Belgian relief, Hugh S. Gibson, Hoover's Food Administration special adviser and "right hand man," Dr. Alonzo Taylor, as well as Stanford president Ray Lyman Wilbur, a mutual friend of Miller and Hoover.²¹³ By the end of the war, Miller

had cultivated friendships with an expansive network of powerful men in both countries that enabled him access to the war material he desired. As a result, Miller's postwar letter to Hoover asking for aid in obtaining "from devastated Belgium an object which if re-erected in an outstanding manner upon Mt. Rubidoux would serve as a memorial to those fallen in the war," did not go unanswered.²¹⁴

After Miller's initial letter to Hoover, it was Perrin Galpin who scouted the artifacts, acted as translator, and brokered the deal between Miller and St. Pierre's priest, Chanoine Delaere. Through his Belgian diplomatic contacts, Galpin obtained permission from Belgian Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier and King Albert I to remove the St. Pierre relics.²¹⁵ As Miller's grandson, Frank Miller Hutchings, recalled, "It was found that the Church of St. Pierre of Ypres, Belgium, had been badly damaged during the enemy bombardments of 1914, and that funds were needed not only to repair the church fabric but to administer to the starving populace."²¹⁶ For a donation of \$500 toward Belgian relief and payment of packing and shipping fees, in August 1920, the Calvary was officially Miller's.²¹⁷ The Calvary was sent from Antwerp to New York City under the auspices of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and arrived in a bonded Los Angeles warehouse on September 11, 1920, where it stayed until 1922 when Miller made adequate room for it onsite at the Inn.²¹⁸ Thanks to a letter from Hoover to Treasury Secretary David Houston, who as Secretary of Agriculture had been Miller's guest at the Inn in June 1919, U.S. customs officials allowed the Calvary into the country without any consular invoice or customs dues.²¹⁹



Figure 76: The Calvary in situ at L'Eglise St. Pierre in Ypres, Belgium before the outbreak of World War I. Photo courtesy Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

Miller ultimately decided the decapitated statues of Mary and Peter were too badly damaged to include in the memorial, but his success in purchasing the Calvary inspired him to plumb St. Pierre's for more war treasures, although Father Delaere was increasingly less accommodating.²²⁰ Miller was especially interested in securing one of the church's bells for the Mt. Rubidoux shrine and to add to his own bell collection.

Shortly after Delaere sent the first shipment of goods from St. Pierre's, Galpin wrote the priest at Miller's behest asking to purchase a bell. Delaere responded, "As for the bell desired by Mr. Miller, the matter is more delicate."²²¹ Attempting to please yet dissuade Miller, whose earlier purchases, after all, had the blessing of Belgium's Cardinal and King, Delaere informs Galpin that St. Pierre's had just a single bell left after the war. Delaere describes the church's remaining bell to Miller, but states, "I would not dare in the name of the church fabric to make the exchange of the only good bell, the only one in good condition, which remains in the city of Ypres without making at least fifty percent by the exchange and, as I have told you, it must be replaced before we can give it up."²²² The priest suggested a compromise offering Miller three hundred eighty kilograms of remnants from the church's six bells "which were broken by shell fire or were melted by fire set by the enemy." With the sum paid by Miller for the broken pieces, at the rate of 18 francs per kilo, the price for a new bell, Delaere promised to cast a new bell for St. Pierre's dedicated to Miller.²²³

Miller is not impressed by St. Pierre's intact bell, writing to Galpin, "The bell [Delaere] speaks of sending is not the shape I would like...It is not a bell in good proportion, and has no sentiment on it." He is, however, delighted with the priest's proposition to sell him the broken pieces and sends Galpin a \$100 check to pass on to Delaere in exchange for the bell metal. Miller proposes "to have the best bell foundryman" in the U.S. recast the bell and "beautify" it "in the spirit in which it should be done" with inscriptions of the patron saint of Ypres.²²⁴ While Miller anticipates his \$100 plus shipping costs to secure him the bell remnants, Delaere is confused by his

expectations since the amount is insufficient to furnish St. Pierre's with a new bell, estimated at 5,800 francs, or nearly four times the amount Miller paid for the Calvary. In February 1921, Delaere reiterates his position, stating, "As I am responsible for our church fabrics, I regret that I cannot let the metal go without having the guarantee of payment for the new bell."²²⁵ By April, Miller writes Delaere (via Galpin) requesting that he be "permitted to drop the matter at this point."²²⁶

Unable to purchase other relics from St. Pierre's, Miller began sketching a general design for his memorial focusing on the Calvary. He planned to situate the Calvary "facing the Rising Sun" in a semi-circular sunken grotto "cut from the living rock" a thousand feet below the Serra cross at Mt. Rubidoux's summit. His goal was to make the memorial not militaristic, but "rather religious and sacrificial, befitting our central figure, the Belgian Cross."²²⁷ Calvaries were common elements of post-World War I memorials. The cross, with its imagery of Christ's crucifixion, represented the soldiers' ultimate sacrifice, but also symbolized resurrection, rebirth, and redemption, signifying that the soldiers' spirits lived on in heaven and that the world could heal itself. British historian Mark Connolly illustrates that the popularity of calvaries was further connected to the specific sense of place they evoked due to their ubiquity in the countryside of France and Belgium. "Not only was it the symbol of triumph over death, the promise of everlasting life, but it was also associated with the physical nature of the war on the Western Front; calvaries dotted France and Belgium and were regularly remarked upon by soldiers and observers," writes Connolly.²²⁸

The harm done to the St. Pierre Calvary's bronze Corpus during German bombardments was a potent testament to the bodily violence and disfigurement suffered by World War I troops. An August 1920 *Riverside Daily Press* article announcing Miller's purchase of the Calvary describes the sculpture of Christ as if it were an actual soldier, meticulously depicting each wound inflicted by enemy fire.

Upon the head of the statue is a large shell splinter. The throat has been torn away by another, part of one arm, from the elbow, has been shot away, and a shell has gone through the calf of the right leg. Where this hole has been made it can be seen that the legs are almost filled with a fine dust, presumably the dust of centuries, which has sifted in through the aperture at the back on which the statue was suspended from the cross.²²⁹

The Calvary possessed historical authority because of its age and Belgian origin, but most importantly because of its battle scars. As Marita Sturken has outlined, by visiting places and artifacts of tragedy, people "can feel that they have experienced a connection to these traumatic events and have gained a trace of authenticity by extension."²³⁰ Miller did not want his memorial to be militaristic, but the emphasis on how the Corpus was mutilated invited people to look; it was simultaneously a monument to sacrifice and a glorification of war. While millions of soldiers worldwide returned home damaged from the frontlines, maimed physically in ways similar to the Corpus and often suffering from debilitating psychological problems, the Calvary, in contrast, would have been less valuable to Miller whole and untouched by the war's brutality.²³¹

In one aspect, Miller's acquisition of the Calvary represents a very real impulse to comprehend local involvement in a global conflict that took place thousands of miles away; it was an attempt to shrink the distance separating the local public from the Riverside soldiers who lost their lives on European battlefronts. Though Miller undoubtedly wanted to honor the fallen soldiers and construct the memorial as "a symbol

of World-democracy,” it was also a convenient and timely means for him to garner attention. By being placed on his Mt. Rubidoux property, which already included monuments to Junipero Serra and Henry Huntington, Miller controlled the memorial’s design and could utilize it as an attraction for Inn guests.²³² Miller’s goal was to make his memorial one “such as has not yet been built in this country.” It was his objective to create the first and best World War I memorial in the United States and to do so with as much fanfare as possible. When the Calvary arrived in Riverside in 1922, he set about organizing a grand, and highly publicized, event for its dedication. His first letter was to none other than Belgium’s King Albert, writing,

The Day of Dedication will be a high Day in California. From every section of the country people will journey to witness the exercise. Men, high in authority will take part. The Associated Press will send its account of the services to all parts of the world. Pictures will be taken. We feel that because of the heroic part Belgium played in the war, and because this Memorial speaks so eloquently of what your nation passed through, Your Majesty should be represented.²³³

In June 1922, Miller additionally wrote to Lou Henry Hoover, wife of Herbert Hoover, asking for the Secretary of Commerce’s involvement in the dedication ceremony, as well as seeking the Hoovers’ help in soliciting Cardinal Mercier to perform the Calvary’s re-consecration “in its new California home.” To give more credibility, ownership, and intrigue to the memorial plans, he writes Mrs. Hoover that, “The first of our soldiers from here to fall in this World-War was Max Rubidoux, a grandson of the French-Spanish padre for whom our Mountain is named.”²³⁴ By specifically linking Rubidoux to the war dead, Miller fostered a local connection that extended back to the pioneer beginnings of Riverside, while rendering Mt. Rubidoux the obvious choice for the memorial’s location and using a local famous face to personify Riverside’s dead.²³⁵

Miller's enthusiasm for his memorial project soon waned when it was thwarted by a lack of municipal bond funding.²³⁶ Even without the memorial, he still connected Mt. Rubidoux to the war effort by organizing annual Armistice Day services on the mountain from 1919 to 1935, featuring patriotic music, religious sermons, and flag dedications for nations allied with the Triple Entente.²³⁷ In January 1934, Miller briefly reinvigorated the monument project, enlisting his daughter Allis to go in search of the Calvary, which had been lost in the Mission Inn's storage maze for over a decade. A January 15, 1934, handwritten memo from Allis Miller Hutchings states that the cross was found uncrated in a storage room under the alley of the workers' dormitory.²³⁸ In an effort to acquire city bond money, Miller wrote to the now former President Herbert Hoover asking him for a letter "stating that you fully approve of the idea of placing it on our mountain as a memorial to the soldiers of the Great War, and also that it is from the Church of St. Peter at Ypres, Belgium. A word from you will accredit it with the people of Riverside for all time."²³⁹ Hoover complied with Miller's request on January 29, 1934, but his letter of support did little.²⁴⁰ For a time after Miller's death in June 1935, the Calvary hung as a decoration on the Inn's exterior. When the hotel was sold outside the family in 1956, Miller's grandson, Frank Miller Hutchings, donated the cross to the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, in honor of Hoover's work to bring the artifact to Riverside from Belgium.²⁴¹

On November 12, 1928, an entirely different kind of civic war memorial was dedicated with the opening of the Riverside Municipal Auditorium and Soldiers' Memorial.²⁴² As an enduring member of the city's war memorial committee, Miller's

hand guided the auditorium's completion, from donating the land at Seventh Street and Lemon, to ensuring it was constructed in the Mission Revival style, and campaigning three times for municipal funding before the necessary bonds were carried.²⁴³ The last building designed by Arthur Benton, the auditorium copied the "general outline" of Mission San Antonio de Padua and was an integral piece of Miller's efforts for each building downtown to architecturally "harmonize" with the Mission Inn.²⁴⁴ At the time of Miller's 1935 death, Riverside's civic center included the Inn, three railroad stations, the library, the auditorium, city hall, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., five churches, and the post office, each built in the Mission and Spanish Revival styles.²⁴⁵ The auditorium's purpose was to blend the "useful with the beautiful" as the headquarters of Riverside's American Legion and as the city's new base for music and art. The auditorium featured plaques listing the names of Riverside's war dead, a 4,500-pound concrete eagle crowning its roofline, as well as the quotation from Presbyterian minister and Occidental College trustee, Robert Freeman, "Behind us are their glories; Before us still their dreams," urging continued vigilance toward enduring peace.²⁴⁶ But, the auditorium was, more than anything else, a reaffirmation of Riverside and the myths that had made the city a tourist draw and "one of California's most extraordinary communities."²⁴⁷ As Miller's friend, Security Title Insurance executive, Clarence Barton, wrote in a *Los Angeles Times* editorial for the memorial's dedication,

The building itself is a creation of rare beauty and fidelity to the Mission type... Thus it is a monument to a community's love of beauty and to its reverence for the state's finest traditions centering about those early warriors of the faith who also laid down their lives in service to God's children. And so it is that the building while glorifying the ideal of world peace in a day to come, in the selection of its beautiful lines pay subtle tribute to the achievements of California's first soldiers of peace.²⁴⁸

Riverside's decade-long process to commemorate the Great War was not unique, but was a struggle for cities throughout the world in the conflict's aftermath. The eventual decision to construct the Municipal Auditorium and Soldiers' Memorial as a multipurpose community building and Mission Revival addition to the downtown civic center was an attempt to reassert, as Jay Winter states, the city's "moral character, and to exclude from it those values, groups, or individuals that placed it under threat."²⁴⁹ While the auditorium was publically dedicated to "peace, religion, education, service, [and] art," by equating the sacrifices of Riverside's World War I soldiers with those of the Franciscans, "California's first soldiers of peace," the city declared its commitment to maintaining the Anglo-dominated status quo while also solidifying the United States' expanded postwar imperial designs.²⁵⁰

The rocky path to a local war memorial, plagued for ten years by a lack of voter-approved bond money, was also indicative of the uncertainty that permeated commemoration projects in the United States. The Great War was not waged on U.S. soil. America entered the war in its last year, and the country suffered, while devastating, a relatively low death toll of 80,000 compared to the 9.5 million total casualties that obliterated an entire generation of European males.²⁵¹ The indecision over proper memorialization also came down to the reality that the United States benefitted from the war's global tragedy, emerging in 1918 as the world's breadbasket, financier, and mightiest military force and utilizing this influence to shape the postwar political climate.²⁵² According to historian Lisa Budreau, "Ambivalence and delay marked America's postwar commemorative effort, in which a diverse population, unprepared for

war and then late into the conflict, sought to commemorate the experience that led to its new world role.”²⁵³

Miller’s acquisition of the Ypres Calvary expresses the dynamics of these changing roles. His ability to purchase the Calvary through the Commission for Relief in Belgium demonstrates the international networking possibilities afforded Miller as a luxury hotel proprietor, but also the power wielded by U.S. relief agencies. St. Pierre’s Father Chanoine Delaere is obliging of Miller and Perrin Galpin’s request for his church’s Calvary, especially when approved by Cardinal Mercier and King Albert, and is appreciative of the \$500, but it is clear that Delaere is hopeful that his cooperation with Miller will equal more American relief funds. “I beg to recommend to your generosity the restoration of the churches [sic] and the schools in the devastated region, as well as the needs of the orphanages which I have founded in March 1915 for the children of Ypres and its neighborhoods who are victims of the war,” wrote Delaere to Galpin in August 1920 after sending Miller the Calvary.²⁵⁴ Miller’s acquisition of the Ypres relics was about his quest to lead Riverside’s memorial charge and to do so in a way that maximized public attention, but it was also a small, yet illustrative, preview of America’s burgeoning postwar imperial dominance.

Conclusion

In December 1934 and January 1935, Frank Miller initiated a letter writing campaign to have the Mission Inn and its collections included under the Treaty for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments, more widely known as the Roerich Pact. Written by Russian artist, scholar, and designer Nikolai

Roerich, who maintained a permanent U.S. gallery in New York, the treaty was an attempt to revise international laws against the destruction of cultural property during war. Previous laws, such as those passed at the 1907 Hague Convention, had proved largely ineffectual. The Roerich Pact called for the designation of “historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions” as neutral territory during wartime, thus protecting these sites and their personnel from attack. Participating institutions were identified through their display of the pact’s “banner of peace” – a white flag with a red circle encasing three solid red spheres. If the banner flew outside a building, it would theoretically be off limits to warfare violence and looting, an attempt to save the world’s culturally significant structures, landscapes, and artifacts. Roerich first presented his plan in 1931 at a Bruges international conference dedicated to debating the treaty’s particulars. In April 1935, the Roerich Pact was ratified in Washington, D.C., by the twenty-one countries comprising the Pan American Union. Once approved, it was up to the signatory nations to determine which organizations and landmarks to include under the pact’s protection.²⁵⁵

As American participation in the Roerich Pact was finalized, Miller wrote to U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull asking him to consider the Mission Inn for the treaty’s protection, also enlisting Riverside mayor E.B. Criddle, Riverside Postmaster J.H. Allen, John Steven McGroarty, California Governor Frank Merriam, U.S. Secretary of War George Dern, and the Catholic Bishop of Southern California, to do the same. In his letter to Secretary Hull, Miller frames the Inn as first and foremost a place of public education, not a for-profit hotel – his collecting an altruistic endeavor for the enrichment

of Riverside. Writes Miller: “I have travelled to Spain, Mexico and the Orient gathering art and historic objects for our special collections of Spanish iron, altars, paintings, carving, vestments, tapestries, and of bells, crosses, glass, dolls, aviation insignia, and of Oriental bronze, porcelain, carving and silks. The hotel has become an educational institution and museum.”²⁵⁶ Through the Roerich Pact, Miller attempted to secure wartime protections for the Inn and its collections, collections comprising artifacts Miller procured thanks to the kinds of conflicts he now sought international defense against. Certainly, Miller’s collecting practices should not be a surprising revelation, but, instead, an exemplification of the workings of the art and antiquities market responsible for the development of both public and private galleries nationwide.²⁵⁷ Although the United States remains a Roerich Pact signatory, the U.S. government did little to “implement its provisions at the practical level” and never compiled a definitive list of protected institutions.²⁵⁸ Just six months after contacting Secretary Hull regarding the treaty, Frank Miller passed away.

A brief epilogue to these case studies succinctly encapsulates the enduring fantasy of peaceful internationalism the Mission Inn strove to project. In late January 1938, Mission Inn heirs Allis and DeWitt Hutchings opened the hotel’s first cocktail lounge, the “El Mundo Room.” The lounge’s main decorative feature was the colorful mural behind the bar by Federal Arts Project artist Dorr Bothwell titled “Dance of the Nations Around the World.” The painting portrayed young men and women from twenty-three different countries dressed in their traditional national costumes, skipping around a globe. Each dancer held hands in a display of international friendship as they frolicked upon images

of their home country's flag. At the mural's front and center was a German boy kicking up his heels atop a Swastika while holding the hand of a Polish peasant girl.²⁵⁹ The mural was undoubtedly plagued by poor timing; in 1939, as the Nazi regime marched further into Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Poland, the Hutchings' boxed in the painting's Swastika symbol, turning it into a generic square with an interior cross.²⁶⁰ Boys and girls in festive dress from Japan, Spain, and Italy were also featured in the "Dance of Nations Around the World," even as Japan violently expanded its territorial holdings in China, and Italy joined forces with Germany to terrorize civilians and assist Spain's own dictatorial regime. Perhaps Bothwell's painting was a kind of wishful thinking and hope for a resolution to the escalating conflicts in Europe and the Pacific, but it depicted a global harmony that never was.

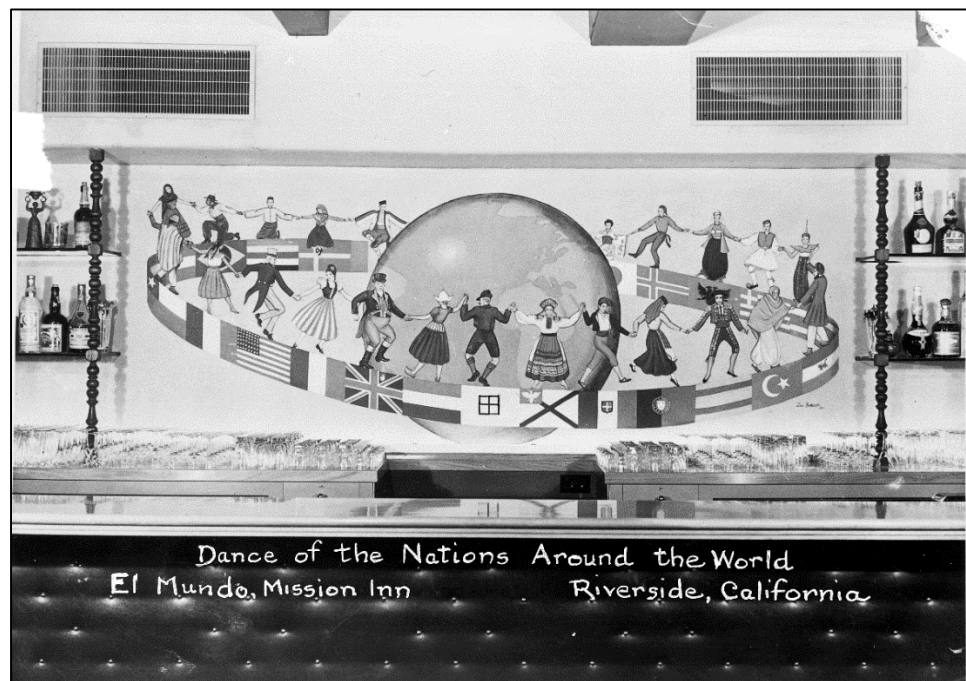


Figure 77: "Dance of the Nations Around the World" by Dorr Bothwell. This image shows the boxed in German Swastika. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

Miller's legacy posits that his involvement in peace activities and the hotel's displays of worldly artifacts indicates that Miller's attitudes toward other cultures and races were ahead of his time, even exceptional. Examining the actual content of the Mission Inn's peace conferences and the ways in which Miller procured his collections complicates this interpretation. Imperialism was staged surreptitiously at the Mission Inn, masked as cultural understanding and international unity. Behind the veil of peace conferences, bells from Nanking, dolls dressed in ethnic garments, Mexican altar screens, and Calvary's scarred in the Belgian frontlines, however, loomed complex racial tensions and the quest to solidify U.S. global dominance.

NOTES

¹ “Famous Picture is Coming to the Inn; Frank Miller Buys Verestchagin’s [sic] San Juan Hill,” *Riverside Enterprise*, October 25, 1917, 5.

² Margaret Samu, “Location Unknown: Russian Art at the Mission Inn,” Mission Inn Foundation & Museum public lecture, February 22, 2009. Samu is currently an assistant professor of art history at Yeshiva University. She received her Ph.D. in art history from New York University with an emphasis in nineteenth century Russian art.

³ Friends of the Mission Inn, *Historic Mission Inn* (Riverside: RB Graphics, 2002), 49-51; Robert C. Williams, “The Russians are Coming!: Art and Politics at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition,” Missouri Historical Society, *The Bulletin* 31, no. 3 (April 1975): 167, file 15, box 2, Esther Klotz Collection, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections.

⁴ Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 121-137.

⁵ As Kaplan further questions, “What then is the position of African Americans in relation to the Union reconfigured by the Spanish-American War and to the newly colonized subjects of the U.S. empire? Would these Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos be assimilated in a post-Reconstruction model of race relations at home, and would the empire abroad facilitate the subjugation of blacks as colonized subjects at home?” Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 123.

⁶ Samu, “Location Unknown.”

⁷ “Famous Picture is Coming to the Inn; Frank Miller Buys Verestchagin’s [sic] San Juan Hill.”

⁸ Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 46-47.

⁹ Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation & the Culture of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 15.

¹⁰ Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 3-9; “Citizen consumer” is a term coined by historian Lizabeth Cohen to explicate the forging of the notion that high material consumption was the mark of a good American citizen. This idea was largely fostered after the Great Depression when the source of the country’s economic disaster was pinned not on “overproduction” but on “under consumption.” To maintain a robust economy, the American people needed to continually buy new products. See, Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage, 2003) and Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1959* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹¹ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 11.

¹² Frank Miller to William Otjen, Commander in Chief of Spanish War Veterans Encampment, 20 August 1933, file A500-190.I.B.18, Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum; Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 151-152.

¹³ A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 112.

¹⁴ DeWitt Hutchings to Marion Dixon of the Calipatria School District, 5 January 1935, file A500-190.I.B.23, Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum (hereafter cited as RMM).

¹⁵ Maurice Hodgen, *More Than Decoration: Asian Objects at the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Ashburton Publishing, 2004), 7.

¹⁶ Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, 8.

¹⁷ “Dedication of Miller Testimonial Tower Striking Demonstration: Monument Significant of Peace Marks Epoch,” *Riverside Daily Press*, December 14, 1925, 1.

¹⁸ Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938), 101-102.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁰ Hodgen, *More Than Decoration*, 5-6.

²¹ Mark Howland Rawitsch, *The House on Lemon Street: Japanese Pioneers and the American Dream* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2012), 61; Rather eerily, another emblem of friendship was given to President Franklin Roosevelt, 62.

²² *Ibid.*, 59.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Maurice Hodgen, *Master of the Inn: Frank A. Miller, A Life* (Riverside: Ashburton Publishing, 2013), 228.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Hodgen examines Miller with a less hagiographic eye than previous Miller biographers, stating that although Miller did hire a multi-ethnic staff comprised of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans these worker were largely “invisible there to the public and the public record, as in any fine hotel.”

²⁶ “Dedication of Miller Testimonial Tower Striking Demonstration: Monument Significant of Peace Marks Epoch”; Glenn Wenzel, *Anecdotes on Mount Rubidoux and Frank A. Miller, Her Promoter* (Riverside: A to Z Printing, 2010), 111. Wenzel provides a full list of countries and regions listed on the peace tower, which were as follows: “USA, South America, British Empire, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Australasia, Switzerland, Africa, Portugal, Denmark, Greece, Asia, China, Europe, Italy, Canada, Japan, Central America, France, Mexico.” European countries are privileged and listed separately, while South America, Africa, and Asia (save for China and Japan) are listed only as continents, homogenizing ethnic groups and regions into one monolithic group; The presence of the British flag was in celebration of Britain’s imperial strength, but also potentially a nod to Riverside’s early British settlers. Riverside, at the turn of the twentieth century, was colloquially known as the “English Colony.” In the

city's early days as a colony of J.W. North's Southern California Colony Association, the neighboring Santa Ana Colony was comprised mainly of English immigrants. By the 1890s, Riverside experienced an influx of English settlers and part-time residents thanks to the investments in the citrus industry and canal systems by the Riverside Trust Company set up by Inn guest Wilson Crewdson. Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California: Riverside's First Hundred Years*, 2nd ed. (Riverside: The Museum Press of the Riverside Museum Associates, 1996), 65 and 213.

²⁷ Frank Miller to Sir Philip Gibbs, October 8, 1932, file A500-190.I.B.17, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁸ Maurice Hodgen and Sherry Bockman, "Frank Miller Timeline," History Research Committee, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum (hereafter cited as MIFM).

²⁹ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 115.

³⁰ "A Letter from California: Miss Elizabeth Cutting of Riverside Writes to Educational Magazine," *Riverside Daily Press*, May 23, 1911, 1.

³¹ "Riverside Peace Society is Reorganized at Enthusiastic Meeting Denouncing All War," *Riverside Enterprise*, February 17, 1915, 1 and 3.

³² "Peace Flag Has No Illegal Features," *Riverside Enterprise*, February 12, 1916, 5. The officially sanctioned peace flags were adopted at the International Peace Conference at The Hague and featured the emblem of the home country surrounding by a white border and the words "Peace Among All Nations."

³³ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 114. As Rosenberg questions, "Did internationalism mean joining in a collective security arrangement to preserve the status quo dominated by Euro-American capitalist interests? Did it mean strict nonentanglement in world affairs and a commitment to avoid war? Or did it involve working with worldwide movements on behalf of popular reform along a socialist or Christian collectivist model?"

³⁴ "Riverside Peace Society is Reorganized at Enthusiastic Meeting Denouncing All War."

³⁵ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 115.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

³⁷ Victoria de Grazia elucidates the role of such private U.S. organizations as Rotary in extending America's business practices and civic service ideal abroad. Rotary, for instance, with its concentration on making business interactions more personal for its members, aided this process by gathering information on the local customs and business climate of diverse regions across the world. As de Grazia writes, "Rotarians saw their first and foremost goals as renewing the personal contacts lost to anomie and the personal animosities engendered by roughshod business manners. But by facilitating face-to-face encounters, they acquired a cultural resource of particular value to so mobile a society, namely a never-ending accumulation of local knowledge. With leverage from this small-town know-how, Rotary staked first a national, then international claim to establishing the rule and manners of a new capitalist business civilization." De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 28. Historian Steven Conn also points to the integral role of private museums, specifically the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, in fostering the internationalist business spirit. The Commercial Museum, emerging after the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, exhibited contemporary raw materials and commercial and agricultural products from around the globe, that, as Conn explains, "offered the practical and useful information which made commercial expansion possible...without being

burdened by colonial responsibilities.” The Commercial Museum also hosted two international trade conferences, which brought together an international coalition of businessmen to network and build global trade relations. The Philadelphia Commercial Museum’s organization of these conferences implicitly asserted America’s leading role in international commerce. Steven Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 116-117 and 132-143.

³⁸ John Eugene Harley, *International Understanding: Agencies Educating for a New World* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1931), 225; Founder Von Kleinsmid was a firm supporter of eugenics, believing that a state mandated system of selection, segregation, and sterilization was the proper procedure to control mental illness and poverty. In his 1913 lecture to the Cincinnati Academy of Medicine titled “Eugenics and the State,” Von Kleinsmid emphatically declared, “The acceptance is even now upon us, and the application of the principles of Eugenics to organized society is one of the most important duties of the social scientist of the present generation.” Rufus Bernhard von KleinSmid, “Eugenics and the State,” Cincinnati Academy of Medicine, May 1913, 2.

³⁹ Harley, *International Understanding*, 226 and 230.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 225; The Institute of International Relations also stated a goal of focusing on issues relating to maintaining peace and diplomatic relations with the Pacific Rim. Stated Von Kleinsmid, “There has been a shift of interest toward the Pacific. On the rim of this mighty ocean are clustered all forms of government known to the world today, emphasizing every variety of human interest – social, political, and religious. This makes it wise for us to hold such a conference at the Institute of International Relations on the Pacific Coast.” Much of this work, however, was undertaken by the New York-based Institute of Pacific Relations begun in 1925. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 113. The Institute of International Relations discussed a broad range of topics not limited to the Pacific Rim, but was one of the only peace organizations located on the West Coast.

⁴¹ *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, First Session, December 1926, Mission Inn (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1927), 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴³ *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, Fifth Session, December 1929 (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1930), v. Mrs. Winter’s inclusion indicates the central role of popular cinema that “made the world accessible to a diverse public at home while they celebrated American mobility abroad” in what Amy Kaplan describes as the “spectacle of imperialism.” Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 21. In 1928, the Institute included a presentation by Colonel Jason Joy from the Association of Motion Picture Producers on “The Responsibility of the Motion Picture Industry in International Relations.” Colonel Joy discussed motion pictures as an educational tool that could easily show people images from across the world, images which in earlier eras could only be seen through physical travel. He also praised the ability of films to act as a universal visual language of communication across all nations. “For the first time in history, a means of universal communication has been found,” stated Joy. “The motion picture film can and does go everywhere. It can and does speak every language. There never before existed any means by which the genius of a people could be expressed and dramatically presented to all other peoples.” Of course, the United States controlled the majority of film production and the films that did “go everywhere” were products of this U.S. industry. Colonel Jason Joy, “The Responsibility of the Motion Picture Industry in International Relations,” in *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, Fourth Session, December 1928, Mission Inn (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1929), 172.

⁴⁴ This list represents only a partial selection of the participating organizations in the 1926 to 1929 Institute proceedings. Although not well represented on the Institute's board of advisors, women and women's clubs were a force on the Institute's membership roster. For example, at the 1927 meeting, 48 out of 154, or nearly one-third of the attendees, were women. Delegates were sent to the meeting from the American Association of University Women, California Federation of Women's Clubs, La Jolla Women's Club, League of Women Voters, National Women's Relief Corps, Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, Woman's Civic League of Pasadena, Woman's Improvement Club, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Young Women's Christian Association of San Diego. *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, Second Session, November 27 to December 3, 1927 (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1928), 17-18.

⁴⁵ Harley, *International Understanding*, 227.

⁴⁶ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 113.

⁴⁷ "Institute of World Affairs New Name of Annual Conference," *Riverside Daily Press*, October 3, 1932, 5.

⁴⁸ William G. Marvin, "A Business Man's View of Our International Relations," in *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, 1927, 68-71.

⁴⁹ Eliot G. Mears and D.P. Miller, "Summary of Round Table on World Markets and World Understanding," in *ibid.*, 37.

⁵⁰ Paul Harvey, "World Policies of Co-Operation," in *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, 1926, 168; James H. Smiley, "American Goods as a Leavening Agent in the Living Standards in Foreign Countries," in *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, 1929, 98.

⁵¹ E.G. Mears, "Summary of Round Table on Race Relations," in *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, 1926, 40; K.C. Leebrick, "A Brief Statement of the Present Situation in Hawaii and the Philippines," in *ibid.*, 69; Chester Harvey Rowell, "The Basis of Race Relations," in *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, 1927, 130; Orwyn W.E. Cook, "Some Problems of the Philippines," in *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, 1928, 76. The Institute changed its name to the Institute of World Affairs in 1932 in order to "better express the scope of its deliberations and discussions." "Institute of World Affairs New Name of Annual Conference." After Frank Miller's death in 1935, his son-in-law DeWitt Hutchings took his place on the Institute's board of advisers and the yearly conferences continued at the Inn until the hotel was sold outside the Miller family in 1956. By the 1930s, the Institute's attitude of American exceptionalism was somewhat tempered by the harsh realities of the Great Depression and World War II. From the 1930s through the end of World War II, the Institute's annual meetings reflected the anxieties of its members who were deeply concerned about the rise of a new world order not centered around American democracy and free-market capitalism. This anxiety was exaggerated at the opening day of the Institute's nineteenth session, held on December 7, 1941. The Institute's programs were filled with lectures and roundtable discussions focused on better defining and combating fascism, coming to grips with the imperial designs of fascist nations, attempting to understand the implications and spread of communism, and planning the role of the United States in the postwar world. During World War II, the Institute's goal of fostering global peace gave way in the wake of international militarization. Following the end of war, the confidence of American dominance returned to the Institute, but this time as the world's security force with peace achieved through the threat of violent destruction. While a panel at the 1945 conference, "Balancing Scientific Discoveries with Spiritual Values and Social Control," vaguely examined the ethical dilemmas posed by atomic energy and the United States' use of the atomic bomb, the Institute largely evaded the subject. By the 1950s, the Institute's conferences, with titles such as "New Weapons for

a New Diplomacy” (1952) and “Dilemmas of American World Leadership” (1953), demonstrated that U.S. peacekeeping was firmly a military operation. Programs and Invitations to the Annual Meetings of the Institute of World Affairs, 1933-1942, MIMSY EPH.320.9.1, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center; *Proceedings of the Institute of World Affairs*, vols. VII-XXX, (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1930-1953).

⁵² “Riversiders Return From Delightful World Tour: Mr. and Mrs. DeWitt Hutchings Arrive at Mission Inn Yesterday – Give Impressions of Orient,” *Riverside Daily Press*, March 11, 1912, 2.

⁵³ Frank A. Miller, “Bells and My Bell Collection,” December 20, 1924, 12, file A500-190.II.A.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁵⁴ Vimalin Rujivacharakul, “China and china: An Introduction to Materiality and A History of Collecting,” in *Collecting China: The World, China, and a History of Collecting*, ed. Vimalin Rujivacharakul (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 22.

⁵⁵ Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?*, 94-95.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁵⁷ Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, 14.

⁵⁸ “Colorful Celebration of Japanese Boys’ Festival,” *Riverside Daily Press*, May 3, 1927, 7.

⁵⁹ Allis Miller Hutchings, “Dolls and Animals of the World,” circa 1940, 2, found box 140, MIFM.

⁶⁰ DeWitt Hutchings, draft of article on Mission Inn bell collection, no date, 7, file A500-190.II.A.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² “Bells & Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn,” Bell #272, 34.

⁶³ “Chinese Bell Arrives,” *Riverside Enterprise*, March 26, 1926, 1.

⁶⁴ A typical example of how the Nanking Bell was discussed comes from a 1926 article, “The House of Bells,” written by Frank Miller for *The Sunday Home*. Writes Miller, “The largest in the collection weighs nearly two tons, stands seven feet high, and came from Nanking soon after the Chinese revolution of 1912. A friend secured it for me from the ruins of the Buddhist temple there, which had been sacked by the revolutionists.” Frank Miller, “The House of Bells,” *The Sunday Home*, October 1926, 44-45.

⁶⁵ Rujivacharakul, “China and china,” 19; Ting Chang, “Goncourt’s China Cabinet: China Fantasy and a Nineteenth-Century French Collector,” in *Collecting China*, 32.

⁶⁶ “Nanking Bell is New Glenwood Curio,” *Riverside Daily Press*, August 25, 1914, 5.

⁶⁷ Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?*, 94.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

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- ⁶⁹ Klaus Muhlhahn, "National Studies and Global Entanglements: The Reenvisioning of China in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Trans-Pacific Interactions: The United States and China, 1880-1950*, ed. Vanessa Kunnemann and Ruth Mayer (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 45.
- ⁷⁰ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 28-33; Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?*, 95.
- ⁷¹ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 31.
- ⁷² Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 91.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 349-350; Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 54-60.
- ⁷⁴ Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 37.
- ⁷⁵ Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 202.
- ⁷⁶ Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 44.
- ⁷⁷ Rawitsch, *The House on Lemon Street*, 43-45.
- ⁷⁸ Rujivacharakul, "China and china," 25.
- ⁷⁹ Stanley K. Abe, "Rockefeller Home Decorating and Objects from China," in *Collecting China*, 107-112.
- ⁸⁰ Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, 22-31.
- ⁸¹ Mary Renda examines similar popular entertainment and domestic decorating trends in the 1920s and 1930s during the U.S. occupation of Haiti when the country increasingly became "an exotic object of desire within American culture." Writes Renda, "Between the early 1920s and the late 1930s, U.S. Americans featured Haiti in stage plays, radio dramas, short stories, songs, novels, travel books, paintings, sculpture, dance, and even on wall-paper. Popular magazines presented Haiti in stories on subjects ranging from politics to homemaking." Renda, 19.
- ⁸² Sojin Kim, "Curiously Familiar: Art and Curio Stores in Los Angeles' Chinatown," *Western Folklore* 58, no. 2 (Winter 1999): 133; Kunnemann and Mayer, *Trans-Pacific Interactions*, 13.
- ⁸³ Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*, 132.
- ⁸⁴ Mission Inn employee ledger, 1910-1936, MIFM.
- ⁸⁵ Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*, 131 and 69.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 70 and 131-133. In her biography of Miller, Gale relates one particular story to demonstrate Quong's service to Miller. In 1903, Quong's nephew had purchased a ticket to go to San Francisco. Quong advised his nephew against moving "into all those temptations and dangers." The nephew agreed to cancel his trip if he could get his train fare refunded. Alice Richardson offered to help. She was dressed in

a plain suit and came to the Inn's kitchen to pick up Quong's nephew to go to the train station and he was "all robed in his best and stiffest and richest Chinese silks." According to Gale, "Quong looked much pained" and said 'Mrs. Lichardson [Gale purposely used an "L" instead of an "R" to racialize Quong's speech], you not dressed very good. You Miller's sister.' As Gale relates, "This was the day after President Theodore Roosevelt had been at the Inn with Mr. Miller, and she realized that Quong felt the whole family should now do honor to Mr. Miller by wearing better clothes," 132-133. In a 1964 oral history interview, Miller's wife Marion Clark Miller also discusses Quong, but refers to him not just by his name, but as "Old Quong," and describes him as a "little man," specifically mentioning that "he was so faithful," Marion Clark Miller interview, February 27, 1964, MIFM oral history archives.

⁸⁷ "Mrs. Richardson Has Pleasant Three Months in Japan and China," *Riverside Enterprise*, December 19, 1922, 5.

⁸⁸ "Chinese City Fascinating to Traveler," *Riverside Enterprise*, December 21, 1922, 1.

⁸⁹ "Spirit of Ripley Pervades Banquet in Honor Santa Fe," *Riverside Daily Press*, January 27, 1927, 4.

⁹⁰ Frank Miller to W.K. Etter, 27 November 1925, file A500-190.D.22, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁹¹ Lisa See, *On Gold Mountain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 92.

⁹² Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?*, 97-101.

⁹³ Herbert Hoover to George C. Howard, 8 May 1925, file A500-190.I.B.4, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁹⁴ DeWitt Hutchings, "Oriental Rooms," *Handbook of the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1940), 60-64; Fuji Kan, image 781, box 8; Buddha, image 782, box 8; Oriental God Room, image 783, box 8; Entrance of Hall of the Gods, image 868, box 9; View of Court of the Orient, image 870, box 9; Buddha Temple, image 874, box 9, Series 1, Avery Edwin Field Collection, University of California, Riverside, Special Collections.

⁹⁵ "Bells and Crosses of the Glenwood Mission Inn," Chinese and Japanese bells are listed as numbers 16-17, 20, 53, 55, 61, 63, 65-66, 72, 78, 83, 86, 185-186, 197-248, 256-257, 272, 281-283, 285-293, 299-301, 313, 334, 343, 349, 352-356, 361, 397-399, 421, 425, 432-437, 455, 457, 461, 471, 475, 477-478, 481-482, 486-487, 496-497, 509-518, 520, 548, 554-557, 580-584, 587, 590, 599, and 601.

⁹⁶ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 60. States the *Handbook*, "Naturally at the Mission Inn many rooms and courts are filled with things from the Orient, and contain rare objects of art for sale which are part of the Inn's shop."

⁹⁷ Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 8 and 38.

⁹⁸ Hutchings, *Handbook of the Mission Inn*, 1940 edition, 60.

⁹⁹ T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 143.

¹⁰⁰ Frank Miller to John Steven McGroarty, 13 May 1925, file A500-190.I.D.21, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn*, 259; By the mid-1920s, Miller began resigning from many of his civic posts, committees, and regional advisory boards, file A500-190.I.B.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁰¹ “Peace Slides,” portraits from peace exhibit, image 1144, box 11, Series 1, Avery Edwin Field Collection, University of California, Riverside, Special Collections; Frank Miller to Louis Comfort Tiffany, 14 June 1932, file A500-190.I.B.17, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁰² Frank Miller to The De Mille Contest Editor, 2 February 1926, file A500-190.I.B.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁰³ Frank Miller to Harry Carr, 20 February 1933, Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Miller Hutchings Collection.

¹⁰⁴ “Colorful Celebration of Japanese Boys’ Festival,” *Riverside Daily Press*, May 3, 1927, 7.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.; “Japanese Program at Mission Inn Saturday,” *Riverside Daily Press*, May 2, 1929, 5.

¹⁰⁶ “Colorful Celebration of Japanese Boys’ Festival.”

¹⁰⁷ “Children View Japanese Dolls: Doll Festival Opens Today at the Mission Inn,” *Riverside Daily Press*, 1 March 1929, 9.

¹⁰⁸ “Dolls and Animals of the World,” 73.

¹⁰⁹ “Japanese Doll Show,” images 890 A and 890 B, box 9, Series 1, Avery Edwin Field Collection, University of California, Riverside, Special Collections.

¹¹⁰ “Colorful Celebration of Japanese Boys’ Festival”; “Japanese Doll Festival Opens,” *Riverside Daily Press*, March 1, 1928, 6; “Children View Japanese Dolls: Doll Festival Opens Today at the Mission Inn”; “Japanese Boys’ Festival at Inn is Drawing Car: School Pupils and Others Visit Interesting Exhibit,” *Riverside Daily Press*, May 5, 1933, 3.

¹¹¹ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 69.

¹¹² “Dolls and Animals of the World,” 3.

¹¹³ “Doll Festival Opens at Inn: Dolls from All over the World Join in Annual Exhibition,” *Riverside Daily Press*, February 27, 1933, 7.

¹¹⁴ “Dolls and Animals of the World,” 3.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 4-5.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 11-12.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 31, 37, and 77.

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- ¹¹⁸ “Riversiders Back from Inauguration,” *Riverside Daily Press*, December 11, 1920, 2.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹²⁰ Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 57 and 84.
- ¹²¹ Ibid.
- ¹²² Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of All Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the U.S. and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 1-3.
- ¹²³ “Glenwood Gets Ready for Mexican Invasion,” *Riverside Daily Press*, February 15, 1913, 5; Villa’s army did penetrate the U.S. border, raiding Columbus, New Mexico, in March 1916 and causing President Wilson to send American troops in to push the Villistas out, further straining relations between the two countries. Delpar, 3.
- ¹²⁴ Charles Fletcher Lummis journal, January 25-31, 1913, MIMSY MS 1.2.4, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.
- ¹²⁵ “Mexico Discussed from Every Angle By Present Day Club Speakers,” *Riverside Daily Press*, April 18, 1916, 6; “Many Eloquent Speakers Discuss Mexican Situation,” *Riverside Enterprise*, April 18, 1916, 2.
- ¹²⁶ “Explains War to Mexican Residents,” *Riverside Enterprise*, May 7, 1918, 2.
- ¹²⁷ William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 26-28.
- ¹²⁸ Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of All Things Mexican*, 4-6.
- ¹²⁹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 32.
- ¹³⁰ Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of All Things Mexican*, 1; Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 5 January 1921, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.
- ¹³¹ Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of All Things Mexican*, 14-15.
- ¹³² Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 118.
- ¹³³ DeWitt Hutchings, Memorandum to Frank Miller regarding purchase of art from Mexican churches, October 1914, file A500-190.III.F.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.
- ¹³⁴ Francis Borton, list of paintings in Mexican cathedrals, October 1914, file A500-190.III.F.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.
- ¹³⁵ Hutchings memorandum to Miller.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ DeWitt Hutchings to Ygnacio Galvan, 9 October 1914, file A500-190.III.F.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 28.

¹⁴¹ Hutchings memorandum to Miller.

¹⁴² Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 32. As Rosenberg explains, the spreading of Christianity often went hand-in-hand with spreading American business practices abroad. “Although some missionaries had initially disdained the ‘godless materialism’ that traders sometimes brought overseas,” writes Rosenberg, “most believed that America’s commercial presence would assist their efforts. Missionaries, after all, flourished in port cities and had their greatest success in converting foreigners employed by, or trading with, American businesses,” 32-33.

¹⁴³ Charles Fletcher Lummis and Francis Borton Correspondence, 1903-1925, MIMSY MS 1.1.428, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.

¹⁴⁴ Karen J. Warren, “A Philosophical Perspective on the Ethics and Resolution of Cultural Properties Issues,” in *Whose Property? Whose Culture?: The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property*, ed. Phyllis Mauch Messenger (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 3.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁴⁶ Margaret M. Miles, *Art as Plunder: The Ancient Origins of Debate About Cultural Property* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-12; Miles cites the prosecution of Gaius Verres by Marcus Tullius Cicero in 1 BCE for his pillage of Sicily as one of the first instances of legal action being taken against the theft of cultural property.

¹⁴⁷ Patrick J. Boylan, “The Concept of Cultural Protection in Times of Armed Conflict: From the Crusades to the New Millennium,” in *Illicit Antiquities: The Theft of Culture and the Extinction of Archaeology*, ed. Neil Brodie and Kathryn Walker Tubb (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 48.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 49.

¹⁴⁹ Neil Brodie, “Looting During Wartime,” in *Illicit Antiquities*, 6-8.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid; Nationalist protests against the exhibition of Spanish art in Mexico erupted with the earliest revolutionary rumblings. During the 1910 Mexican independence centenary festivities in Mexico City, Mexican artists were outraged by the state-sponsored display of Spanish art and set up their own separate exhibit of strictly nationalist pieces. Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of All Things Mexican*, 12-13.

¹⁵¹ Boylan, “The Concept of Cultural Protection,” 43.

¹⁵² Mexican customs authority denial translation, no date, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁵³ Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 30 December 1920, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM. All correspondence between Miller and Crane is from this file; Besides the Rayas altar screen, Margaret Crane offered Miller all manner of Mexican and Spanish antiquities, either for direct display at the Inn or to sell on consignment in the Cloister Art Shop. At the same time as their Rayas altar screen dealings, Miller was also in negotiations to buy a copper-plated devotional image inlaid with coral from Crane. The image was originally on the market for \$1,300, but had dropped to \$500 after the family who owned the piece had their house looted. The image was supposedly given to them by the Pope in 1857. Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 13 March 1921. Additionally, during their reredos discussions, Miller asks Crane to be on the look out for bells, benches or prie-deux prayer desks, while Crane attempts to sell Miller two rosewood consoles and a matching table. Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 5 January 1921; Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 10 July 1921. In early September 1921 after the reredos successfully made it to Riverside, Crane writes Miller to sell him a collection of 18 Catholic vestments because, as she states, "It seems to me that now that you have the altar, you should have the vestments of which I wrote you...They are really beautiful and should be in the chapel with the altar." Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 5 September 1921 and "List of Vestments from Mexico Purchased by Mrs. M.M. Crane," file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM. By the early 1930s, the Cloister Art Shop buying records also show regular entries for Mexican jewelry, crafts, and bells sold to the Inn by Crane. Cloister Art Shop Buying Records, 1932-1936, MIFM.

¹⁵⁴ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 5 January 1921.

¹⁵⁵ Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 19 March 1921.

¹⁵⁶ "The Golden Rayas Altar, St. Francis Chapel, Mission Inn, Riverside, California," (Riverside: Riverside Community College and Mission Inn Foundation, 1991); Walter Parks, "The Saints Go Marching In," Mission Inn Foundation *INNsider*, no. 116 (January-February 2011): 5; "Altar from private chapel of the Marquis de Rayas, Guanajuato, Mexico," no date, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; Francis Borton, Draft of history and publicity material for Rayas reredos, no date, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁵⁷ Borton, Draft of history and publicity material for Rayas reredos.

¹⁵⁸ Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 19 March 1921.

¹⁵⁹ Kevin J. Middlebrook, *The Paradox of Revolution: Labor, the State, and Authoritarianism in Mexico* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 121.

¹⁶⁰ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 23 March 1921.

¹⁶¹ Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 19 March 1921; Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 10 July 1921.

¹⁶² Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 18 April 1921.

¹⁶³ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 20 April 1921.

¹⁶⁴ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 20 April 1921.

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- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁶ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 15 May 1921.
- ¹⁶⁷ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 20 April 1921.
- ¹⁶⁸ Mexican customs authority denial translation.
- ¹⁶⁹ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 25 May 1921.
- ¹⁷⁰ Letter from Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 3 May 1921.
- ¹⁷¹ As historian of Mexican-American relations, Helen Delpar, has analyzed, Obregon was a “compromiser.” On one side, Obregon implemented large-scale land redistribution amounting to four million hectares of land returning to communal ownership. He also strengthened labor unions and enacted educational programs to promote adult literacy. His initial commitment to the revolution’s main tenets “alarmed conservatives everywhere, especially in the United States, where political figures and businessmen continued to inveigh against Mexican threats to property rights.” Obregon, however, also worked to maintain some protections for private property and foreign interests. Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of All Things Mexican*, 11.
- ¹⁷² Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 6 April 1921.
- ¹⁷³ Margaret Crane to Frank Miller, 5 September 1921.
- ¹⁷⁴ Marion Clark Miller interview, February 27, 1964, MIFM oral history archives.
- ¹⁷⁵ Allis Miller Hutchings to Frank Miller, 10 August 1921; DeWitt Hutchings to Margaret Crane, 25 August 1921, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM
- ¹⁷⁶ “The Golden Rayas Altar, St. Francis Chapel, Mission Inn, Riverside, California.” This story is also retold in Esther Klotz’s *The Mission Inn: Its History and Artifacts* and Gale’s *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*, as well as on most Mission Inn Foundation docent-led tours.
- ¹⁷⁷ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 27 August 1921.
- ¹⁷⁸ Memorandum from Frank Miller to DeWitt Hutchings, 25 August 1921, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM
- ¹⁷⁹ Frank Miller to Harry Andrews, c/o *Los Angeles Times*, 26 August 1921, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.
- ¹⁸⁰ Borton, Draft of history and publicity materials for Rayas reredos.
- ¹⁸¹ Francis Borton, “The New Spanish Altar at the Mission Inn,” no date, file A500-190.III.F.6, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.
- ¹⁸² Borton, Draft of history and publicity materials for Rayas reredos.

¹⁸³ Borton, “The New Spanish Altar at the Mission Inn.”

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Mexican customs authority denial translation.

¹⁸⁶ In her examination of Mexican national identity, Shelley Garrigan asserts that one key way in which Mexican nationalism was expressed was through prohibiting the export of the country’s cultural property by foreigners. Throughout the nineteenth century, museums across the world filled their glass cases with pre-Columbian artifacts uncovered in Mexico by foreign archaeologists. As Garrigan writes, “Mexico’s prolonged experience of cultural loss through patrimonial confiscation involved both the depletion of important historical artifacts by the Spanish colonizers and foreign explorers and the figurative ownership over pre-Columbian antiquities as exercised in the production and publication of knowledge about them in scholarly treatises.” Shelley Garrigan, *Collecting Mexico: Museums, Monuments, and the Creation of National Identity* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 65. In 1970, the United States and Mexico negotiated the treaty for the Recovery and Return of Stolen Archaeological Historical and Cultural Properties. The treaty called for the bilateral return of pre-Columbian and colonial art and artifacts residing in public institutions, but did not require the return of items held in private institutions. The treaty called for cultural exchange through the long- and short-term loan of objects to museums on both sides. Jeanette Greenfield, *The Return of Cultural Treasures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 159-161.

¹⁸⁷ Frank Miller to Margaret Crane, 20 April 1921.

¹⁸⁸ Cynthia Saltzman, *Old Masters, New World: America’s Raid on Europe’s Great Pictures* (New York: Penguin, 2008), 229.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Saltzman, “The Great War and the Picture Market,” in *Old Masters, New World*, 227-246.

¹⁹¹ S. Spooner, “Pagani, Vincenzo,” in *Biographical History of the Fine Arts Being Memoirs of the Lives and Works of Eminent Painters, Engravers, Sculptors and Architects From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: George Gebbie, 1873), 642.

¹⁹² The J. Paul Getty Museum, *The Annunciation* provenance information, accession number 70.PB.39, received from Scott Schaefer, Senior Curator of Paintings, J. Paul Getty Museum, May 20, 2013.

¹⁹³ “The Annunciation by Vincenzo Pagani, A Notable Exhibition in The Art Gallery At The Inn,” no date, file A500-190.III.F.19, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; “Exhibitions at Chicago Galleries, The Marshall Field Galleries,” *The Fine Arts Journal*, January 1917, 48-49, file A500-190.IV.A.38, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; *The Annunciation* was exhibited at the Mission Inn until 1970 when the hotel’s owner, Benjamin Swig, sold the painting to the J. Paul Getty Trust. The painting stayed in the Getty’s collections until 1984 when it was repatriated to the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, the museum that had originally attempted to acquire the piece from the Florence gallery at the beginning of World War I. The J. Paul Getty Museum, *The Annunciation* provenance; Walter Scotucci and Paola Pierangelini, *Vincenzo Pagani* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1994), 139-140.

¹⁹⁴ “Plans for Memorial,” *Riverside Daily Press*, December 13, 1918, 4; Steve Lech, *Riverside: 1870-1940* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 37.

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- ¹⁹⁵ “Plan Memorial for Soldier Heroes: Chamber of Commerce Directors Urge Co-Operation in Erecting Testimonial,” *Riverside Daily Press*, December 6, 1918, 5.
- ¹⁹⁶ Ibid. As the ad hoc war memorial committee, the Chamber of Commerce resolved to solicit input on the memorial’s final design from “the Riverside Ministerial union, Spanish Art society, G.A.R., women’s clubs, the schools, Red Cross chapter, war relief council, Realty board, Business Men’s association and such other organizations as may make it thoroughly representative of the community.” The Chamber of Commerce also planned to form a full war memorial planning commission with representatives from these groups.
- ¹⁹⁷ “Plans for Memorial”; “Memorial Hall Advocated,” *Riverside Daily Press*, December 6, 1918, 3.
- ¹⁹⁸ “Plans for Memorial.”
- ¹⁹⁹ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 90.
- ²⁰⁰ “Plans for Memorial.”
- ²⁰¹ “Ministers Listen to Memorial Plan,” *Riverside Daily Press*, December 17, 1918, 3.
- ²⁰² Chanoine Delaere to Perrin Galpin, 15 August 1920, file A500-190.III.F.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.
- ²⁰³ Laurence van Ypersèle, “Making the Great War Great: 1914-18 War Memorials in Wallonia,” in *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*, ed. William Kidd and Brian Murdoch (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 26.
- ²⁰⁴ Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 164; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 11.
- ²⁰⁵ Ibid., 17.
- ²⁰⁶ Nicholas J. Saunders, “The Ironic ‘Culture of Shells’ in the Great War and Beyond,” in *Materiel Culture: The Archaeology of Twentieth Century Conflict*, ed. John Schofield, William Gray Johnson and Colleen Beck (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 28 and 37.
- ²⁰⁷ Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 52-53.
- ²⁰⁸ Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 40.
- ²⁰⁹ Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 75-77.
- ²¹⁰ “Biographical Note,” Perrin C. Galpin Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, accessed July 12, 2013, http://findingaids.stanford.edu/xtf/view?docId=ead/hoover/reg_301.xml;chunk.id=headerlink;brand=default.

²¹¹ “Riverside Red Cross Organization,” *Riverside Enterprise*, May 31, 1918, 33.

²¹² “Belgian Relief Commission Head Here,” *Riverside Enterprise*, August 27, 1917, 3.

²¹³ “Socialist Senator to Give Address,” *Riverside Daily Press*, February 5, 1916, 1; “Hugh S Gibson Visits in City,” *Riverside Daily Press*, February 10, 1917, 6; “Noted Belgian in City,” *Riverside Enterprise*, March 7, 1917, 5; “Fifteen Million Persons Face Starvation in Europe, Says Speaker; America Must Help,” *Riverside Enterprise*, December 20, 1919, 6; Hoover and Miller would later become close friends. As Secretary of Commerce, Hoover personally visited the Mission Inn in 1922 on his way to examine locations for the Boulder Dam and Miller stumped throughout the Southland in support of Hoover’s presidential nomination. According to Zona Gale, Miller kept a photo of Hoover, along with his other friends, in his office overlooking the Inn’s Spanish Patio. “Popular Culture Comes to the Mission Inn,” Mission Inn Museum website, Movers and Shakers module, accessed July 12, 2013, http://www.missioninmuseum.com/lessonPlans/mov_lp_11th.htm; Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn*, 300; Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*, 146.

²¹⁴ Frank Miller Hutchings to Dr. Easton Rothwell, Director of Hoover War Library, 29 May 1956, file A500-190.III.F.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Chanoine Delaere to Perrin Galpin, 9 November 1920, file A500-190.III.F.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; The total cost in Belgian Francs according to the correspondence records was 1453.55 Belgian Francs to purchase the Calvary and an additional 755 to ship it to the United States; In a local context, Miller struck a similar deal, providing needed monetary aid in return for historic artifacts. In 1866, residents of the village of Agua Mansa, a small Mexican community near present-day Colton, cast a bell dedicated to Santa Guadalupe for their San Salvador church. After a flood destroyed the San Salvador church, the bell hung from a tree branch near the church’s former location. In 1893, the bell was moved after the construction of a new church, Our Lady of Holy Rosary (later renamed San Salvador in honor of the original parish). In 1916 the second church burned, but the bell was saved from the rubble. As Colton historian R. Bruce Harley relates, “The ensuing financial hardship in finding funds to rebuild led to the sale of the 956-pound bell to the owner of the Mission Inn Riverside...According to the deal struck Frank Miller paid \$500 in cash and moved the bell to the Inn’s courtyard...He also spent about the same amount of money to purchase a lighter bell for the new Colton church building.” The Agua Mansa bell remains in the hotel’s collections, even though in the 1970s the San Bernardino County Museum fought to get the bell back to San Bernardino. R. Bruce Harley, “A Bell for Agua Mansa,” *City of San Bernardino Historical & Pioneer Society, Odyssey* 12, no. 1 (January-April 1990): 6-8.

²¹⁸ Invoice, P.N. Gray and Company, Inc. Import and Export, New York City, c/o Perrin Galpin, Commission for Relief in Belgium, 11 October, 1920, file A500-190.III.F.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; H.B. Titcomb to T.J. Day, 20 September 1920, file A500-190.III.F.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM. The letter details that Miller’s goods from Belgium arrived at the San Pedro port’s Cook McFarland’s warehouse aboard the S.S. Frederic Luckenbach on September 11, 1920. The correspondence between the two shipping agents stated that “the shipment is now under the control of the Custom officials and will remain so until the required entry is made and duty paid.”

²¹⁹ Herbert Hoover to David Houston, Secretary of the Treasury, 19 October 1920, file A500-190.III.F.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; “Secretary Agriculture Houston Visits Riverside Enroute to Coast,” *Riverside Daily Press*, June 27, 1919, 4.

²²⁰ Frank Miller to Perrin Galpin, 28 September 1920, file A500-190.III.F.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²²¹ Chanoine Delaere to Perrin Galpin, 15 August 1920, file A500-190.III.F.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.; Chanoine Delaere to Perrin Galpin, 9 November 1920, file A500-190.III.F.3, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²²⁴ Frank Miller to Perrin Galpin, 28 September 1920.

²²⁵ Chanoine Delaere to Perrin Galpin, 22 February 1921, A500-190.III.F.4, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²²⁶ Frank Miller to Perrin Galpin, 12 April 1921, A500-190.III.F.4, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²²⁷ Frank Miller to Mrs. Herbert Hoover, 22 June 1922, A500-190.III.F.4, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²²⁸ Mark Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London, 1916-1939* (Suffolk: Royal Historical Society, Boydell Press, 2002), 54-58; Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 92.

²²⁹ "Shell Pierced Statue on Rubidoux Will Honor Dead Heroes of War," *Riverside Daily Press*, August 17, 1920, 8.

²³⁰ Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 11.

²³¹ According to historian Deborah Cohen, over 20 million troops were severely wounded in World War I and eight million returned home permanently disabled. In her examination of disabled WWI soldiers, Cohen shows that the bodies of wounded veterans were a reminder of the war's consequences and suffering, suffering which was never over for the disabled veterans. While disabled soldiers were initially welcomed home as heroes, Cohen asserts that the wounded were never fully reintegrated into society, but instead treated as "living memorials" on the sidelines. Writes Cohen, "Although the charitable public championed the veteran's cause, philanthropy did little more than rescue men from penury. It did not promote their return to society. Disabled veterans were segregated: in sheltered workshops, in homes in outlying suburbs, in rehabilitation centers...they were never fully rehabilitated either as workers or as citizens." Disabled veterans were not quietly resigned to their positions on the outskirts, however, but actively protested for better employment opportunities, pensions, and medical care, becoming both patriotic heroes and a threat to domestic peace. Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 1-3 and 102.

²³² Wenzel, *Anecdotes on Mount Rubidoux*, 261.

²³³ Frank Miller to Albert, King of Belgium, circa 1922, file A500-190.III.F.4, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Frank Miller to Mrs. Henry Hoover, 22 June 1922. Miller finished his letter by assuring Mrs. Hoover that Riverside “would deeply impress the good Cardinal” thanks to the city’s “large remnant of Indians, Mexicans and Spanish, practically all of the Catholic faith, religious and reverent.” The underlying racial message was that Catholicism was the religion of California’s past, practiced only by the “remnant” population, not by the Protestant Anglos. A consecration by Belgium’s reigning Cardinal, however, was not only newsworthy, but the ritual and trappings of a Catholic consecration would make for a good show.

²³⁶ “History of the ‘Calvaire’ from the Church of St. Pierre of Ypres, Belgium, Presented 1956 to the Hoover War Library by the heirs of the late Frank A. Miller of Riverside, California,” file A500-190.III.F.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²³⁷ Wenzel, *Anecdotes on Mount Rubidoux*, 165-182.

²³⁸ Memo written by Allis Miller Hutchings, 15 January 1934, file A500-190.III.F.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²³⁹ Frank Miller to Herbert Hoover, 26 January 1934, file A500-190.III.F.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁴⁰ Herbert Hoover to Frank Miller, 29 January 1934, file A500-190.III.F.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁴¹ “History of the ‘Calvaire.’”

²⁴² “Patriotic Riverside Honors Men Who Fought For Country,” *Riverside Daily Press*, November 12, 1928, 1-2.

²⁴³ Frank Miller to Harry Chandler, 17 December 1927, file A500-I.D.22, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁴⁴ “Riverside’s Memorial Auditorium,” draft publicity materials for auditorium dedication, file A500-190.I.D.22, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁴⁵ DeWitt Hutchings to Carl R. Gray, President, Union Pacific Railroad, 19 July 1936, file A500-190.I.D.7, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁴⁶ Frank Miller to Harry Chandler, 17 December 1927; Clarence Barton, “Capitalizing the Beautiful,” draft of editorial for *Los Angeles Times*, November 1928, file A500-190.I.D.22, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; “Install Eagle on Auditorium,” *Riverside Daily Press*, October 29, 1927, 2; *Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations*, fourth session, Mission Inn, December 1928, “Members and Delegates” (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1929), 236.

²⁴⁷ Barton, “Capitalizing the Beautiful,” 4.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 80.

²⁵⁰ “Riverside’s Memorial Auditorium.”

²⁵¹ Cohen, *The War Come Home*, 1; Lisa Budreau, *Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919-1933* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 20.

²⁵² As Emily Rosenberg has examined, postwar international relief organizations used food, medical supplies, and funds for rebuilding as a way to weaken radical movements that threatened U.S. interests, while fostering a booming American farm economy. During his time as head of the American Relief Administration, Herbert Hoover utilized this system to attempt to turn Russian citizens away from Bolshevism. Hoover strong armed Lenin to allow his administration to directly distribute food to the starving Russians and blocked other relief organizations who were sympathetic to the Bolsheviks from providing aid. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 117-121.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁵⁴ Chanoine Delaere to Perrin Galpin, 15 August 1920.

²⁵⁵ Boylan, “The Concept of Cultural Protection in Times of Armed Conflict,” 52-53; “Treaty for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments,” *The American Journal of International Law* 30, no. 4 (October 1936): 195-198; “The American Treaty on the Roerich Pact,” *Science* 80, no. 2078 (October 1934): 375.

²⁵⁶ Frank Miller to Cordell Hull, 11 January 1935, file A500-190.I.B.23, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁵⁷ Since the Roerich Pact, there have been a series of international treaties signed to limit the destruction, looting, and sale of cultural property during wartime. Most notably, the post World War II charter of the United Nations led to the formation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the intergovernmental agency now responsible for policing such activity. Boylan, “The Concept of Cultural Protection in Times of Armed Conflict,” 54-86. Most recently, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan demonstrated that these international treaties are still insufficient. Whether it was the Taliban’s destruction of ancient monumental Afghani Buddhas or the looting of the Iraq National Museum in Baghdad during the 2003 U.S. insurgency, as U.S. foreign policy adviser William R. Polk stated, “In the fog of war, nothing could be safe.” Milbry Polk and Angela Schuster, eds., *The Looting of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad: The Lost Legacy of Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 2005), 8-9. In the realm of professional museum practice, from the 1990 U.S. Native American Graves Repatriation Act (NAGRPA) to the ongoing Elgin Marbles controversy between the British Museum and Greece, ethical collecting procedures surrounding cultural property have come under fire and been drastically revised (at least on paper) in the last 25 years. The American Association of Art Museum Directors and the American Association of Museums have come out with position papers and codes of conduct calling for collecting practices through strictly legal channels with stringent provenance documentation assuring artifacts were never sold illegally and guarantees that collecting will not harm the country of origin’s patrimony. It is still unanswered if collecting practices have really changed, bringing to the fore the perpetual question of whether or not museums should seek out historical art, artifacts, and antiquities for preservation and public education even if they were once on the black market. As a counterpoint to the Art Museum Directors position, in 2002, 18 U.S. and European art galleries signed a declaration stating that while they were against unethical collecting practices, they largely viewed repatriation as disruptive to museums and the national heritage of the country where the artifacts reside. “Over time, objects so acquired – whether by purchase, gift, or partage – have become part of the museums that have cared for them, and by extension, part of the heritage of the nations which house them... To narrow the focus of museums whose collections are diverse and multifaceted would therefore be a

disservice to all visitors.” “Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums: ‘Museums Serve Every Nation,’” in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. Ivan Karp, et al. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 248; Association of Art Museum Directors, “Art Museums and the International Exchange of Cultural Artifacts,” in *Museum Frictions*, 251; American Association of Museums, “Code of Ethics for Museums,” 2000, accessed August 21, 2012, <http://www.aam-us.org/museumresources/ethics/coe.cfm/>. As recently as August 2012, the Cleveland Museum of Art has come under fire for its acquisition of Mayan, Roman, and Greek antiquities each with unclear provenance and coming from an art dealer formerly convicted of falsifying customs documents. Randy Kennedy, “Museum Defends Antiquities Collecting,” *The New York Times*, August 12, 2012, accessed August 21, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/13/arts/design/cleveland-museum-buys-antiquities-stirs-ethics-debates.html?_r=2.

²⁵⁸ Boylan, “The Concept of Cultural Protection in Times of Armed Conflict,” 53 and 70.

²⁵⁹ “Costumes and Customs of Nations Shown by Bothwell: Murals of World Dances Make New Inn Room Gay,” *Riverside Daily Press*, January 21, 1938, 7; The 23 countries represented in the mural were Romania, Sweden, China, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, United States, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Persia, Thailand, Greece, Albania, Iceland, and Japan; Bothwell also designed the statue of Juan Bautista de Anza and the mural of his expedition at Riverside’s Newman Park at the corner of Magnolia Avenue and Fourteenth. The park is named after Frank Miller’s brother-in-law, George Newman, who originally owned the plot of land. “Newman Park and the De Anza Statue,” City of Riverside Landmark #73, in “Landmarks of the City of Riverside,” City of Riverside Historic Preservation Program, accessed July 24, 2013, <http://www.riversideca.gov/historic/pdf/landmarks-web.pdf>.

²⁶⁰ “Dance of the Nations Around the World,” image 1034, box 10, Series 1, Avery Edwin Field Collection, University of California, Riverside, Special Collections.

Chapter Four

Inn Ruin: Transformation, Decay, and (Urban) Renewal, 1935-1985

On Sunday, March 23, 1969, Mission Inn security guard James Sullivan chained and padlocked the Inn's front doors, shutting down hotel operation for the first time since the site opened as a boarding house in 1876. Payroll was nearly ten days overdue for the fourth time in recent months and a court-ordered union marshal from the AFL-CIO Culinary Local 535 was stationed at the hotel to collect nearly \$9,000 in back medical benefit payments owed to workers by the Inn management. With a mountain of dishes piled in the kitchen and all staff except essential personnel turned away, Inn manager Fred L'Hoir told the *Riverside Press*, "Unless there is a prospect of more money, I don't see how it can be kept open."¹ Facing imminent bankruptcy, the dilapidated Inn was a far cry from the luxurious hotel it had once been as the center of Riverside economic, social, and cultural life during the early twentieth century. This 1969 closure was the culmination of nearly two decades of lagging occupancy and delayed structural maintenance, but also presaged another twenty years of dire financial woes for the sprawling hotel. Riverside journalist and historian Tom Patterson characterized the Inn as a "silent monument to the past," in an article detailing the hotel's operation halt. The hotel, which gained national renown for its mythic depiction of California's mission heritage, was now itself an out-of-touch relic.² In fact, however, the Inn was not at all a "monument to the past," but was a thoroughly modern expression of changing Southern

California tourism patterns, emerging campaigns for historic preservation, city leaders' preoccupation with redeveloping languishing downtown cores, and new debates about the legality of using public funds to rehabilitate private property.

Following Frank Miller's June 1935 death the Mission Inn spiraled into a series of transitional phases as the hotel's rotating ownership attempted to maintain the Inn's popularity in reaction to the evolving tourism and business landscape. Miller's daughter, Allis Miller Hutchings, and her husband DeWitt Hutchings, owned and managed the hotel from 1935 until their deaths in October 1952 and February 1953. Under the Hutchings, the Inn catered to the region's growing military population, especially after the outbreak of World War II flooded Riverside's March Army Air Field, Camp Haan, and Camp Anza with thousands of soldiers and pilots. The Hutchings struck a contract with the U.S. Army to provide housing for visiting officers, while also launching specialized advertising campaigns to promote the Inn's military collections and its International Shrine to Aviators in order to capitalize on wartime fervor.³ This boom, however, was short lived. With the deaths of Allis and DeWitt, Miller's grandchildren sold the property to Benjamin Swig, owner of the San Francisco-based Fairmont Hotel Company, in 1956. Mission Inn historians have described the time after 1956 as "the ugly years" and the "years of chaos," in which the hotel devolved from an elite institution to one that could not even afford to keep its doors open.⁴

The Inn's demise was predicated on fundamental changes to Riverside after World War II. These changes, such as outward residential growth and the surge of planned shopping districts located outside the central downtown core affected cities

across the nation. More pertinent to the Inn's decline was that Riverside was simply no longer a tourist draw, a devastating situation for the once booming destination hotel. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the Inn annually hosted thousands of guests thanks to its convenient location one block from three major railway stops, its promise of a restful atmosphere, hospitable service, trolley rides through the orange groves and to Sherman Institute, and auto tours up Mt. Rubidoux for panoramic city views. By the 1950s, Riverside was trading its orange groves for suburban subdivisions and highways were replacing railroads as the preferred travel mode. The Mission Inn could not compete with new nearby vacation paradises like Palm Springs and Las Vegas, each constructed specifically for tourist consumption. At midcentury, Riverside was a place to live, not a place to visit.

The hotel was what historian Nick Yablon describes as an “untimely ruin.”⁵ Unlike the picturesque, sublime, and melancholy ruins of bygone civilizations, where nature gradually and romantically reasserts dominance over manmade structures, “untimely ruins” emerged abruptly in the nineteenth century as cities rapidly urbanized, leaving remnants of older structures, abandoned projects, and obsolete infrastructure in the wake.⁶ This process accelerated in post-World War II America with deindustrialization and economic and residential flight from urban downtowns, which left behind ruins that were anything but romantic, and, instead, depicted economic collapse.⁷

Writes Yablon:

The rusted-out and boarded-up factories on the margins of cities and the crumbling housing stock of inner-city areas – products of, among other things, the withdrawal of capital, industries, and white and middle-class residents, and the destructiveness of highway construction, landlord arsons, and “race riots” – have been compared to the grotesque ruins of modern wars...Not only are these ruins unsusceptible to natural decay, they also appear resistant to economic recuperation.

While some blighted areas have been gentrified, most struggle to attract new industries and investments.⁸

As the Mission Inn's popularity waned and the hotel exhibited signs of decay in the second half of the twentieth century, the hotel morphed from Riverside's exemplar of elite opulence and cultural learning to a civic embarrassment. Once the showpiece of all Riverside promotional literature, by the 1970s the hotel was a site of tawdry danger, a result of the unsafe conditions inside the Inn's disintegrating structure and the endless string of crimes committed in and around the hotel, including burglaries, drug deals, physical assaults, wiretapping, and rumored prostitution.

One of the necessities for modern ruins, according to landscape historian J.B. Jackson is that a ruin provides the catalyst for preservation and rebirth.⁹ Between 1956 and 1985, Mission Inn owners, Riverside city and county leaders, and an array of volunteer citizen groups strove to again make the Inn a profitable enterprise by devising dozens of business schemes. Benjamin Swig modernized the hotel with air conditioners, televisions, and naugahyde and Formica furnishings, while also auctioning nearly 1,000 of the Inn's prized historic artifacts. The City of Riverside poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into redeveloping downtown, beginning an endless chicken and egg debacle in which the renewal of downtown Riverside was viewed as integral to the future success of the Mission Inn and the Mission Inn's future success was pinned on downtown renewal. Increasingly, the city's strength was gauged by the Inn's prosperity. As officials struggled to find an answer, the Inn was repurposed as a temporary dorm for University of California, Riverside students and as low rent apartments, while interested parties from

around the nation proposed turning the hotel into a California State Park, a college campus, a retirement community, or just bulldozing the structure to sell off the land.

There was little preservation precedent and few models for Inn stakeholders to follow. Debates raged in local media about the Inn's historic value: Should the collections be sold to help fund the structure's restoration or was the Inn's importance based on its assemblage of architecture and objects? Could the Mission Inn actually be considered historic or was it just an old hotel that had outlived its usefulness? The goal always circled back around to getting the Inn back on its feet as a profitable tourist hotel, but few wanted to face the reality that Riverside and the Mission Inn would never regain their past glory.

In 1976, the City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency purchased the Mission Inn after yet another private owner of the site filed bankruptcy. The City formed a non-profit organization, the Mission Inn Foundation, to manage the site, blurring any definitive lines as to whether the Inn was public or private property and bringing key questions to the fore about how to ensure public access to the Inn (a necessity for a city-owned property) while also turning a profit as a hotel. The agency hoped that extensive renovation funded by federal, state, local, and corporate grants could turn the Inn into a lucrative private venture. To city leaders who brokered the Redevelopment Agency sale, the Mission Inn was central to Riverside's identity and was therefore worthy of public funds. As Riverside architect Blaine Rawden stated, "If you don't save the few things that distinguish you from the next community you are just going to be part of the sprawl."¹⁰ Miller spent the hotel's early years attempting to construct authenticity through

connections to the California missions and through the Inn's historic collections; in its decay and the ensuing preservation struggle the Inn became the "real thing" in comparison to new tourist enterprises.

In the midst of the city's urban renewal initiative to rechristen the Mission Inn as an elite private hotel, which it considered essential to Riverside's economic health, something almost poetic happened – during these "ugly years" the Inn actually became the most public place that it had ever been or subsequently ever would be. Because of its financial insolvency and lack of security, citizens could freely wander the hotel's halls and discover its treasure trove of artifacts, which were also decaying at a rapid rate. The site's use as a college dormitory and as apartments, in addition to the preservation volunteer groups (comprised, as so many early preservation groups were, of upper-class women), and civic leaders working to secure the Inn's future meant that a diverse cross section of people consistently interacted at the hotel as never before. In its decline, the Mission Inn grew to be a true center of civic activity, not just a showplace of Riverside privilege.

The Hutchings Years: Mission Inn as Militarized Zone

At seventy-eight years old, Frank Miller passed away on June 15, 1935, after battling a reportedly long struggle with cancer.¹¹ In September 1935 a public memorial atop Mt. Rubidoux drew hundreds of mourners and special condolences from Herbert Hoover and California Governor F.F. Merriam.¹² The *Los Angeles Times*, at the helm of Miller's good friend Harry Chandler, would republish Miller's obituary each June for five consecutive years, extolling Miller's contributions to the development of Southern

California.¹³ Although the Mission Inn remained open throughout the Great Depression, the hotel had not turned a profit since 1929 and Miller's family acted quickly to reorganize the Inn's business affairs and leadership structure after his death. By 1936, the hotel corporation elected a new board of directors, placing Miller's widow Marion Clark Miller as president, Allis Miller Hutchings as vice president, longtime Inn porter William Herbert as secretary, and Miller's sister Alice Richardson as treasurer, with Harry Chandler acting as board chairman and Allis and DeWitt Hutchings managing daily operations. The corporation, formerly the Glenwood Hotel Company, was renamed Frank A. Miller, Incorporated, and board members stated their goal to "carry out specifically and fully the policies and ideals of the late Frank A. Miller...to maintain the Inn as the Southern California institution...that it has become."¹⁴

The Hutchings enacted few drastic changes to the Inn in their first years as managers, even briefly reinstating a ban on the sale of hard liquor, a policy of temperance-minded Miller since the hotel's opening.¹⁵ In spite of their initial continuance of the Inn's status quo, both Allis and DeWitt fought to emerge from Miller's long shadow as the new "Masters of the Inn." The Inn's object and art collections remained the hotel's major advertising vehicle. In a forceful September 1936 letter to the hotel's directors, Allis made it clear that she, DeWitt, and their children, Isabella, Helen, and Frank, not Frank A. Miller, Inc., owned the Inn's artifact collections, which she cited were legally transferred to her from her father on April 19, 1922.¹⁶ Allis wrote prodigiously on the Inn's collections, publishing dozens of articles in *Hobbies*, *Pacific Coast Record*, *Air Trails*, and *National Motorist*.¹⁷ In order to advertise the Inn's

St. Francis Chapel as a wedding destination, Allis and DeWitt began a historic wedding ring collection with rings from China, Italy, Ireland, Brazil, and Cuba.¹⁸

Since marrying Allis in 1909, Princeton-educated DeWitt strove for increased responsibility in the hotel's business and promotional affairs, hoping to mold himself into the Inn's next generation of eccentric showman, world traveler, and collector. Miller had made the boisterous DeWitt the voice of his annual Easter Sunrise Services atop Mt. Rubidoux and although he aided in the hotel's art and artifact curation, DeWitt held little sway in the hotel's management, a source of constant tension between him and his father-in-law.¹⁹ DeWitt expressed his frustration to Miller in an April 1924 letter, which he later chose not to send. "The chief reason I did not want to continue at the Inn was that if I was to help Allis in the future, I should be gaining in business experience and judgment," writes DeWitt. "The work you gave me to do at the Inn, which was getting to be almost entirely the use of my voice for readings, offered no mental development and was stagnation. If you are content to have that happen to me, I could not be."²⁰ DeWitt honed his managerial skills with seasonal positions at resorts in Lake Tahoe and Montana, but also traveled extensively on his own, returning home to actively lecture about his grand tours.²¹ His most extensive and highly publicized trip was his 1922 eight-month trek across Palestine, Arabia, and Persia with World War I correspondent and travel writer Edward Alexander Powell. "Garbed in Arab robes, with head dresses fluttering in the desert breeze, and bandoliers stuffed with cartridges," as the local press described their exotic travel fashion, DeWitt and Powell's imperial journey through Constantinople, Jerusalem, Damascus, Baghdad, Tehran, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and

Georgia was made possible by letters of introduction from British and French diplomats charged with overseeing the region's economic and political development at the end of World War I.²² DeWitt returned to Riverside in November 1922 with dozens of new bells for the hotel's collection and Powell documented their adventures in his 1923 book *By Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne*, which he dedicated to DeWitt.²³

In an attempt to make a name for himself as a collector independent of Miller, DeWitt also took a rather disastrous foray into fine art dealing, purchasing Bartolome Esteban Murillo's *Immaculate Conception with the Mirror* in September 1922 while staying in Paris at the end of his Arabian expedition. DeWitt paid an undisclosed amount for the Murillo, although in December 1921 art dealers at New York's Ehrich Gallery had approached Miller about purchasing the piece for \$25,000, but Miller ultimately refused.²⁴ DeWitt's intention in purchasing the Murillo was to sell the painting for a large profit; in order to do so he wanted to keep his purchase price off the record and denied all requests for artists to reproduce the painting.²⁵ In a 1923 letter to DeWitt from C. Brunner, the Paris art dealer who sold him the Murillo, Brunner states,

You may be assured that nothing will be known, as far as I am concerned, of the terms of our transaction and I believe, I can also count on the discreetness of my staff. You ought to do me the favour of reserving me a small commission on the profit you are making when selling this masterpiece of Murillo, since you had it very cheap, as we say here, for a piece of bread. Don't you think it would be nice?²⁶

To foster investment interest in his Old Spanish Master canvas and to separate his private endeavors from the Mission Inn, Hutchings exhibited the painting exclusively outside the hotel, loaning it temporarily to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Hispanic Art Society, and the Los Angeles Museum at Exposition Park. Additionally, he wrote to art historians on the East Coast to favorably evaluate the painting while it was exhibited at

the Metropolitan and attempted to get John Steven McGroarty, Edward Doheny of the University of Southern California, art historian Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. of Princeton University, art historian John C. Van Dyke of Rutgers College, and Edward Ayer of the Field Museum as well as the Ehrich Gallery, Duveen Brothers, and MacBeth Gallery in New York to purchase the painting, all to no avail.²⁷ In 1923, he hires an exclusive agent from New York's New Netherland Bank to sell the painting for a whopping \$200,000.²⁸ By 1924, the painting has not sold and Hutchings was desperate. He drafted a letter to Miller asking for a \$30,000 loan, stipulating that if he could not pay him back within a year DeWitt would give Miller the Murillo.²⁹ In the end, DeWitt's scheme is unsuccessful and in 1937 DeWitt hung the Murillo in the St. Francis Chapel hoping to draw visitors to gaze at the seventeenth century painting, proclaiming, "Of the three famous 'Immaculate Conceptions' painted by Murillo, the original just brought here has been declared the best."³⁰ The painting was appraised by R.P. Tolman of the Smithsonian's National Collection of Fine Arts and a private appraisal company in 1938, placing its value at only \$10,000.³¹



Figure 78: *The Immaculate Conception with the Mirror* by Bartolome Esteban Murillo. The painting is now in the collections of the Museo de Arte de Ponce in Puerto Rico. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Freed from Miller's authority and with greater power over the Mission Inn's operations, DeWitt expanded Miller's California tourism promotional efforts by joining

the Roads to Romance Association, the California State Parks Commission, the National U.S. Highway 60 Association, the Southern California and California State Hotel Associations, and the Riverside Chamber of Commerce.³² By 1938, however, both Allis and DeWitt Hutchings were changing the Inn in ways that fundamentally altered the site's earlier interpretations. Whereas Miller had crafted his hotel as an antimodern retreat (albeit one with modern conveniences) that romantically harkened back to California's Spanish heritage and was filled with relics from the past, the Hutchings looked to the future. Operating in a similar vein as had Miller in the early 1900s when he endeavored to geographically and historically link the Mission Inn to the actual California missions, the Hutchings utilized aviation to connect the hotel to the growing national fascination with plane travel and to the local military airfields gearing up for potential war.

As part of the 1932 International Rotunda addition, Miller and the Hutchings, in an ingenious marketing move, built an International Shrine of Aviators nestled in the corner of the Rotunda's St. Francis Atrio. Since the first successful powered flight by the Wright Brothers in 1903 and their subsequent exhibition tours in 1908, aviation loomed large in American culture. The impossibility of human flight made real was almost inconceivable and aviation was popularly viewed as wondrous or even magical. As aviation historian Joseph Corn states, "Unlike most other phenomena encountered in daily life, there seemed to be no words to describe an airplane flight except ones borrowed from the supernatural and mystical realms. Airplane flight was 'miraculous,' 'inhuman,' 'occult,' or most commonly a 'miracle.'"³³ World War I fighter pilot "aces"

became national heroes and after the war ended daredevil barnstormers traveled the country performing dangerous aeronautic acrobatics. Flight technology also rapidly evolved, and aviators, such as Charles Lindbergh who famously crossed the Atlantic in 1927, heatedly competed for world records in flight length and duration. Aviators represented an ideal American image that celebrated innovation, exploration, and overcoming adversity.³⁴

Riverside had tight local connections to aviation thanks to the Army Air Corps March Field Air Base. In 1918, Miller himself actually sold the U.S government the 640 acres of land, for the tidy sum of \$64,000, on the southeastern outskirts of town where the base was built as a training facility.³⁵ The International Shrine of Aviators was nestled in the corner of the St. Francis Atrio, in its early years identified only by a row of international flags framing the top and later enclosed by a stylized iron gate. The Shrine was dedicated and blessed by Monsignor John M. McCarthy on December 15, 1932, and each year the Inn invited high profile aviators to sign and place specially designed copper wings on the shrine's wall. In one of the hotel's many historical reimaginings, Miller and company claimed St. Francis, already a central image throughout the Inn, as not only the Patron Saint of Birds but also of "birdmen." A statue of St. Francis placed in a niche above the shrine guarded the wings below. As an expert commemorator, Miller perfected a balance between reverence and commercialism. A booklet written for the shrine's dedication, decreed the shrine's purpose: "Here come the aviators of all nations to remember absent comrades and in the little Chapel's peace to feel that all is well with them. Here is a place where memories of loss and grief become memories of tenderness

and hope.”³⁶ The hotel produced souvenir medals stamped with a likeness of St. Francis kneeling in front of the St. Francis Chapel on one side, and an airplane, Riverside’s raincross, and the phrase, “St. Francis, Patron Saint of the Birds, Protect the Men Who Fly,” on the reverse.³⁷ The christening of St. Francis as the spiritual protector of “birdmen” exemplified flight’s religious overtones advanced by aviation’s evangelizers. The ability to fly called to mind ancient Gods as well as the ascension of Jesus Christ. Flight allowed wingless mortals to rise above the Earth and reach closer to the heavens.³⁸ The shrine afforded Miller and the Hutchings the opportunity to update the site’s image and to insert the hotel into contemporary trends by blending past with present, Spanish fantasy with state-of-the-art aeronautics.

Although Miller shaped the construction of the International Shrine of Aviators, the hotel’s Rotunda addition and the shrine opened just three years before his death. It was Allis and DeWitt Hutchings who solidified the bond between the Inn and aviation. The first official wing ceremony, honoring Major General B.D. Foulois, Lieutenant Colonel Hap Arnold (future Army and Air Force General), Brigadier General Oscar Westover, and dirigible pilot Lieutenant Commander H.V. Wiley, took place March 26, 1934. From 1934 until their deaths in the mid-1950s, the Hutchings added 123 military pilots, commanders, explorers, air groups, and aviation innovators to the “Famous Fliers’ Wall,” most of whom personally visited the Inn for their individual wing ceremonies, garnering the hotel widespread media coverage. The honorees included such pioneers as Amelia Earhart, Jacqueline Cochran, Eddie Rickenbacker, and General Hoyt Vandenberg.³⁹



Figure 79: The Mission Inn’s International Shrine of Aviators, circa late 1930s, located next to the St. Francis Chapel. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

For the Hutchings, however, aviation was more than a promotional vehicle – they were dubbed “Riverside’s most ‘air-minded’ family.” “Air-minded” was a popular term in the U.S. following the Great War used to describe people “having enthusiasm for airplanes, believing in their potential to better human life, and supporting aviation development.”⁴⁰ In conjunction with the Fliers’ Wall, Allis and DeWitt launched a new collection of international aviation insignia, medals, and mementoes, which eventually

grew to over three hundred pieces.⁴¹ In December 1936, Allis, DeWitt, and their three children embarked on a three-week air journey to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, aboard Pan-American Airlines sleeper plane, the Clipper, which had famously traveled from San Francisco to China the previous year.⁴² On this journey to “spread world friendship and international amity,” the Hutchings flew cross-country to Miami and then on to Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guyana, and Trinidad before reaching Rio.⁴³ DeWitt traveled to Central and South America again in 1940 as part of a Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce trade delegation.⁴⁴ Additionally, Allis worked as secretary of the Women’s International Association of Aeronautics, Isabella Hutchings was active in UCLA’s aviation fraternity, and Frank Miller Hutchings flew over the Atlantic Ocean in the infamous Hindenburg zeppelin.⁴⁵

The Mission Inn’s “air-mindedness” demonstrated evolving forms of imperialism spurred by aviation, which grew exponentially with U.S. entrance into World War II in 1941. At its outset flight promoters prophesied that aviation would bring the world together as had never before been possible, ushering in an epoch of “peace and harmony” achieved through the “free and untrammelled movement,” aviation provided.⁴⁶ But, this “free movement” was only available to those who could afford it and as historian David Courtland explains, until the mid-1950s, the major U.S. commercial airlines “did three-quarters of their business with the wealthiest quarter of the population.”⁴⁷ Goodwill tours, such as those taken by the Hutchings, displayed explicit power relations through the fact that only certain well-developed, industrial nations had flight capabilities. The Hutchings extended Miller’s travel and collecting practices, which personified early

twentieth-century American imperialism and granted him regional cultural authority, into the air age's new frontier.⁴⁸



Figure 80: A U.S. Air Force B-29 emblazoned with Mission Inn nose art. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

While the International Shrine of Aviators initially tied the Mission Inn to the region's military outposts, with the outbreak of World War II, the Inn and Riverside, like the entire state of California, mobilized for war. World War II represents a definitive ideological break for the Mission Inn where hotel management summarily abandoned principles once central to the site's identity and reoriented other meanings to meet wartime needs. According to the early proponents of the "winged gospel" international conflicts would end as flight enabled diverse peoples to more easily interact with one another.⁴⁹ The flip side to this utopian vision, however, as seen in World War II, was that

air flight enabled the swift, systematic destruction of people and landscapes on a devastating scale. At the Mission Inn, Miller's ideal of internationalism, reminiscent of the idealistic "winged gospel," merged with the realities of global war. Once a place touted as a symbol of peaceful diplomacy (although one thoroughly ensconced in a Eurocentric and xenophobic mind-set), the Mission Inn during World War II celebrated the new high-tech airplanes built to kill. Throughout the war, the Inn overwhelmingly inducted fighter pilots and bomber designers to the International Shrine of Aviators.⁵⁰ Yet, in many ways, the Hutchings' commemoration of American military might differed little from Miller's peace ideals. Miller believed in peaceful international conflict solutions as long as the United States did the brokering. After World War II, the U.S. expanded its air arsenal to maintain military bases around the globe becoming a newly powerful world policeman through its robust military-industrial complex.

The International Shrine of Aviators was just the beginning of the Mission Inn's militarization. From 1941 to 1945 the hotel shifted from a luxury hotel to a housing and entertainment authority for the military. Riverside was integral to both war production and Army and Air Force troop training. The local Food Machinery Corporation, which made automated orange crating machines, switched to producing the Water Buffalo, an amphibious landing vehicle, and the Hunter window blind company (later known as Hunter-Douglas), changed to manufacturing small implements for war material.⁵¹ March Field swelled to 85,000 Air Force personnel, while the adjacent Camp Haan, an "anti-aircraft artillery training" center held 80,000 troops at its peak, including Italian and German POWs, and Camp Anza at Riverside's southwestern edge processed roughly

600,000 soldiers between 1942 and 1946.⁵² Arlington Reception Center, Mira Loma Quartermasters Depot, San Bernardino Air Depot, Camp Young, Victorville Air Base, Camp Irwin, and the Desert Training Center were all located within fifty miles of the Inn, making the hotel a hub for traveling officers, visiting families, and soldiers on leave.⁵³

With the influx of hundreds of thousands of troops into the Inland Southern California region, housing was in short supply and military guests accounted for seventy-five to ninety percent of the Mission Inn's occupancy during World War II. In January 1942, the hotel signed a contract with the U.S. Army to provide rooms for officers, rank Major and above, "whenever demanded," at a discounted rate of \$3 per person, while also accommodating "Captains down" for \$2 per person.⁵⁴ At the height of the war the Inn even examined renting the entire hotel to the U.S. government for \$125,000 a year.⁵⁵ Hotel employees invested over ten percent of their payroll into War Bonds and commanding officers from the surrounding military bases extolled the Mission Inn for providing essential war services.⁵⁶

By 1942, the hotel was a fully militarized zone as was the entire Southern California region. As historians Lisa McGirr and Kevin Starr have outlined, Southern California was a major site of defense production and armed forces staging during and after World War II. California's coastline made it the perfect gateway to the Pacific theatre. More so than other Pacific states, writes Starr, "California also possessed the available land mass, a suitable topography and climate, the port, rail, and highway infrastructure, the energy resources...and the industrial and social infrastructure to make it one of the two principal training and staging zones throughout the duration of the

conflict.”⁵⁷ Aside from the military bases, the region’s economy was fueled by defense and aviation production, with approximately \$50 billion in defense money flowing into the state from World War II to 1960 and major aviation companies, such as Lockheed-Martin, Boeing, Northrop Aircraft, McDonnell-Douglas, and Hughes Aircraft setting up headquarters in Southern California.⁵⁸ Capitalizing on wartime anxieties, patriotic sentiment, and the area’s wartime production boom, the Inn ran advertisements placing the hotel as part of the region’s defense buildup and spinning military tourism as a way for civilians to prepare for war. In one spot that ran in the *Los Angeles Times* just three weeks before the Pearl Harbor bombing, the Inn warned visitors to “Be Prepared!” The ad reads,

An exciting trip right now is a tour of the Southland Defense Area. Riverside’s Camp Haan, March Field – test field for the B-19 and Mission Inn are ‘musts,’ of course! Why the Mission Inn? Because it houses an outstanding collection of historic defense material not to be found in any museum...Be prepared – see the entire defense picture. Stop over at amazing Mission Inn.⁵⁹

Another spot promoted the Inn’s annual Institute of World Affairs conference as a means to assuage wartime fears: “Special rates are yours if you will just identify yourself as one of those wide awake citizens who know they can’t afford to miss a single discussion on vital world issues. For confused minds and perturbed souls, there is no better tonic than sharing the thinking of great men and relaxing in the quiet of historic Mission Inn, Riverside.”⁶⁰

Aside from the Mission Inn’s use as a de facto military housing facility, World War II presented the Hutchings with an intellectual and marketing challenge – they needed to definitively separate the Inn from its ties to Japan. As discussed in previous chapters, Miller was an ardent admirer of imperial Japan and following his 1925 Asian

tour, Japan figured heavily into the Inn's artifact displays and special events. Not only did Miller receive Emperor Hirohito's Order of the Rising Sun medal in 1929 for his work in promoting Japanese culture, Miller paid public tribute to Hirohito with a carved relief panel of his image at the 1932 Institute of International Relations meeting and he feted Japan's imperial Prince Tsunerori Kaya and his wife Princess Tokisho Kaya at the Inn in September 1934, followed by their cousin Shojio Otani in January 1935.⁶¹ Miller genuinely respected Japan's industrial empire, viewing it as a potential "civilizing" force for the entire Asian continent.⁶²

After Japan aligned with European fascists and unleashed their imperial force, which Miller had once praised, on U.S. territory, the Hutchings needed to reinterpret the Inn and erase any indication that the site remained a friend to Japan, especially since the hotel was located in such a rapidly militarizing region. Beginning in late 1937, the Hutchings worked swiftly to change the Inn's Japanese rooms to reflect more general "Polynesian" themes and to cater to the growing military population looking for local entertainment. The Fuji Kan room, constructed in 1926 as a Japanese salon, was reopened as the "El Mundo" cocktail lounge, the hotel's first bar, featuring black vinyl bar stools and a wallpaper border of colorful globes and cartoons in festive international costume.⁶³ Two years later, the Hutchings constructed a palm frond roof over the Court of the Orient's lower level, built a bar in the adjoining Temple of the Buddha, which housed the two hundred-year old carved Amedabha Buddha, and renamed the new dancehall the Lea Lea Room, "lea lea" meaning laughter in Hawaiian. The Hutchings actually removed few decorations when they built the Lea Lea; the Buddha, intricate wall

carvings, miniature Pagodas, and hand painted temple light fixtures remained, with the addition of a bar fronted in bamboo, fake palm trees, bamboo side chairs, teak tables, and an indoor waterfall.⁶⁴ The room was filled with fishing nets, conch shells, shark jaws, Moro warrior shields, Malayan masks displayed against Samoan and Javanese cloth, and “crude” handcrafted drums from Guyana, all to “reflect the primitive background of the tropics.”⁶⁵

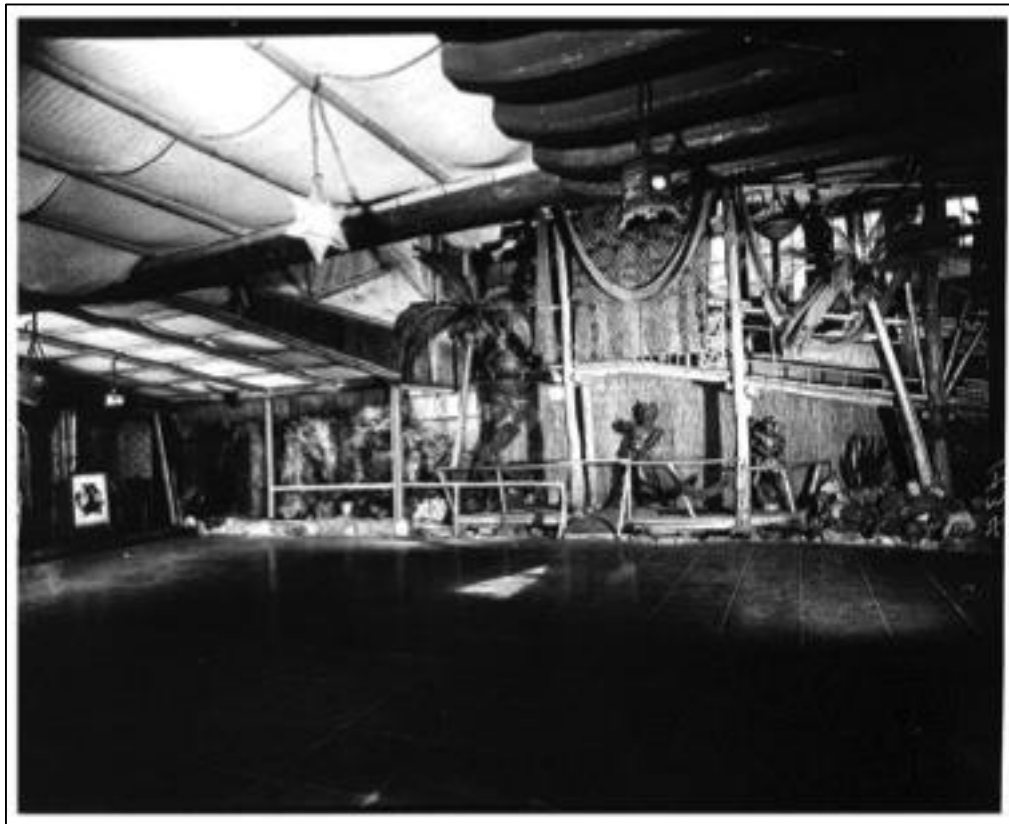


Figure 81: The interior of the Lea Lea Room, circa 1940. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

In the late-1930s, “Tiki” bars and restaurants were a growing trend in Southern California, the kitschy recreational response to decades of largely European art, music, and literature inspired by Polynesia’s exotic landscapes and people, which gained

increasing popularity on the American West Coast following the U.S. annexation of Hawaii at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Although the Lea Lea Room was on the forefront of the Tiki trend, it followed the already established path of L.A.'s Clifton's Pacific Seas Cafeteria, Don the Beachcomber, and Trader Vic's.⁶⁶ World War II helped spread the "Tiki" trend nationally thanks to the greater visibility of the Pacific islands, the travel experiences of returning soldiers, and romantic postwar renderings of the region, such as James Michener's 1948 best-seller *Tales of the South Pacific*.⁶⁷

In October 1940 the Lea Lea opened for dancing as well as drinks with big bands, such as Andy Iona's string orchestra, playing until one a.m. every night except Sunday. The Inn released new advertisements featuring dark-skinned hula girls enticing people to "dance nightly beneath tropic palms, beside an island stream in...the Lea Lea Room," where "South seas magic [is] captured in an exotic setting for your supper-dancing pleasure."⁶⁸ As Inn Assistant Manager Allen Pederson stated, the Lea Lea became "the meeting place of most all the officers when in Riverside."⁶⁹



Figure 82: Mission Inn guests enjoying drinks at the Lea Lea Room bar. The Ho-O-Kan originally housed a shrine to the Buddha now behind the bar. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

While Polynesian-themed entertainment venues “allowed suburban Americans to have a night out in acceptably exotic circumstances,” the Lea Lea and El Mundo Rooms at the Mission Inn were constructed to accomplish a larger goal.⁷⁰ As World War II imperiled U.S. territorial control, the Lea Lea Room’s South Pacific theme celebrated American imperial dominance over its tropical protectorates, such as Hawaii, the Philippines, American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.⁷¹ Whereas Miller had created his Japanese rooms to revere Japanese culture, the Hutchings rendered the Inn’s Japanese collections benign by using them as background set pieces that helped craft a South Seas vibe, which included generic “Asian” characteristics that were not overtly Japanese. In later editions of the *Handbook of the Mission Inn* the Hutchings made sure to emphasize the Court of the Orient’s, Ho-O-Kan’s, and Lea Lea Room’s predominantly

Chinese artifacts. For instance, the 1940 edition of the *Handbook* describes the massive eight-foot tall Buddha as originating from a Japanese temple. The 1944 edition, however, revises this statement to simply state that the piece “was the object of worship in an oriental temple.” The 1940 *Handbook* states that the large bronze dragon in the Court of the Orient was “typical of the fine bronze work of over one hundred years ago in Japan,” while the 1944 copy omits any indication of the dragon’s Japanese origins. Nearly all mentions of Japan or Japanese are erased or replaced with the more generic term “oriental” in the 1944 *Handbook*.⁷²



Figure 83: In 1937 the El Mundo Room cocktail bar replaced the Fuji Kan Japanese salon and exhibition hall. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

In addition to the physical changes at the Inn, the Hutchings publically denounced Japan. DeWitt Hutchings chaired Riverside's United China Relief Campaign, which sent money to rebuild the war-ravaged country. In a May 1942 donation solicitation letter, Hutchings wrote,

The 1941 United China Relief campaign was before Pearl Harbor. We gave liberally because our sympathies went out to a great people fleeing from their homes before the ruthless, invading Japanese. We are now asked to give to United China Relief again and to give even more liberally; and we should and will because this year our own safety is involved. We, ourselves, have experienced what the ruthlessness of the invading Japanese means.⁷³

Just three days after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, Allis and DeWitt drafted letters for six Mission Inn employees – Pedro Estrera, Juan Olateo, Marshall Bolo, Tommy Bolo, Reme Mayo, and Roy Viernes – attesting that they were of Filipino, not Japanese, descent stating, “This is to certify that _____ is a valued employee of Mission Inn and that he is a native of the Philippine Islands and is not in sympathy in any way with Japan or any enemy of the United States of America.”⁷⁴ On May 23, 1942, Santa Fe buses pulled up on Main Street between Fifth and Sixth to begin transporting over 500 Riverside Japanese-Americans to Camp Poston, an internment camp in Parker, Arizona, as part of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 authorizing the imprisonment of Americans of Japanese ancestry for the war's duration.⁷⁵ A *Riverside Daily Press* photographer captured the families boarding the buses with the Mission Inn's International Rotunda, Miller's architectural ode to global understanding, which only a decade before had been regularly decorated with Japanese flags to commemorate the annual Institute of World Affairs conference and Miller's yearly Japanese celebrations, in the background.⁷⁶

The Mission Inn from Frank Miller's death through World War II illustrates the hotel's interpretive malleability and its status as a thoroughly contemporary site. In the efforts to display the past, whether using the California missions as Miller did or through collecting aviation relics like the Hutchings, the Mission Inn entwined tourism and commerce to articulate and capitalize on matters of the present. Even though their initial goal was to maintain business as usual after Miller's passing, Allis and DeWitt Hutchings responded to regional and national concerns, as Miller had done in his time, to update the Inn's image and preserve public interest in the hotel. In the early twentieth century Miller molded the Mission Inn into a quintessentially California place. The Hutchings transformed the hotel from a regional site to an American one thanks to its close wartime alignment with the U.S. military. Imperialism was no longer staged at the Inn through commemorating the Spanish Fantasy Past or through Miller's collecting practices, during the 1930s and 1940s the Inn celebrated the new air technology that enabled the United States to assume control on a global scale. As a main housing source for Army and Air Force personnel the hotel catered to a new elite clientele and the Hutchings transformed the Inn into a patriotic center of Riverside's defense system. This period was just the first of many subsequent transitions for the Mission Inn. The wartime boom was fleeting and postwar demobilization revealed fundamental problems for the hotel and Riverside, which would plague the Inn for the next three decades.

Spanish Fantasy Mod: The Mission Inn at Midcentury

The Hutchings reinterpreted the hotel to reflect wartime sentiment and they achieved this largely through re-conceptualizing the Inn's collections and extending their

trademark hospitality to the U.S. military, all of which maintained the Mission Inn's historic position as a "museum-hotel." The popularity the Inn enjoyed throughout World War II, however, was born of the necessity to house the thousands of troops stationed in the area. After the war ended the hotel faced the harsh reality that it was no longer at the forefront of Southern California tourism and that starting new artifact collections or enacting interpretive facelifts could not remedy the situation. At midcentury, the Mission Inn's owners attempted to brand the site anew and the hotel's fate became a barometer for the health of the entire city. As Riverside's economic and civic center, the Inn's failures were a potent analogy for fears about the city's future as tourism dollars dried up.

Allis Miller Hutchings passed away in October 1952, followed only four months later by DeWitt Hutchings in February 1953. The Hutchings' children, Isabella, Helen, and Frank, and Frank Miller's widow Marion, decided to sell the Mission Inn instead of keeping the hotel a family business as it had been since the original boardinghouse opened in 1876. On May 17, 1956, the family finalized a sale agreement with San Francisco hotelman Benjamin Swig, owner of the Fairmont Hotel Company, noted for his management of the Bay Area's premier grand hotel and for his renewal of the Antlers Hotel in Colorado Springs, purchasing a fifty-six percent controlling interest in the hotel.⁷⁷ Frank Miller built the Inn in Riverside's ascendancy as a Southern California tourism destination and Swig purchased it in the midst of the city's suburban boom.

Riverside's postwar development is a model for U.S. growth patterns following World War II. Between 1950 and 1970, the city's population tripled from 46,399 to 140,089 and its incorporated land mass nearly doubled from thirty-nine to seventy-two

square miles.⁷⁸ The majority of this growth spread southwest from the downtown core to lands once dominated by citrus groves. As historian Douglas Sackman explains, by the 1950s it was “more profitable to grow houses than fruit” in Southern California. With foreign and domestic citrus competition driving down fruit prices, Riverside citrus producers could make more money selling off their orchards to land developers.⁷⁹

During the New Deal, home construction and home ownership were central elements of federal policy that pinned U.S. economic prosperity on the citizenry’s continuous and ever-increasing consumption of goods. In the 1930s, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and Federal Housing Administration streamlined home buying procedures, emphasizing the purchase of new homes to help lower unemployment rates and after World War II, the GI Bill provided veterans with low interest mortgages and tax benefits to encourage housing sales, with construction exploding to two million homes per year in 1950. Suburbanization was not just about buying houses, but also about purchasing all of the trappings and gadgets for new homes, which were advertised as making domestic life easier while promoting the continual consumption cycle begun by the New Deal.⁸⁰

In postwar Riverside, ranch house subdivisions blossomed in the city’s former citrus regions of Arlington Heights, Magnolia Center, and Victoria Ranch, whose broad, palm-lined avenues once attracted trolley’s filled with tourists amazed by Riverside’s scenic bounty.⁸¹ Subdivided into individual plots, Riverside offered a small piece of this bounty to thousands of new homeowners. This suburban dream, however, was not offered equally to all, as suburban historians Kenneth Jackson and Lizabeth Cohen have

demonstrated. The HOLC and Federal Housing Administration, according to Jackson, “developed real estate appraisal methods that discriminated against racial and ethnic minorities and against older, industrial cities” and in their funding choices “clearly favored homogeneous subdivisions over industrial, aging, or heterogeneous neighborhoods.”⁸² Riverside suburbanization did little to amend city segregation; the majority of Riverside’s African-American and Mexican-American population continued to live in the city’s Casa Blanca and Eastside sections, and increasingly, in downtown.⁸³ Riverside’s population growth was predicated on its proximity to Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Diego, but also because following World War II the city was a major industrial center with Food Machinery Corporation, Hunter-Douglas, Rohr Aircraft, Bourns Engineering, and Lily-Tulip Cup Corporation, among others, headquartered in town.⁸⁴ March Field remained active as a Tactical Air Command base, especially during the Korean conflict, and the University of California constructed a satellite Riverside campus in 1954.

In spite of the city’s postwar expansion, the Mission Inn’s business lagged. Suburban development settled more and more of Riverside’s population miles from downtown and like other cities across the nation, Riverside’s downtown suffered. Historian Lizabeth Cohen explains that suburban consumers found the drive into downtown cores tiresome and inconvenient. “As retailers came to realize that suburban residents, with their young families, new homes, and vast consumer appetites, offered a lucrative frontier ripe for conquer,” writes Cohen, “the regional shopping center emerged as a new form of community marketplace.”⁸⁵ In the 1950s and 1960s, downtown

Riverside lost Rouse's, Sears, and Montgomery Ward, to new outlying shopping centers, such as the Brockton Arcade, the Riverside Plaza, Magnolia Center Plaza, and the Hardman Center on Arlington Avenue, which were closer to the new housing tracts and provided free upfront parking.⁸⁶ To stem the tide of decline, in early 1956 downtown Riverside business owners formed the "Downtown Association." The Association tackled parking and advertising problems plaguing downtown and was an informal precursor to the privately-funded Business Improvement District that arose in later years to promote and police the downtown core. The group hoped downtown would "progress with the community as a whole" and "continue to be the important center of business activities of Riverside," but as shops continued to move out, this clearly was not the case.⁸⁷



Figure 84: To stay current with tourist desires, in 1948 Allis and DeWitt Hutchings bulldozed the hotel's original adobe structure to make way for a pool. Notice the Nanking Bell at left. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Certainly a deserted downtown was not the Mission Inn's preferred backdrop, but more to the point, postwar Riverside was focused on residential settlement, not attracting tourists. Local residents might patronize the Inn for meals or to put up visiting relatives, but the hotel was no longer a primary destination in and of itself. In the early twentieth century, the Inn's location just blocks from three major railroad stations brought guests to the hotel literally by the trainload. Wealthy visitors from the Midwest and East Coast stayed "the season" at the Inn for upwards of four months each year. But, in the postwar years, increased mobility brought about by federal and state highway construction, and more affordable cars, coupled with the continued national emphasis on citizenship through consumer spending, opened new tourism horizons.⁸⁸ Destinations, such as Disneyland, Palm Springs, and Las Vegas, were built first and foremost to cater directly to tourists, offering carefree fun in the sun by means of "giddy consumerism" to a new brand of "leisure commuters."⁸⁹



Figure 85: Mission Inn Christmas card set at the hotel's new pool, circa 1949. DeWitt Hutchings is seated in front wearing the Santa beard and Allis Miller Hutchings is in the center. Avery Edwin Field Collection. From the holdings of Special Collections & Archives, UCR Libraries, University of California, Riverside.

Frank Miller constructed his hotel to minister to tourists, but his venture was a product of Gilded Age and Progressive Era mores and anxieties. In all of its eccentricity, Miller strove for the Inn to be a highbrow educational and spiritual authority. Although consumption was at its center, Miller marketed the hotel as a retreat from garish consumerism and industrial capitalism, where he preached the merits of history, peace, and temperance to guests. As historian Lawrence Culver has examined, postwar tourists to Palm Springs, for example, “were more cosmopolitan and more acclimated to modern life. No longer fretting as [Charles Fletcher] Lummis and his ilk [such as Miller] had about the dangers of capitalism, most of these desert pilgrims came ready to consume.”⁹⁰ The Inn began as a hyperreal environment that romantically encapsulated all of the splendors the region had to offer, but Miller built the Mission Inn to advertise Southern California and Riverside to potential permanent residents, not just weekend visitors. Many of his tourist endeavors, such as Mt. Rubidoux Park or his City Beautiful push for Spanish Revival architecture downtown, were predominantly civic in nature. By the 1950s, Miller’s wish had come true, as Riverside’s population grew ever larger. The consequence, however, was that Southern California residents now looked to new destinations for vacation escapes and it became glaringly apparent that the hotel’s model for enticing tourists was woefully out of date.

Midcentury Inn marketing campaigns painted the hotel as a perfect stopover on the way to other Southland tourist sites because of its location fifty miles between Los Angeles, Big Bear, Palm Springs, and Orange County beaches.⁹¹ “You are at the center of all Southern California’s lively attractions,” extols one brightly colored Inn ad circa

1957. “What’s your pleasure? Golf? You may enjoy it on a variety of courses nearby. Mountain lakes...desert...snow sports...racing...beaches...all are near at hand. For from Mission Inn, over super-highways, miles are a matter of minutes. Thus, from this comfortable base, you experience all the delights of Southern California.”⁹² If Palm Springs or Las Vegas promised entire cities dedicated to tourist pleasure, the Mission Inn was now merely one stopover within a whole tourist region. But, while the railroads had once dropped guests at the Inn’s doorstep, the new “super-highways” that could allow tourists to jump easily from the Inn to Southern California’s other attractions, just as easily enabled them to bypass the Inn altogether as they motored elsewhere.



Figure 86: Mission Inn advertisement, circa 1960. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Upon purchasing the Mission Inn, Benjamin Swig made clear his intentions to sweepingly renovate the hotel's image, reshaping it from a charmingly peculiar family-owned hostelry to one that closely resembled the modern fashions found in other desert oases. Swig assumed control of the Inn on June 1, 1956, and brought with him a new management team, including Jim Stuart who came to Riverside after five years at the famed Sands Hotel in Las Vegas.⁹³ Miller and the Hutchings constructed the Inn as distinctly Californian, proclaiming it the "most novel" hotel in the state and priding themselves on offering guests a domestic atmosphere focused on personalized hospitality.⁹⁴ Swig's goal was to altogether scrap the Inn's dusty "museum-hotel" atmosphere, the staple of its carefully crafted identity for over fifty years, in favor of a youthful ambiance with generic furnishings found in other hotels across the nation. Just two weeks after taking the helm, Swig announced his plans to overhaul the hotel, including a "clean sweep of all bedrooms," new mattresses and linens, a bar in the Presidential Suite, a nightclub in the Spanish Art Gallery, redesigned banquet halls in the Music Room and Galeria, and an even more exaggerated Tiki theme for the Lea Lea Room, reminiscent of the Fairmont's own Tonga Room.⁹⁵ To implement his plans Swig hired Los Angeles-based hotel design firm Albert Parvin & Company and interior decorator Barbara Dorn.⁹⁶ Albert Parvin was also partner in the Parvin-Dohrmann Company, a principal shareholder in some of Las Vegas's premier (and mob connected) casinos and hotels, such as the Fremont, Flamingo, Stardust, Aladdin, and the Pioneer Club.⁹⁷

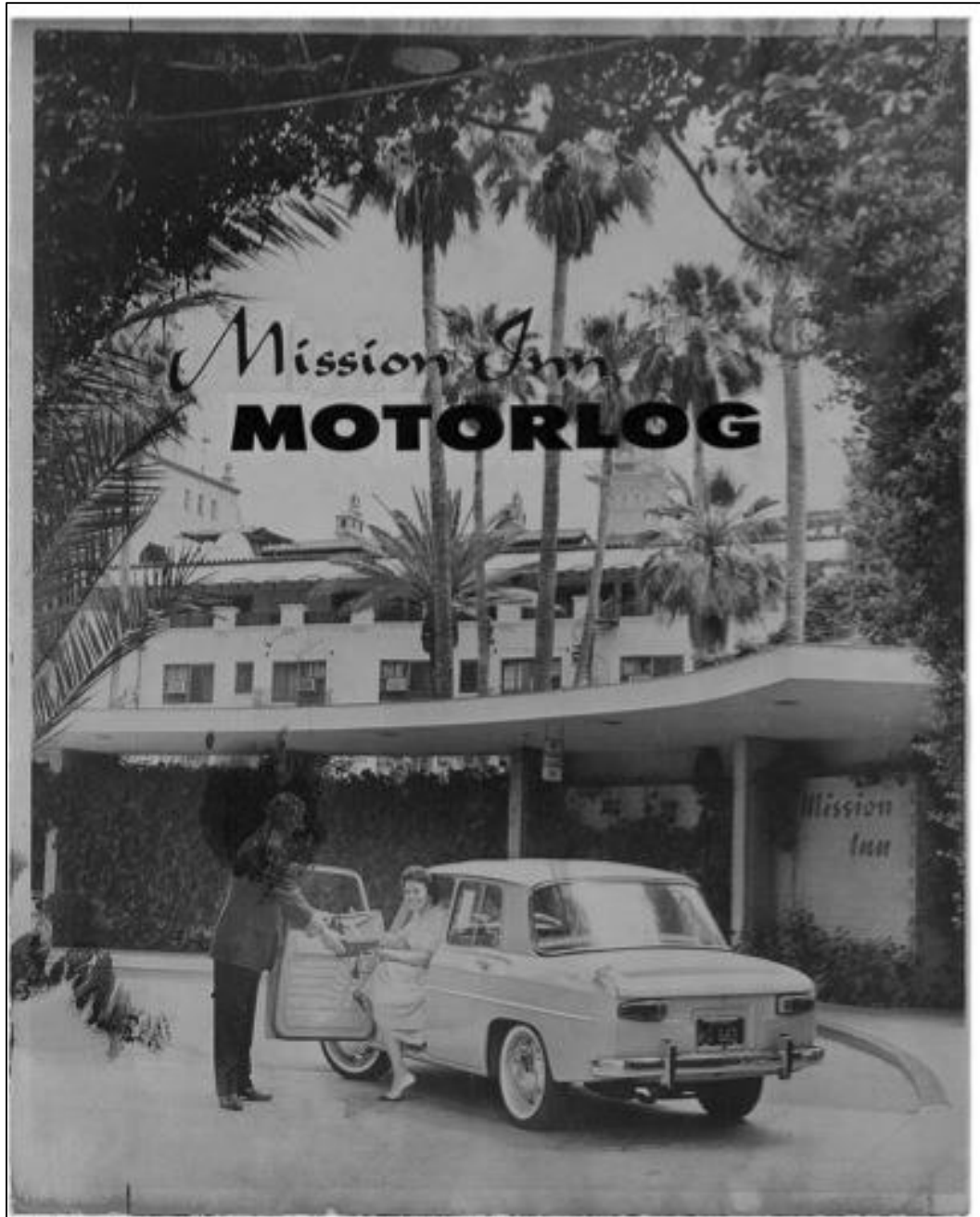


Figure 87: Mission Inn advertising mock-up promoting auto-tourism and the hotel's new modern driveway and entrance, circa late 1950s. Image courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

The nearly \$285,000 initial remodel gutted the Mission Inn's interiors. Parvin's firm replaced the hotel's Arts & Crafts and Spanish Colonial designs with persimmon naugahyde couches, black vinyl banquettes, smoked glass mirrors, black and brown

lacquered chairs, Formica tables, brass lamps, and gold draperies. The guest rooms were furnished almost identically in mauve or turquoise color schemes with walnut dressers and side tables topped in plastic. Swig promised that “the museum aspects of the Inn” would be preserved, “but concentrated into a genuine museum in the basement.” His swift redecoration irrevocably transformed the Inn from a “museum-hotel” to a hotel with a museum, fundamentally altering the symbiotic relationship between the site and its art and artifact collections.⁹⁸ The streamlined modern furnishings made from industrial, manmade materials complemented the newly constructed resorts in Palm Springs or Las Vegas, but looked alien when juxtaposed against the Inn’s architecture, which emphasized handcraftsmanship and modeled after “Old California” styles.



Figure 88: The Mission Inn lobby after Swig’s 1957 renovations. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 89: The Music Room after the 1957 renovations. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Swig did more than relegate hotel artifacts to the basement, to help finance the hotel's renovation he auctioned 750 pieces from the Inn's collections in a series of July 1957 sales, which earned approximately \$80,000.⁹⁹ The public auction, executed by Roy J. Goldenberg Galleries of Beverly Hills, occurred in six sessions from July 18 to July 20, 1957, on site at the Mission Inn. The sale was comprised of objects that decades before had been the focus of the Inn's fame. By auctioning Frank Miller's prized Spanish paintings, Asian decorative arts, and ecclesiastical relics, as well as putting DeWitt Hutchings' beloved canvas, *Immaculate Conception With the Mirror* (the auction's most

publicized piece), on the block, Swig forcefully stated that he was not interested in sentimentality, tradition, or history, the benchmarks of Miller's Inn promotions, but was there to turn a profit.¹⁰⁰ In certain ways, however, Swig and Miller operated in similar fashions, just at opposite sides of the spectrum. Miller opened the Inn at the height of museum-building in the United States, when World's Fairs attracted millions of visitors to gaze at foreign artifacts and cultural displays. This was also a time when California boosters utilized mythic versions of the state's history to foster tourism. Miller collected to set his hotel apart and earn larger profits, using his collections as a promotional goldmine. In reverse, by the mid-1950s, Swig viewed the collections as a cluttered hindrance to the clean lines of midcentury designs that idealized the future instead of the past. And, more practically, the hotel's art and artifacts required costly and time-consuming cleaning, repair, and restoration. The Inn's collections were the life's work of Miller and the Hutchings but not for Swig.



Figure 90: Mission Inn dining room after the 1957 renovations. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Swig's renovations, new advertising campaigns, and the hotel's updated name, the Mission Inn Garden Hotel, chosen to emphasize the site's resort amenities, such as "outdoor dining, lounging, and swimming," did little to improve occupancy rates.¹⁰¹ Each year the Inn operated deeply in the red. Financial statements from January 1963 to January 1964, for instance, show the hotel losing between \$10,777.20 and \$24,922.69 each month, reporting net gains only in February (+\$12,337.79) and June 1963 (+\$4,449.94). This sporadic profit could not come close to bridging the Inn's revenue gap. According to accounting statements, the Inn closed 1961 \$178,387.87 in debt and 1962 at a loss of \$151,242.07.¹⁰² The hotel was saved from bankruptcy only because of

Swig's, and other investors', annual influx of private funds to cover unpaid bills, as much as \$150,000 per year.¹⁰³

The hotel's continued failure was increasingly discussed not as a problem for the hotel's owners and managers to solve, but as a problem that required civic intervention. The Mission Inn *was* Riverside after all and therefore the burden fell to city leaders to find ways to bring people to downtown. In 1958, Swig pledged \$50,000 to help the city construct a "Missionland" amusement park on three blocks of Main Street adjacent to the Inn, hoping to merge his old tourist hotel with the popularity of new theme parks. Swig wanted the park to "dramatize" downtown Riverside, borrowing Frank Miller's favorite phrase, and attract families with its similarities to Anaheim's recently-opened tourist attraction, Disneyland. "Missionland" was to feature miniature replicas of the California Missions and "would provide a place for women to leave their children while shopping. It would have nurses for the youngsters, carnival rides, and refreshment facilities."¹⁰⁴

While the city decided not to fund Swig's "Missionland" proposal, throughout the 1960s Riverside officials made the Mission Inn a top priority, but did so initially without any formal intervention into the hotel's business practices. In July 1965 the City of Riverside agreed to front downtown businesses \$44,850 for architectural designs and engineering plans to turn Main Street from Sixth to Tenth into a landscaped pedestrian shopping mall. The estimated \$500,000 project, to be paid by the businesses in the mall district, spanned the four traffic lanes of Main Street and was billed as the "widest of its type in California."¹⁰⁵ Featuring waterfalls and streams, grassy knolls, benches, citrus trees, hexagonal pavers that would not exceed one hundred degrees in temperature,

custom crafted adobe trashcans, and even mission bell light standards that piped music, the “most beautiful mall in America” (as proclaimed by downtown merchants) was the first step in a combined effort to revitalize downtown with “improvements in the appearance of buildings, landscaping and more aggressive merchandising techniques.”¹⁰⁶ To compete with Riverside’s new planned shopping centers, such as the Riverside Plaza and Magnolia Center, city leaders and downtown business owners (the Mission Inn included) worked to privatize and more tightly control the downtown shopping experience. Through landscaping and traffic control civic boosters attempted to make downtown attractive to middle-class female consumers who bore the responsibility of postwar family shopping. As Lizabeth Cohen puts it, “they set out to perfect the concept of downtown, not obliterate it.”¹⁰⁷

If the new pedestrian mall potentially brought daytime shoppers downtown who might also stop at the Inn for lunch or dinner, Benjamin Swig pushed the City Council and Chamber of Commerce to draw more convention business to town to fill the Mission Inn’s vacant rooms. If tourists no longer flocked independently to Riverside and the Inn, Swig and city leaders hoped they could lure lucrative conventions, bringing in hundreds of essentially captive people at a time, each needing room and board. It would not be until 1972 when the City of Riverside utilized public funds to build “Raincross Square” a four-block convention center complex located just across the pedestrian mall from the Mission Inn.¹⁰⁸

The city’s efforts for widespread downtown renewal that would jumpstart Mission Inn business fell largely flat and Riverside leaders grew plainly anxious about a future

that did not include its most famous landmark, refusing to acknowledge that the Inn's life as a tourist hotel might be at an end. The Riverside City Council and Chamber of Commerce first discussed the Inn's "deep financial trouble," in an official capacity at a city-sponsored meeting on December 15, 1966. Although the Inn had been at the forefront of city renewal plans for nearly a decade, this meeting solidified the commitment by Riverside leaders to take an overt and active role in the hotel's rehabilitation, stating that "the Inn, although a private enterprise, poses a special problem vital to the interests of Riverside as a whole." City Manager John Wentz further explained, "that the Inn should be given special attention, not in the attitude of helping one business against all the others, but because the Inn is important to the life of the entire community."¹⁰⁹

The City Council and Chamber of Commerce members did not elaborate exactly how they viewed the Inn as essential to Riverside, but the hotel's state of financial distress perhaps pointed more directly to the troubling fact that the Inn, once the city's main attraction, was actually no longer vital to the community. The Mission Inn's deterioration was a potent physical reminder of Riverside's former success, which city officials longed to recapture; if the Inn's popularity and profitability could be restored, Riverside might also retain its place as one of Southern California's premier destinations. As Russell Berman has examined in his exploration of the modern American ruin, a state the Inn was fast accelerating towards, structures in decline visualize a historical narrative of loss. States Berman, "Once upon a time a fairy tale flourished until it fell victim to the force of negativity, which left only shards in the place of grandeur. The ruin as

devastation stands therefore as a sort of diminished afterlife of a previous glory. The relic testifies that a genuine life, the proper state of affairs, has come to an end.”¹¹⁰ In 1966, city leaders committed themselves to restoring the Mission Inn to its “proper state of affairs,” but had no definitive game plan for achieving this other than a new marketing campaign advertising Riverside and the Mission Inn as the “honeymoon capital of Southern California.”¹¹¹ A new marketing strategy was not the answer; turning a profit at the hotel eluded even seasoned hotelman Benjamin Swig in his decade of Inn ownership.

Swig, however, was largely an absentee owner, only periodically traveling from San Francisco to Riverside to check on Inn operations. Unlike Frank Miller and the Hutchings who devoted their lives to the family business and the development of Riverside, Swig, while he did pump hundreds of thousands of dollars into the Inn, was preoccupied with other hotel ventures and was not particularly interested in Riverside outside of challenging city officials to find ways to make it a profitable environment for the Inn. Swig’s ownership was never guaranteed especially as the Inn sunk deeper into debt and rumors continually circulated that Swig was one step away from putting the hotel on the market. Swig and other Inn investors, such as New York real estate baron Charles Benenson, used the threat of sale as a catalyst to ignite city action. As early as December 1960 Riverside newspapers reported that Swig was considering selling the Inn “because of the difficulty of operating it profitably as a hotel” to St. John’s College of Maryland whose administrators were scoping properties for a west coast satellite campus.¹¹² The rumors were finally true in September 1967 when Swig sold the Mission Inn to a consortium of Anaheim-based businessmen and doctors headed by Harry

Goldberger, president of the Caravan Inn motel chain.¹¹³ The major investors, Goldberger, Harold Kaemerle, L. Kenneth Heuler, and G. Barton Heuler, along with a list of smaller funders, formed a limited partnership, GoldCo MII (Mission Inn Incorporated), Corporation to purchase the hotel.¹¹⁴

The Mission Inn's sale to GoldCo MII, Corp. was a watershed moment for the hotel and also precipitated Riverside city leaders to make good on their 1966 promise to more directly participate in the Inn's revitalization. Before the GoldCo MII, Corp. purchase, the Inn's ownership had always been easily identifiable and publically well known, as was the case with Frank Miller, Allis and DeWitt Hutchings, and even Benjamin Swig. But beginning with GoldCo and continuing for the next twenty-five years, the Mission Inn was sold off to a revolving door of corporate owners each refinancing and mortgaging the property to its maximum to fund needed renovations and to attempt to keep the hotel out of debt. From 1967 to 1976 it was hardly ever clear who actually owned the hotel and whether or not the Inn could remain open. In this uncertain climate, the City of Riverside's intervention into Inn affairs, with additional support from county, state, and federal governments, ballooned. The city worked to uphold local involvement with the Inn, viewing it as an enduring element of the city's once genteel heritage, integral to save especially as Riverside's contemporary identity was subsumed more and more into the smog and sprawl persona of Southern California's "Inland Empire." Plans for the hotel to ever regain financial solvency as a private enterprise were scrapped and Inn owners and Riverside leaders disastrously pinned their hopes on public funds to keep the Inn operational.

Public Funds, Private Space

The Mission Inn's history between 1967 and 1976 is a nearly incomprehensible tangle of real estate transactions, lawsuits, loan extensions, bankruptcies, and failed grant proposals.¹¹⁵ At the heart of this complicated web emerged central debates about the changing meanings and historical importance of the Mission Inn as it became evident that the Inn might never be a luxury hotel again. If not a hotel, what was it? A museum? A state park? A retirement home? An apartment complex? Inn stakeholders and Riverside officials all acknowledged that the Inn was a monument that needed to be saved, but, as one hotel investor summed up, "how do you make money out of a monument?"¹¹⁶ That was the conundrum. The Mission Inn was a local mirror of larger national trends that linked historic preservation to urban renewal with governments at all levels providing public funds for adaptive reuse projects to revitalize blighted areas, especially after the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act ushered in formal state and federal designation procedures and oversight for the nation's historic places. But the Inn's struggle was wedded to both early preservation impulses to save the historic houses of great men and the contemporary desire to make old structures economically viable.¹¹⁷ As public funding options fell through it was clear that the Mission Inn's dual "museum-hotel" quality, once a key component in establishing the Inn as "the most novel hotel in California," was actually a preservation hindrance. Hotel stakeholders were hesitant to let go of the dream that the Inn could still be a posh resort, but restrictions on public access to the site and its remaining collections also meant restrictions on public money. With the organization of Riverside's own Redevelopment Agency in 1969 and

downtown's designation as the agency's prime target for renewal, the City of Riverside went into the hotel business.

Although GoldCo MII, Corporation owned the Mission Inn for less than two years, declaring bankruptcy in March 1969, Harry Goldberger and company were the first to seriously consider repurposing the Inn as something other than a hotel, as well as the first to try to utilize federal grants to do so. As president of Caravan Inns, Goldberger specialized in motel management, offering economical and convenient lodging for auto travelers, not high-end hotel hospitality for destination tourists. After purchasing the site from Benjamin Swig in September 1967, Goldberger planned to construct a 150-room motel across the street from the Inn at the corner Sixth and Orange. The new motel would have no dining or recreation amenities, requiring guests to walk across the street to the Mission Inn.¹¹⁸ The Inn would be far from vacant because Goldberger devised to operate it as a retirement home. As a 1968 loan application explains, GoldCo hoped to sell the Mission Inn to "a Non-profit Corporation for the purpose of creating a Senior Citizens Housing Area." GoldCo "would then lease back the food and beverage operation to be conducted in connection with...[the] motel." The Inn's expansive grounds, guest rooms, and public areas, coupled with Riverside seniors' nostalgic memories of the hotel in its prime, might have made it a successful retirement community.

What motivated Goldberger to concoct this rather peculiar scheme, however, was that his corporation could apply for between \$1,750,000 and \$3,000,000 from the Federal Housing Administration for the motel's construction and the Inn's revamp into

reasonably priced senior apartments.¹¹⁹ With GoldCo MII, Corp. unable to foot the bill, as Swig had, to clear the Mission Inn of its steep annual debts, new funding sources, which required the Inn to be used in new ways, was the only option. Even though GoldCo's plan never materialized, it set the stage for affordable housing, not lavish hotel rooms, to be the Mission Inn's *raison d'être*.

GoldCo's doomed ownership rapidly unraveled beginning in late February 1969 with reports circulating that Goldberger was in negotiations to transfer the hotel to the Cumorah Foundation, an Orange County-based Mormon non-profit organization. Rumors spread that after the Cumorah Foundation paid the Inn's most pressing debts, Goldberger gifted the foundation with the hotel's deed.¹²⁰ Although local newspaper coverage initially discussed the transfer as final, by mid-March, it was apparent that the hotel's ownership was actually still up-in-the-air and that the Inn was crippled by debt. While the Cumorah Foundation installed a new management team at the hotel run by Saddleback Inns of the Americas, there was no official legal property agreement in place.

In the whirl of uncertainty, Riverside representations, City Councilman Art Pick and Craig Bryant, the City Industrial Coordinator, flew to San Francisco to confer with Benjamin Swig. Swig still held a \$2 million first mortgage on the property and a chattel mortgage on the Inn's collections and furnishings. At the meeting with Pick and Bryant, Swig disclosed that Goldberger was four months overdue on loan payments. Swig unequivocally expressed that if forced to repossess the Inn he would close it.¹²¹ This latest conundrum further convinced city officials that the Mission Inn was a local problem that needed a local solution by Riversiders committed to saving the landmark.

Just three days after meeting with Swig, Pick, Bryant and a coalition of twenty other political and business leaders met to hatch a plan to purchase the hotel, stating that “It was decided that contacts should be made with various principals involved and that efforts should be made toward local financing to insure the continuation of the Inn and its traditional part in the civic life of Riverside.”¹²²

All sale plans halted when Inn management shuttered the hotel on March 23, 1969, and GoldCo MII, Corporation declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy in a San Bernardino federal court on March 27, only hours before Swig was set to begin foreclosure proceedings against the company.¹²³ Court-appointed bankruptcy receiver Peter Elliott took the hotel’s reigns and the City of Riverside joined a committee of the Inn’s major creditors working to keep it open – the hotel never paid the city the \$83,000 owed for its portion in the 1966 Main Street pedestrian mall, initially constructed to help entice business back to the Inn and downtown. As Elliott told *The Press*, “It will be up to these men (the creditors) to help us decide whether they want to take the chance of incurring further losses or the chance that they will recoup a greater share of their money in the long run by keeping the Inn open.”¹²⁴ Certainly the Mission Inn’s financial track record over the previous decade indicated debt repayment was unlikely.

Elliott managed to reopen the Mission Inn’s Squire Arms steakhouse (after initially failing the health inspection) and completed structural repairs as the cash flow allowed. In June 1969, the hotel entered into a contract with the University of California, Riverside’s student housing authority to provide temporary accommodations for 300 students during the fall term while work was completed on Bannockburn Village, the

university's new dormitory.¹²⁵ From September to December 1969 the halls and dining rooms once again bustled, but minus the co-eds, the hotel's occupancy remained, on average, a dismal thirteen percent.¹²⁶ With no owner to assert final authority, the Mission Inn's future became a topic of heated local debate for Riverside city and county politicians as well as private citizens. In May 1969, thirteen Riverside women's groups banded together to organize the "Mission Possible" luncheon, tour, and fashion show, featuring *Mission Impossible* actor Peter Lupus, to foster an "emotional commitment from the women of Riverside" to save the Inn. Taking a page from early women's preservation organizations from the previous century, the "Mission Possible" team viewed the Inn as a suitably domestic, nurturing opportunity, calling Riverside's women to act as defenders of civic beauty, stating, "If women work to save these integral parts of our heritage, they will give the future some grace and definition."¹²⁷ Just one month later in June 1969, a formal citizens' group, the Friends of the Mission Inn was formed. Spearheaded by artist and active community volunteer Patsy O'Toole, the Friends of the Mission Inn was formed to brainstorm rehabilitation options, drum up business, and steward the hotel's rapidly disintegrating art and artifact collections, most of which were stored in the hotel's damp basement.¹²⁸ Within one year, the Friends boasted over eight hundred members and were a constant presence in the hotel, restoring furniture, hosting fundraisers, and redecorating rooms to increase occupancy.¹²⁹

What emerged from the Mission Inn's bleak experiences in 1969 were increased community activism and a growing popular understanding that operating the Inn as a private hotel was not the answer. Yet, there was no consensus on what the site's purpose

and key to success might actually be. The Friends of the Mission Inn contended that the Inn was first and foremost a museum and only secondly a hotel, railing against Swig and GoldCo for sacrificing so many of the Inn's art pieces, proposing, instead, that the hotel be turned into a tax free non-profit museum. As O'Toole forcefully stated at the Friends' inaugural meeting, "No museum can operate under the taxes that are imposed. Never again should we go through the agony of watching the damage done by an effort to make it pay under private ownership and operation as a commercial venture."¹³⁰ Just as Frank Miller largely used his collections as a promotional tool for his hotel, O'Toole viewed the collections as the Inn's potential savior, but not as a profit-generating enterprise.¹³¹

While the Friends suggested removing the Inn from the business realm altogether to stage the hotel as a frozen snapshot of its previous grandeur, most city and county officials, still desiring the hotel to be the center of downtown's economic revival, sought historic preservation through consumption. In a February 1970 meeting sponsored by Riverside County Administrative Officer, Robert Anderson, Southwest Museum director and Los Angeles Cultural Heritage Commission head Carl Dentzil urged local leaders to transform the hotel into a vast "edutainment" complex with "shops and exhibits and entertainment activities based on its own history." Essentially, Dentzil called for an updated version of what the Mission Inn had always been. In an intriguing assessment Dentzil stated, "At Disneyland and Knott's Berry Farm...they charge you to see something built in the style of this, while here you have the real thing."¹³² Miller originally built his hotel in 1903 as a simulated homage to the California missions, spending his career attempting to forge both "real" and mythic connections between the

Inn and the state's Spanish past. In its decay and in the wake of new tourist enterprises, the Mission Inn's hyperreality became the "real thing," its once reproduced mission ambiance now an authentic expression of the early twentieth century.

Just one day after Dentzil's presentation, Orange County's Melodyland Baptist Church announced interest in purchasing the Inn, stating they planned to secure Federal Housing Administration and Housing and Urban Development funds to convert the hotel into a retirement home, the exact plan GoldCo MII, Corporation floated two years earlier. City and county officials, as well as the Friends, openly voiced their displeasure at Melodyland's offer, fretting that its use as subsidized senior apartments would be yet another strike against Riverside's already fading reputation and do little to actually secure the future of the hotel and its collections. O'Toole, now the Inn's preeminent citizen defender, stated bluntly that selling to Melodyland would be "an admission of failure" and "a blot on Riverside...which we can never erase."¹³³ As with so many previous Inn proposals, Melodyland's offer, although it never gained steam, raised hackles and sent civic leaders searching for alternative solutions. In March 1970 the County of Riverside, at the request of the Board of Supervisors, compiled a "Mission Inn Survey" to examine potential Inn acquisition and financing opportunities. The County study concluded definitively that private ownership was not feasible, stating, "It would appear that if the Inn is to be preserved in its present status, it will have to be as a result of either interested citizens groups or some type of public corporation or public agency which would acquire the Inn because of its historic value and not simply for its economic return."¹³⁴

The “Mission Inn Survey” outlined a series of public options. Neither Riverside County nor the City of Riverside had available resources to purchase the hotel outright, and would, instead, need to raise money through approved tax hikes. At the state level, the California legislature could make a special appropriation to purchase the site, allocate funds in the 1971-1972 budget, or use preservation monies secured through California’s portion of the 1966 Historic Preservation Act administered through the State Historic Preservation Office. Each option required an assessment of the Inn’s state and national historical significance, a process that could take eighteen to twenty-four months. On the federal stage, the “Mission Inn Survey” suggested seeking aid from Housing and Urban Development, which offered up to \$300,000 for preservation, but also stipulated local matching funds.¹³⁵ In the end, the study summarized numerous possibilities, each with strict prerequisites far from guaranteeing that the Inn would qualify for funding at the local, state, or federal level. There were still no concrete answers.

The “Mission Inn Survey” aided city and county officials in understanding possible public funding sources, but, nevertheless, the decision was not up to them. With the hotel’s bankruptcy hearings at an end in June 1970, the court authorized Benjamin Swig to foreclose and formally repossess the Inn. Even under the year-long management by bankruptcy receiver Peter Elliott, the hotel still acquired \$58,000 in new debts.¹³⁶ Upon retaking control of the Inn, Swig lamented, “It has been nothing but a headache. We thought we could make money on it. But we overestimated the ability of the city to draw people.”¹³⁷ Swig’s repossession of the Inn was not necessarily met with widespread joy, especially from the Friends of the Mission Inn who blamed Swig for the destruction

of the hotel's historic collections and its general demise. Swig returned to a much different atmosphere in Riverside than when he originally purchased the Inn in 1956. After the 1969 bankruptcy and closure, local leaders and citizens, wary of hotel ownership, more aggressively staked their claim to the Mission Inn, often coming to blows with the Inn's management over the best course of action to preserve the hotel and what was actually worth saving.

A furniture auction organized after Swig's return exemplifies these new fights. In July 1970 Inn manager George Parish sold a collection of the hotel's historic furniture that was no longer being used to auctioneer Gil Harries, who sold the pieces at a public auction. The Friends were outraged over Parish's actions, but Parish stated that with the \$850 he received for the furniture he "used the money to repair some run-down aspects of the Inn and to paint and carpet other parts."¹³⁸ Their argument begged the question, what was most historically significant about the hotel when it came down to survival financing? The collections or the structure? In Parish's opinion, he sacrificed some old furniture to help restore the hotel's interior, while the Friends saw the items as representative pieces that could be used to furnish a period room "in the style of the Inn after its missionization in 1903."¹³⁹ The Friends were the main bidders at Harries' auction, acquiring dining chairs, chests of drawers, and guest room furniture. In a private letter to Swig following the furniture sale, Parish reiterated his opinion: "They [the auction house] sold approximately \$1,800 worth of furniture, the Mission Inn Friends being the highest buyers who spent \$800. It proves to me and to yourself, I'm sure, that the furniture for sale was as I told you – absolutely no use to the Inn whatsoever."¹⁴⁰

While Parish very narrowly assessed historical worth based on monetary value and public popularity, the Friends perhaps were just as narrow, viewing 1903 as the Inn's only important time period and not thinking of the hotel as a dynamic place that must change.

Swig wished to quickly dispose of the Inn and its seemingly insurmountable financial obstacles, soliciting both the California State Park system and the City of Riverside to make offers, unleashing more debates about the site's purpose, potential economic value, and the legality of city intervention. No qualified or financially viable buyer expressed interest in the Mission Inn during its bankruptcy proceedings and after regaining ownership, Swig immediately appealed to California's Department of Parks and Recreation, appealing to the state to purchase the Inn and designate it a state park while Swig's Fairmont Hotel Company operated concession business. Swig hoped that as a state park the Inn could become Southern California's answer to Hearst Castle.¹⁴¹

Designating the Inn a state park would concretely relegate its significance to the past. While the Inn gained fame for its romantic and fantastical depictions of California's heritage, as a state park the Inn would be set as a frozen tableau of its former self. Guests once gazed in wonder at Frank Miller's theme rooms filled with antiques from around the globe, but by 1970, the compromise was to try to entice day-trippers to gaze at the Inn as *the* antique, a relic of Southern California's early boom. The Department of Parks and Recreation completed a "Mission Inn Feasibility Study" in May 1971. The Inn was already designated in 1961 as California Historic Landmark No. 761 and the state acknowledged the Inn's role in the region's "grand hotel" and tourism heritage, the study largely panned the Inn's architectural relevance. The report stated that even though some

sections of the hotel were outstanding examples of the Mission Revival style, its architectural integrity was hindered “because of the detracting later additions of different styles.” The Department of Parks and Recreation concluded that the Inn would “best be displayed as a living hotel,” but that since finding a private owner had proved cumbersome, public subsidies were key. Furthermore, the state decided the Mission Inn held primarily local, not statewide, importance and that there were “no state funds available for acquisition, rehabilitation, or operation of the Mission Inn.”¹⁴²

Before the California State Department of Parks and Recreation decisively passed on taking over the restoration and operation of the Mission Inn, Swig turned to the City of Riverside, challenging city leaders to do more than discuss the hotel – he wanted them to buy it. Weeks before the state parks system released their official refusal, Swig offered to sell the Inn to the city at a “cut rate” price if the state park deal fell through.¹⁴³ By mid-June 1971, the hotel was losing between \$20,000 and \$25,000 per month, and the total deficit for the 1970-1971 fiscal year was \$300,000, back up to its pre-bankruptcy high. The guest rooms, restaurants, and swimming pool were closed, the bar and wedding chapel the only hotel services still operating. As he had before at the end of his previous ownership tenure, Swig threatened to fully shut down the hotel and auction more items from the collection if a buyer was not found quickly.¹⁴⁴ Swig’s proposition caught city leaders in the uncomfortable position of wanting to protect their civic landmark, but not understanding the legal ramifications of whether or not municipal governments could actually, under the law, run a hotel. Even after City Attorney John Woodhead expressed skepticism about the city purchase and suggested a court test case

to certify its legality before moving forward, the Riverside City Council approved \$750,000 to buy the Inn.¹⁴⁵ Besides the potential legal issue, the city did not have the cash to make the purchase a reality and local officials turned to Riverside's recently formed Redevelopment Agency for a financing solution – Mayor Ben Lewis stated prophetically, “the city’s urban redevelopment agency is our last hope.”¹⁴⁶

Riverside’s Redevelopment Agency was formally organized with an executive director and seven-member board appointed by City Council in September 1969.¹⁴⁷ In 1945, the California Legislature passed the Community Redevelopment Act authorizing local governments to use portions of property tax funds to build affordable public housing in neighborhoods deemed blighted by city officials.¹⁴⁸ Blight was vaguely defined as areas with abandoned buildings and high crime and poverty rates, which caused a lack of private investment and low property values.¹⁴⁹ The Act’s implementation was initially slow with only twenty-seven project areas under way by 1966, but by the mid-1990s, 350 California cities had established local Redevelopment Agencies.¹⁵⁰ The addition of “tax increment funding,” which funneled the increased property tax revenue from Redevelopment construction projects back into the local Redevelopment Agency, in addition to decreased legislative oversight, meant that by the 1970s the Redevelopment Act “had become totally perverted.”¹⁵¹ As Mike Davis has shown in his examination of Riverside’s troubled neighbor to the north, Fontana, “‘Blight’ was...so generously interpreted that wealthy cities and industrial enclaves – from Palm Springs to City of Industry – were using the law to build luxury department

stores, convention centers, and championship golf courses with ‘tax increments’ withheld from general fund uses.”¹⁵²

Riverside’s Redevelopment Agency was comprised of individuals “representative” of the “blighted” areas in the community; minority members were identified more by their race than by their professional qualifications – the whiteness of the other members left unidentified – displaying the troubling reputation earned by Redevelopment Agency’s across the state as organizations dedicated to “poor removal” that preyed upon ethnically-diverse neighborhoods.¹⁵³ The *Riverside Press* reported in September 1969 that the new Redevelopment Agency’s members included “an architect with experience in urban renewal projects, a Negro, an attorney, a housewife once responsible for relocating people displaced by urban renewal projects, a former city planning commissioner, a Mexican-American real estate broker and a downtown businessman.”¹⁵⁴ With City Council’s final approval, the agency designed and implemented urban renewal projects, funded by municipal bonds and property tax growth in the project area. The main targets for redevelopment were Riverside’s predominantly African-American and Mexican-American Eastside section and downtown; “renewal” was often just a euphemism for slum clearing and demolition.¹⁵⁵

The downtown pedestrian mall had not drawn shoppers back to the area and, as the state’s “Mission Inn Feasibility Study” detailed, more shops left downtown “because mall improvement assessments...increased the cost of doing business.”¹⁵⁶ The Redevelopment Agency’s downtown project area encompassed nineteen blocks from the Riverside County Courthouse at Eleventh Street up to Fifth Street and from Orange

Avenue across to Brockton Avenue.¹⁵⁷ Between 1969 and the late-1970s, the agency spearheaded construction of downtown bank and government office towers, a new city hall, a sprawling convention center, and multiple parking structures, often at the expense of local businesses that had managed to hang on inside the city's downtown core. By 1978, the agency's budget had tripled to \$7 million.¹⁵⁸ The Mission Inn, located in the middle of the downtown renewal area, became the Redevelopment Agency's central concern. As preservation historian Judy Mattivi Morley has examined, urban renewal sought to form inner cities "into functionalist, modern systems" often constructing "an impersonal, homogenized landscape of office buildings, skyscrapers, and parking lots."¹⁵⁹ If rehabilitated, the Mission Inn, however, could achieve the dual purpose of anchoring downtown Riverside with a distinctive and historic sense of place, while also contributing to economic revival through tourism. Viewed as the linchpin to economic revival, throughout the 1970s the agency allocated increasing funds to the Inn, raising concerns as to whether financing the hotel was a proper use of redevelopment funds.

At least momentarily, discussions concerning local governmental involvement in the Mission Inn were tabled when Mayor Lewis struck down a city purchase, stating on June 9, 1971, "We can't (legally) run it as a hotel. This has been our big problem. We can't even lease it (to a private operator)." Lewis's decision came after Swig disclosed to him that he was in the process of negotiating another possible solution, which had to be kept under wraps until finalized.¹⁶⁰ On July 31, 1971, Swig announced the Inn's sale to the Los Angeles-based Urban Housing Company who planned to end hotel operations and renovate the structure into resident apartments, while maintaining the dining

facilities, wedding chapels, and putting the art and artifact collections back on display, planning also to eventually open the Inn for art shows and music concerts. The Urban Housing Company focused on adaptive reuse of historic buildings and had recently converted the Los Angeles Embassy Hotel into a residential complex for seniors with seven other apartment projects underway throughout the state.¹⁶¹ As newly minted Mission Inn manager, Sandra Hartness, explained, Urban Housing specialized in “buying and redeveloping old, run-down buildings, then leasing them to other agencies involved in rental housing under federal programs.”¹⁶² Urban Housing’s president, Dudley Knill, was certain his firm could finally find a long-term solution to stabilize the Inn, but he qualified his confidence by stating that success was “dependent on the cooperation of governmental entities at various levels and the full support of the citizens of Riverside.”¹⁶³ Urban Housing ushered in the Mission Inn’s first, of many subsequent, public/private partnerships. But, the Inn’s new owners wanted to utilize public funds without following the rules that came attached and as restoration costs skyrocketed, the company relied on Riverside’s Redevelopment Agency to bridge funding gaps.

Urban Housing Company’s ability to purchase and operate the Inn was built from a teetering tower of private loans with contingency clauses requiring additional public grants for full funding. Each financing piece needed to be perfectly in place or else the entire structure would topple. The company secured a \$2.1 million loan from Connecticut General Life Insurance to pay the hotel’s \$1 million price tag and begin restoration. While Connecticut General did advance Urban Housing cash to initially buy the Inn, they would not honor the remainder of the loan until the firm secured federal

preservation grants from the department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) designated for the renovation of historic properties into housing within redevelopment project areas. Urban Housing planned a three-phase refurbishing schedule. The first phase's objective, estimated at a total cost of \$560,500, was to create 137 apartments from the existing hotel rooms and, in the process, update the Inn's deteriorated electrical and plumbing systems. The apartments would range in size from 260 square foot efficiency studios to 1,070 square foot two-bedroom units. Each apartment would include new kitchenettes, en suite bathrooms, updated heating and air conditioning, and wall-to-wall carpeting. Phase II, estimated at \$337,500, focused on repairing the International Rotunda's crumbling infrastructure to make it an open-air, multi-level boutique shopping center. Phase III would convert the remaining hotel guest rooms into apartments, as well as completely re-landscaping the Inn's grounds, at a cost of \$370,000.¹⁶⁴ The Urban Housing Company viewed their project as giving the Mission Inn "a new lease on life by redesigning, rebuilding, by modernizing the mechanical systems and by marketing the rehabilitated space for a new purpose."¹⁶⁵

This was an admirable plan; the only problem was that they did not have the money to do it. In early October 1971, just two months after taking possession of the Inn, HUD denied Urban Housing's \$650,000 renovation grant application, which jeopardized Urban Housing's entire Inn financing scheme. The reason for HUD's rejection brought to the fore fundamental questions about providing public access to the Inn, questions that had not been relevant or even necessary to ask when the Inn was privately owned. Ignacio Lopez from HUD's west coast office cited the lack of actual housing in

comparison to the high ratio of commercial and meeting room space in Urban Housing's renovation plans as the main explanation, stating that the Inn's chances for acquiring federal funds were "rather slim."¹⁶⁶ Obviously dissatisfied with HUD's initial denial, Urban Housing executives met with HUD officials to examine ways to strengthen their funding chances. In May 1972, HUD encouraged Urban Housing to submit a new application for \$375,000, but this time the grant proposal would be filed directly through the Riverside Redevelopment Agency.¹⁶⁷

Although Inn manager Sandra Hartness put on a show of confidence for the local press, stating that she "fully expect[ed]" the revised application to be approved, it, in fact, was not. On January 4, 1972, HUD Assistant Secretary Floyd Hyde announced the decision, stating that the major reason funding was rejected for a second time was because the Urban Housing Company had not met the government's standards that "historic rights-of-way and artifacts (in the Inn) be preserved in perpetuity for the people of this nation to enjoy without cost."¹⁶⁸ Under the ownership of Frank Miller, the Hutchings, and Swig, the question of public access and maintaining the collections in perpetuity had never been seriously fielded because as a private enterprise, the responsibility was to the Mission Inn's guests and shareholders and not to the public at large. While Miller and the Hutchings liked to think of the Inn as a museum and did allow a modicum of public entry, the hotel and its collections remained their property. Certainly citizens expressed outrage over Swig's 1957 auction (more so in later years than at the time), but he had purchased the entire structure and could dispose of it as he

saw fit. With an influx of public funds, however, there was the added duty to actually provide a public service.

The final HUD rejection left Urban Housing financially strapped. Hartness countered that the firm needed the right to sell the hotel's art and artifacts, appraised at approximately \$1.5 million, to pay the Connecticut General mortgage and fund the rehabilitation, claiming that if their dire economic situation continued, Urban Housing might examine tearing the Inn down to sell the land.¹⁶⁹ It was not just HUD, however, that was now concerned about public access to the Inn. To many local Riversiders and city officials, who in recent years had taken a commanding role in finding a solution to the hotel's problems, the Mission Inn was central to Riverside's civic identity, and they wanted to guarantee their claim to it. In May 1972, as Urban Housing was working to update its HUD application, Riverside's Cultural Heritage Board, a City Council preservation advisory committee, urged the firm to keep at least eight of the hotel's most popular areas – the lobby, Catacombs, Music Room, Spanish Art Gallery, St. Francis Chapel, St. Cecelia Chapel, St. Francis Atrio, and the Signature Room – open free, or for a small fee, to the public for a thirty-year period in order to comply with HUD regulations.¹⁷⁰ As hope for the HUD grant waned, the City Council approved \$200,000 of city money in November 1972 to purchase the majority of the Inn's historic collections for stewardship by the city's municipal museum should Urban Housing default on its loan payments.¹⁷¹

But, the city's general fund would stay untouched because on March 12, 1973, with the Mission Inn's closure imminent yet again, Riverside's Redevelopment Agency

agreed to put up the \$375,000 in public funds needed for Connecticut General to continue their loan package to Urban Housing. The agency was able to offer this loan due to the funds generated through tax increments and municipal bonds from its first major urban renewal project, the Security Pacific National Bank tower, located just a block from the Mission Inn on the Main Street pedestrian mall at University Avenue.¹⁷² The Security Pacific project razed half a block of historic structures formerly housing a collection of drug and department stores that were built in Riverside's early days, including the city's first brick building, constructed by B.D. Burt in 1875 as a general store, Riverside Land & Irrigating Co. office, and hotel.¹⁷³ The Redevelopment Agency's loan pointedly expressed that the Mission Inn was the only historic structure in Riverside that mattered, largely because city officials still believed that the hotel, even in its declining state, could be a profitable enterprise and tourist magnet. Other deteriorating historic sites were simply blights on downtown that prevented economic revival. In essence, the Mission Inn's preservation was predicated on the destruction of other historic places within downtown's redevelopment area.

The Redevelopment Agency's loan was not without stringent conditions. The agency demanded that the Urban Housing Company create a separate corporation, the Mission Inn Company, to operate the site.¹⁷⁴ Because of Urban Housing's perilous financial situation concerning its other properties, the City of Riverside wanted to ensure that their funds were not funneled into any other Urban Housing projects. Additionally, although the Redevelopment Agency committed to the \$375,000 loan, the money would not be paid out until the restoration work was completed to the agency's satisfaction.

Two members voted against the loan expressing concern that it set a dangerous precedent of city bailouts in the wake of poor management. As dissenter Leo Lueras stated, “I still think we’re buying a pig in a poke.”¹⁷⁵ The agency’s loan assurance restarted the flow of funds to the Inn from Connecticut General, which fronted the Mission Inn Company the Redevelopment Agency’s \$375,000 and also granted a \$450,000 increase in October 1974 to cover renovation cost overages.¹⁷⁶ Urban Housing began renting apartments in late 1971, but by early 1974, the Mission Inn Company had completed the renovation’s first phase and the hotel’s 137 new apartments, rented from \$120 to \$215 per month, were at full capacity.¹⁷⁷ At least in the beginning, Inn tenants, a diverse cross section of young and old, were amused by their elegant (if still under construction) surroundings, treating the Inn, as one renter stated, as their “castle.”¹⁷⁸

The Redevelopment Agency’s loan also required Urban Housing to develop a plan for public access to the Inn. In July 1973, perhaps at the behest of Bruce Wendell Beebe, the Inn’s renovation architect under Urban Housing, modernist designer Gordon Ashby, who had worked most famously in the studio of Charles and Ray Eames, compiled a general plan to stabilize the Mission Inn’s historic collections and begin a tour program modeled after those found at other heritage sites. Much of what Ashby recommended would seem rudimentary to most museum curators, but for decades business executives had run the Inn as well-meaning, yet untrained, volunteers attempted to organize, clean, and prevent further damage to the Inn’s historic pieces. The 1920s were the height of the Mission Inn’s collections management procedures when the hotel produced pamphlets describing each item in situ and tied small copper numbers to the

bells, crosses, and dolls that corresponded to short histories of each piece. By the 1970s, the collections were piled in storage and those pieces still on display were endangered by the Inn's lack of security and renovations. For Ashby, the most pressing concern was to secure the collections in one "clean, organized space" and to protect the architectural elements and immovable historic artifacts from the construction work. The collections then needed to be photographed, numbered, and measured with information collated onto index cards in preparation for a professional conservation examination. Obviously aware of the tension between the Inn's owners and the Friends of the Mission Inn, as well as the growing civic engagement toward securing the Inn's future, Ashby suggested the conservator prepare "an 'official' declaration of the condition of the artifacts," which would "be supplied to those citizens in the Riverside area who have some interest in the Mission Inn project so that they are made aware of just what the collections 'owner' is starting with."

Once cleaned and restored, Ashby's plan called for thematic artifact groupings along five different tour routes, each lasting no more than forty-five minutes and disembarking from a central visitors center in the hotel lobby featuring a gift shop and exhibits exploring the Inn's history. Ashby's tour "menu" was designed to appeal to a wide range of interests and would include individual tours focused on the Inn's architecture, the hotel's history and development, famous faces and "people and events which found their world changed by the Mission Inn," the Inn's "true and not so true" folklore, and the site's art and artifact collections. Coming in at a final price of \$150,000 for development and implementation, Ashby's proposal was the Mission Inn's first

attempt to professionalize and update the site's long-term collections management procedures, essential to arrest further deterioration.¹⁷⁹ Ashby also advocated a more nuanced interpretive approach to the Inn's history that examined several different avenues of significance and considered the potential audience's varied interests. At least momentarily Ashby shifted the conversation away from the previous discussions centered narrowly on the old versus new binary – the Inn as it was in 1903 or the Inn as a contemporary hotel devoid of history.

Ashby's recommendations, however, never came to fruition. The prosperity from the Redevelopment Agency's loan commitment was fleeting and an avalanche of lawsuits signaled yet another Mission Inn bankruptcy and foreclosure. The first shoe dropped in the summer of 1974 when the Eastside Residents' Committee filed a lawsuit against the Riverside Redevelopment Agency contesting the legality of their \$375,000 loan commitment to the Inn, "contending the agency could not make loans to private persons or companies." The Eastside Residents' Committee's legal action was potentially not so much about the Mission Inn loan, but was a cunning way to protest the Redevelopment Agency's Eastside housing plans by hitting at the heart of the agency's most visible project. The suit was eventually thrown out, but in its wake, Security Pacific National Bank refused the agency's Inn loan request.¹⁸⁰

The Eastside lawsuit demonstrates the deep class and racial biases inherent within the state's Redevelopment Agencies. Agency members, with the approval of City Council, were able to identify areas of the city as "blighted" and begin renewal projects with little state oversight or input from the community they aimed to clear and rebuild,

potentially demolishing structures and landscapes vital to that neighborhood. As Michael Dardia of the Public Policy Institute of California identifies, one of the continual problems plaguing Redevelopment Agencies was that “blight is a relative rather than an absolute concept.”¹⁸¹ While the Mission Inn was viewed as both historically important and central to Riverside’s economic revival, other sites, perhaps just as significant to individual communities, but without the potential for consumer revenue, were sacrificed. The Eastside lawsuit raised questions concerning the Redevelopment Agency’s high-cost preoccupation with the Mission Inn while also protesting its impending projects in the Eastside. In its original Eastside renewal plans, the Riverside Redevelopment Agency proposed a \$650,000 high-density housing project that would cover six acres in order to secure HUD funding that was more readily available for projects “involving housing minorities.” Widespread Eastside community protests over the plans, however, caused the Redevelopment Agency to largely abandon any urban renewal work in the neighborhood by 1975.¹⁸²

While the Eastside’s action was a political statement that did not actually hinder hotel renovations, by 1975 the Mission Inn’s legal situation deteriorated rapidly in a domino effect of lawsuits. In January 1975 the Redevelopment Agency filed suit against the Mission Inn Company for violating their loan agreement. It came to light that Dudley Knill, president of the Mission Inn Company’s parent corporation Urban Housing, used the Inn as collateral to finance other Urban Housing projects, as well as selling the Mission Inn to two private investment groups from which he leased back the hotel as part of a tax shelter scheme. Facing exploding restoration costs, the Mission Inn Company

asked for a \$525,000 loan increase from Connecticut General, but was denied because of the Redevelopment Agency's suit and the new confusion surrounding the hotel's actual owner.¹⁸³ The next month, the Internal Revenue Service started investigations into the Mission Inn Company's accounts because of back pay owed to workers, the company's negligence in providing proper W-2 tax forms to employees, and because the company owed the IRS \$56,000 in employee withholding taxes. In the midst of this, Riverside Public Utilities also filed a lawsuit against the Inn, citing \$33,000 in unpaid utility bills, which earned the honor of being the largest "delinquent account...in the city's history." To stave off bill collectors, the Mission Inn Company declared bankruptcy on February 24, 1975.¹⁸⁴ This, however, did not stop the lawsuits. In April 1975, Connecticut General sued the Riverside Redevelopment Agency for payment of their \$375,000 loan commitment and Knill also filed a \$20 million dollar suit against the agency over negative comments made by the agency chairman, which Knill claimed "adversely affected his operation of the Mission Inn, his business reputation and his financial standing."¹⁸⁵ Connecticut General formally initiated foreclosure proceedings in January 1976; in April 1976 the firm made the only bid at the Inn's foreclosure auction, winning title to the troubled hotel for a paltry \$5,863.26, the fee the title company charged to transfer ownership.¹⁸⁶

In the span of just two years, the Mission Inn's situation had devolved into a pissing match of escalating litigation. The high hopes of Urban Housing's adaptive reuse rehabilitation were dashed by mismanagement, mounting renovation costs with no solid funding plan, and unanswered questions about the rights of the public to access

Riverside's most famous landmark. During the civic battles and parade of unsuccessful attempts to resurrect the site the Mission Inn's image careened away from that of a first rate, one-of-a-kind hotel. Instead, the Inn was portrayed in the local press and other media outlets as a melancholy lost cause – a symbol of a previous era that could not, despite tireless efforts, be reclaimed – and a sublimely creepy place filled with decaying relics that looked all the more out of time next to the explosion of new buildings downtown.

This process is best exemplified, rather riotously, by the B movies filmed at the Mission Inn during the Urban Housing years, also showing the lack of oversight and protection given to the hotel's collections. For decades the Inn had been a popular movie set, providing the background for such films as 1945's wartime romance, *You Came Along*, starring Robert Cummings and Lizabeth Scott (directed by John Farrow with a screenplay co-written by Ayn Rand) and 1951's religious mystery, *The First Legion*, starring Charles Boyer and Barbara Rush. These films glorified the Inn and did not diverge from the site's finely crafted interpretation, depicting it as a World War II retreat and wedding destination for military personnel and as an ancient Jesuit monastery.¹⁸⁷

The films shot at the Mission Inn in the 1970s, however, were much darker in tone and used the Inn and its collections as examples of death and decline. Take for instance, 1971's apocalyptic horror film, *Moonchild*, starring John Carradine. The almost unintelligible plot follows the journey of a young artist, the moonchild, as he hitchhikes his way to an old hotel filled with a disturbing cast of characters who convince him to stay overnight. The people inhabiting the hotel are actually undead eighteenth-century

Catholic Church clerics and holy soldiers who must relive their grisly deaths for heresy every twenty-five years when the moonchild returns to the hotel. The movie's promotional poster describes the film as "A reincarnate trapped in a recurring nightmare of occult evil racing toward his final exorcism!!! Pursued by bizarre demons from his shrouded past!"¹⁸⁸ The Mission Inn is the setting for the entire movie and it is described as a "little treasure house" that is "crumbling to death." The film features quick pans of the collections to illustrate the sinister environment, flashing to red toned shots of the Papal court, whose wax faces by the 1970s were discolored from age, and using the dimly-lit and damp Catacombs, still decorated with saint statues and ecclesiastical paintings, for the title credits as the moonchild attempts to outrun the Inn's satanic ghosts. Nearly every scene includes the presence of a five-foot carved Japanese goblin once displayed in the hotel's Asian galleries and later as a central figure in the Lea Lea's Polynesian decoration. The goblin, with its horns, bared teeth, red lacquer, and standing warrior positioning operated as a generic and easily identifiable specter of doom, even though the goblin's original function was to guard a Japanese temple against evil spirits.¹⁸⁹

The 1975 film, *The Wild Party*, starring Raquel Welch and James Coco can be read as a metaphor for the Mission Inn's troubles. The movie centers on Jolly Grimm, a washed up silent film star attempting to regain his former glory, but who finds the new "talkies" passing him by, and his mistress Queenie, a former dancer with a checkered past. Grimm hosts a "wild party" in 1929 at his palatial mansion, Casa Alegria (the Mission Inn), to screen his new film *Brother Jasper*, a comedy about the life of Junipero

Serra written, directed, performed, and financed by Grimm. Casa Alegria is filled with production executives and actors, invited by Grimm in hopes they will release his comedy. After Grimm's film is panned, the party declines into a hedonistic orgy fueled by the marijuana, cocaine, and morphine brought by a dapper vaudeville dancer who also moonlights as a pimp. Enraged by failure, jealousy, and hard liquor, Grimm murders Queenie and Dale Sword, a rising Hollywood leading man she has just taken to bed. The film was shot throughout the Inn, with scenes in the lobby, the rotunda, the Ho-O-Kan room, the Spanish Art Gallery, and the St. Francis Atrio, all lavishly decorated with flags, banners, statues, suits of armor, and paintings from the hotel's collections. In a sultry performance of one of her former vaudeville acts, "Singapore Sally," Queenie even writhes and dances on the Amedabha Buddha behind the Lea Lea's bar. Casa Alegria is described, like Jolly Grimm himself, as a dusty antique and an anachronism, with the wife of one producer proclaiming, "They don't make them like this anymore," when asking Queenie if the property could be added to the historic home tour she organizes each year. After refusing to fund Grimm's Father Serra comedy, one producer states, "Monks, who wants monks? Today the people want action," an observation easily taken out of the fantasy realm and applied to the Mission Inn.¹⁹⁰

In the 1977 Kung-Fu Blaxploitation movie, *The Black Samurai*, martial artist Jim Kelly plays agent Robert Sand of the global police force, D.R.A.G.O.N. (Defense Reserve Agency Guardian of Nations). Sand must rescue his girlfriend, Toki Konuma, the daughter of a Japanese diplomat, after she is kidnapped by an international drug smuggler in retaliation for her father's crackdown on the Asian drug trade. The drug

kingpin, known as Janicot (the name of an ancient pagan horned god), is also a warlock proficient in black magic with an army of followers headquartered at his satanic compound – the Mission Inn. Once again, the Inn is the site of sinister depravity. Sand and Janicot meet at drug and sex-fueled party Janicot throws at his mansion, filmed in a fourth floor hotel suite. A vulture looms on an interior balcony while Felicia, described by Janicot as “one of Rome’s most popular prostitutes,” dances and strips atop a table. After Sand inquires about Toki, Janicot orders his henchmen to capture Sand launching a fight and chase scene along the hotel’s roofline and fourth floor exterior corridors. Sand eludes capture, and Janicot punishes one of his soldiers for his failure by throwing him in a gated room in the Catacombs filled with rattlesnakes. Sand eventually rescues Toki from her prison in the hotel’s Carmel Dome, only to be caught by Janicot, who tethers them to a pillar in the St. Francis Atrio to await execution as part of a black magic sacrifice. With torches lit inside the dark courtyard, dancers clad in tribal masks and paint sway to drum music while Felicia writhes and smears herself in blood. Janicot declares, “It is better to reign in hell than serve in heaven! The warlock has commanded the Gods!” Sand frees himself and Toki before their throats are cut. Janicot pursues Sand down the Rotunda stairs into the Catacombs for the final chase-to-the-death, which Sand, of course, wins thanks to his martial arts skill, killing Janicot and locking him in the rattlesnake chamber.¹⁹¹

More so than the other movies, *The Black Samurai* reveals the Mission Inn’s decrepitude, starkly exposing the site’s level of neglect. Unlike *Moonchild* or *The Wild Party*, little effort was made to decorate or stage the Inn during filming and most action

scenes took place on the Inn's exterior or open-air inner arcades. The Inn's concrete and stucco façade is drab and discolored by water leaks, soot, and rust residue from the iron railings and grates enclosing the balconies and adorning the windows, which have turned from black to red. Interior beams, window frames, and doors are chipped and dented. The plaster walls of the Carmel Dome, the studio space for the Inn's artists-in-residence at the turn of the century, are flaking and covered in graffiti. The Catacombs' narrow hallways are lined with rubble from the disintegrating walls and puddles from dripping pipes. During Sand and Janicot's ending chase, the camera lingers on a shot looking through the Kiva, the Inn's gallery of Native American art once filled with baskets, blankets, pottery, and kachinas. The rough-hewn wooden shelves are now empty, the walls stained, and debris is piled in the corner.¹⁹²

The portrayal of the Inn as a crumbling, potentially satanic place filled with debauchery was not the image that Inn stakeholders wanted their beloved site to project, although employing the hotel as a filming location helped pay the bills. The hotel began as Frank Miller's life's work, its popularity enabling him to wield considerable political power in shaping the city, but as a revolving door of "outsiders" took the Inn's helm, local citizens grew to think of the hotel as a community asset. The Mission Inn's convoluted history from GoldCo MII, Corporation's purchase in 1967 to Urban Housing's bankruptcy in 1976 jumpstarted unprecedented civic engagement concerning the historic site, which gained greater urgency as each Inn owner catastrophically failed. At the heart of the matter was indecision about what the Mission Inn's purpose should be – heritage site, contemporary hotel, apartment complex – each idea, however, revolved

around the necessity for the Inn (and downtown) to, once again, be a profitable tourist draw. The Redevelopment Agency's Mission Inn loan assurance was the first solid city monetary commitment to the hotel's revival, demonstrating the hazy rules regarding disbursement of redevelopment funds and, consequently, embroiling the city in a rash of legal disputes. The Mission Inn's plight would continue to monopolize city funds and drive the downtown urban renewal initiative, especially after the Redevelopment Agency moved to purchase and operate the Inn following Connecticut General's foreclosure. As a publically owned and funded structure, the Inn's financial woes, inadequate management, and mounting crime rate polarized local opinion as to whether subsidizing the Inn was a proper use of public monies. The Mission Inn became a cautionary tale for why governments do not run hotels.

**“Why should the taxpayer have to pay for it?”:
The Perils of Public Ownership, 1976-1984**

On July 15, 1976, the Riverside Redevelopment Agency voted to buy the Mission Inn for \$2 million, the culmination of months of discussions in which City of Riverside officials concluded that local public ownership was the only way to ensure the Inn's security and success, especially in the aftermath of the Urban Housing Company's disastrous turn.¹⁹³ In June, City Council and Redevelopment Agency representatives traveled to Connecticut to speak to Connecticut General executives to negotiate the agency's purchase of the site. The purchase would settle Connecticut General's \$480,000 lawsuit against the agency for the “principal, interest, and costs” accrued by the firm when they fronted the \$375,000 to Urban Housing guaranteed by the Redevelopment Agency's 1973 loan commitment.¹⁹⁴ According to the Redevelopment Agency, public

ownership would not only end Connecticut General's lawsuit, but it was also integral because the "redevelopment of downtown Riverside and the success of Raincross Square [the new civic and convention center one block from the Inn] depends on the fate of the Inn," and because "if a private party acquires the Inn from Connecticut General, the building could be 'in jeopardy of misuse (or) improper restoration.'"¹⁹⁵ Officials hoped that Riverside's purchase of the hotel would bolster the Inn's chances for federal preservation funding, encouraged by meetings with the U.S. Economic Development Agency and the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the findings of four independent consultants hired by the Redevelopment Agency – Los Angeles real estate broker Sol Rabin, Old Sacramento redevelopment manager Ed Astone, Salt Lake City's historic Utah Hotel manager Stewart Cross, and California State Historic Preservation Officer Knox Mellon.¹⁹⁶ The consultants assured the Redevelopment Agency that up to \$2 million in federal aid was likely available because of the Inn's potential for generating jobs and economic revival through tourism.¹⁹⁷

The Redevelopment Agency's public purchase of the Mission Inn was actually very private in nature, demonstrating the agency's lack of community involvement in urban renewal projects. The agency was originally made up of professionals and citizens from the redevelopment areas, with the Riverside City Council providing guidance and final approval for projects. In February 1975, however, the council voted to disband the "citizens' panel" due to "internal personnel and political conflicts" and replaced it instead with seven City Council members.¹⁹⁸ While Riverside's decision to dissolve the Redevelopment community advisory panel was not uncommon – ninety percent of

California cities used elected city council officials as their Redevelopment Agency's governing body – the move signaled the city's growing insularity concerning Mission Inn decisions.¹⁹⁹ The agency formed the fifteen-person Downtown Mile Square Project Area Committee to act as an advisory board for downtown renewal proposals, but did not actually consult with them before deciding to purchase the Inn in a closed City Council session. Mile Square members expressed dismay over the Redevelopment Agency's lack of transparency and their failure to keep the advisory committee informed. Many members, while eager to see the Mission Inn preserved, did not think it was the City of Riverside's responsibility, citing the agency's unprecedented expenditure as troublesome. As Mile Square member Elizabeth Hatch stated, "In principle I'd like to see the Mission Inn saved and I'd like to see it a thriving member of the community. But I don't want to own it to the detriment of other things in the city." Hatch's advisory board colleague Ed Boyan did not "have much faith that a public agency [could] operate anything effectively," while Frank Kaluzok asked, "Why should the taxpayer have to pay for it?" after the failures of so many private enterprises.²⁰⁰

Whereas earlier discussions of city ownership of the hotel questioned its legality, by 1976, the sale was sanctioned because, as one Southern California redevelopment lawyer stated, "state law is 'extremely general' in the area of what redevelopment may do."²⁰¹ Even if deemed legal, the sale was still problematic. First, although the Redevelopment Agency did not use city general fund money to buy the Inn, they did use money raised from an earlier \$4 million municipal bond, meaning that Riversiders who voted for the bond initiative did not actually approve the funds for use to purchase the

Mission Inn. Secondly, the purchase of the Inn disrupted the agency's typical monetary flow, which enabled the agency to recoup its expenditures through tax increments from the new construction it sponsored and was dependent on private investment by firms moving into the properties. The Mission Inn would not generate increased tax income until fully renovated and reopened in some, yet to be determined, capacity. Additionally, the Redevelopment Agency was now accountable for the additional funds the Mission Inn would require for restoration and operation; as the other private owners had discovered, that amount was astronomical. After buying the Mission Inn, the Redevelopment Agency was left with \$1.3 million in their account, which needed to stretch to cover other agency renewal projects, as well as "the agency's operating money and contribution the agency might make to [the] rehabilitation of the Inn."²⁰²

While state law "generally" allowed for the Redevelopment Agency purchase, the statute was clear that the agency could not run the Mission Inn, but must resell or lease the site. The City of Riverside's solution was to create a non-profit organization, the Mission Inn Foundation, to operate the hotel and apartments, apply for federal and state preservation grants, conduct private fundraising drives, manage the structure's ongoing restoration, and devise a feasibility plan for the site's future use. The Mission Inn Foundation was officially chartered on August 12, 1976, with a founding sixteen-person board of directors that represented a who's who of Riverside political and business elite, including mayor Ben Lewis, *Press-Enterprise* publisher Howard Hays, Jr., prominent local attorneys Arthur Littleworth and Richard Anderson, and members of the Friends of the Mission Inn. The Foundation's Articles of Incorporation cited the organization's

primary focus was to preserve and restore the Inn in order to “perpetuate for posterity the historical and cultural heritage” of Riverside and to work in tandem with the Redevelopment Agency and City of Riverside “to assist in the development of plans, projects and activities relating to the Mission Inn and surrounding area for the elimination of blighting influences...for the primary purpose of combating community deterioration.”²⁰³ The Mission Inn Foundation was charged with getting the Inn back on its feet, in order to turn the entire downtown area around.

Hope ran high for this new group of civic saviors and the city government believed that the Foundation members “would be the people to make the Mission Inn what it should be.”²⁰⁴ The Riverside Redevelopment Agency and Mission Inn Foundation achieved a level of forward momentum and national recognition at the Inn that had not been seen in over two decades. But, these years were also marked by incompetent management, fiscal disasters, and a rapidly rising crime rate that made many officials and private citizens question whether the Agency and Foundation were qualified to mold the Mission Inn into a profitable venture. What finally emerged from their controversial time as hotel owners was a clear vision of how they wanted to operate and interpret the site as well as a fully defined commitment to maintaining at least a modicum of public access to the Inn in perpetuity.

In an attempt to prevent the mistakes of Mission Inn’s previous owners, the Mission Inn Foundation and Redevelopment Agency immediately set to work meticulously planning a course of action to finish renovations and make the hotel a self-sustaining enterprise. To gain outside perspectives, brainstorm public and private

fundraising options, and raise awareness in support of the Inn's plight, the Foundation created a National Advisory Council in March 1977. The thirteen-member council was comprised of high-profile historic preservation and hotel professionals, many with extensive experience in the heritage industry utilizing preservation as an economic stimulator. Members included former National Park Service director Horace Albright, executive director of the American Historical Association Mack Thompson, California State Historic Preservation Officer Knox Mellon, Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places William Murtaugh, as well as Dana Crawford, director of Denver's Larimer Square project.²⁰⁵ Notably, Crawford spearheaded the restoration of Larimer Street's historic storefronts and turned the square into an outdoor shopping center that extolled the area's connections to Denver's frontier heritage, a tradition invented to market Larimer Square as a historically authentic and unique consumer destination.²⁰⁶

In the wake of urban renewal's destructive and homogenizing effects, by the late 1960s, downtown redevelopers across the nation pivoted toward nostalgia, combining history with consumption, by turning old buildings and industrial centers into tightly controlled historically-themed shopping, dining, and entertainment districts with focused advertising campaigns celebrating a sanitized caricature of the district's past. As historian M. Christine Boyer states, these heritage marketplaces surrounded "the spectator with an artfully composed historic ambience" enabling local governments to resurrect their "outmoded city center" into economically viable "leisure-time spectacles and sightseeing promenade."²⁰⁷ In the 1970s, the success of projects across the country, such as New York's maritime-centered South Street Seaport and Boston's Faneuil Hall

Marketplace in the East and Crawford's Larimer project and San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square and Fisherman's Wharf in the West. Additionally, new tax breaks for the preservation of historic structures and the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street Pilot Program begun in 1977, which advocated the adaptive reuse of historic structures and "demanded that public and private sectors work together on redevelopment projects," spurred Mission Inn stakeholders to examine new ways to capitalize on the site's distinct heritage and architecture to make history pay.²⁰⁸

To devise a solid business and preservation strategy, the Mission Inn coalition was awarded a \$37,500 federal Economic Development Administration planning grant. The "Economic Development Plan" was drafted in August 1977 by the private investment firm, Economics Research Associates, and the architectural firm Albert C. Martin and Associates. The plan optimistically concluded that the Mission Inn could generate a profit of \$602,000 per year by 1982, with complete structural restoration finished by 1987, if the site was used as a "multifunctional facility" that offered fifty-five hotel rooms, 137 residential apartments (already in use since Urban Housing's ownership), retail shops, restaurants and bars, office space, tours, and special event venues. The report estimated total renovation costs at \$5,263,000 and theorized that financing could be accomplished through Mission Inn Foundation fundraising and private loans without the necessity of further government subsidies. Once operating at full capacity, the EDA plan reported the Inn would create 165 new jobs, an additional 210 jobs during renovation, plus generate \$68,000 annually for the City of Riverside in sales and hotel occupancy taxes.²⁰⁹

Early on, Redevelopment Agency ownership and Mission Inn Foundation management appeared to be the key to the Mission Inn's success. Thanks largely to the influence asserted by the hotel's National Advisory Council, the Mission Inn was named a National Historic Landmark, the country's most prestigious designation for historic sites, in October 1977. Just six years earlier, the California State Parks department had dismissed the Inn as a predominantly local concern, but its new landmark status reassured city officials that their move to acquire the Inn, while controversial, was a worthwhile endeavor. In an open house dedication ceremony that brought over 2,000 people to the Inn, California Governor Jerry Brown praised the Inn's renovation as a leading project in the 'move back into the cities' in which the hotel's multiuse restoration would "herald a new age when cities, and not suburbs, are the main areas of growth."²¹⁰

Before the Mission Inn could herald Riverside's new age, however, it needed to actually be operational and put the EDA's business plan into action. As a non-profit organization and governmental department, the Mission Inn Foundation and Redevelopment Agency secured an unprecedented amount of public restoration funds, including a \$1.68 million Economic Development Administration preservation grant aimed at "provid[ing] jobs and stimulat[ing] business in areas of high unemployment," as well as \$210,000 from the Department of the Interior's National Historic Preservation Act Grants-In-Aid Program, and a \$350,000 loan from the California State Department of Economic and Business Development.²¹¹ The Foundation raised an additional \$600,000 through multiple donation drives. Thanks to these funds, the Foundation was able to

open seventy hotel rooms, restart limited restaurant service, and update the hotel's outdated electrical, plumbing, and heating and air conditioning systems.²¹²

The Mission Inn Foundation and Riverside Redevelopment Agency's accomplishments, however, were often overshadowed by the hotel's continued financial distress and onsite crime waves, which, as a publically owned structure, directly reflected on the City of Riverside. While the preservation grants and fundraising campaigns aided in the completion of some pressing renovations, these monies were not allocated for the Inn's monthly expenditures and did not cover the costs of many needed improvements. The Redevelopment Agency was also legally prohibited from directly funding certain projects, such as \$77,000 the agency had solicited from the City in order to make necessary expansions to the hotel's food service, a vital part of any operating hotel. As director Douglas Shackelton stated, agency funds were intended "to eliminate blight, 'not to support a food service'" or "compete with private enterprise."²¹³ The Mission Inn food and beverage service expansion loan was the first time the Inn management team requested extra funds from the City of Riverside and it further demonstrated the widespread confusion over what were considered appropriate public funding sources to cover the Inn's expenses. Funds had been allocated to the Inn through the Redevelopment Agency, but the additional \$77,000 would have had to come from the city's general fund treasury. Riverside City Attorney, John Woodhead, who had expressed concern over the city's expanding role in the Mission Inn before, once again, questioned the legality of general fund money being used for Mission Inn restaurant improvements, stating that the situation could set the City Council up for lawsuits,

especially since there was no guarantee that the hotel could pay back the loan in a timely fashion.²¹⁴ As early as January 1979, the hotel was losing upwards of \$20,000 each month, straining the Redevelopment Agency's budget, which was already tight, a consequence of the agency's unstable financial situation after putting up the \$2 million for the Inn's purchase.²¹⁵ Who, then, would pay the escalating debts?

Initially, Riverside officials were careful to distinguish that the Mission Inn was not receiving city general fund money, but as costs mounted, the Mission Inn Foundation and Redevelopment Agency asked civic leaders to dip into the city's coffer. In 1980, the Inn ended the year \$327,000 in debt and the City Council approved two separate loans amounting to \$350,000, some of which came out of the city's liability insurance fund, draining it to its lowest acceptable level, according to City Manager Douglas Weiford.²¹⁶ Many council members expressed discontent over the Inn's bailout, including Councilwoman Teresa Frizzel who summed up the general dissenting opinion: "We can't continue this. There must be changes at the Inn. The citizens had a sentimental attachment to the Inn, which was a failing business in 1976, and they wanted to save it. But it wasn't supposed to be a burden on the taxpayers."²¹⁷ As former Mission Inn Foundation president Walter Parks surmises, by the early 1980s, City Council support of Mission Inn initiatives was not a guarantee. "At best there was a four to three split," stated Parks in a 1988 oral history interview. "If one of the other members was really not too sure about a certain area, particularly in the budget arena, there was a three-four split against you."²¹⁸

Perhaps more problematic than the actual city expenditures was the incestuous decision-making process regarding Inn financing decisions and the continued conflict between the Mission Inn Foundation and the Redevelopment Agency over the Inn's management. Between 1979 and 1983 the City Council continued its role as the Redevelopment Agency, but there were also three council members on the Foundation's seven-member hotel operating committee and in January 1981, Redevelopment Agency executive director, Douglas Shackelton, was named a hotel co-manager, later leaving the agency to assume his managerial role full time.²¹⁹ The overlap was to ensure proper administration of city funds and to establish a working partnership between the Foundation and Redevelopment, but it was also a potential conflict of interest as the council, three of whom were also on the hotel's operating board, voted whether or not to appropriate funds to the Inn.²²⁰

Despite continued subsidies, the hotel's financial climate did not improve. In 1982 the Inn lost \$262,429 and in November 1983 the Inn's management team disclosed that it was \$534,000 in debt and would be asking City Council to approve a \$400,000 Redevelopment Agency subsidy (the entirety of the agency's cash on hand), on top of the \$360,000 the council approved six months earlier. By the close of 1983, the City of Riverside, either through the Redevelopment Agency or from its general fund, provided the Inn with \$1.05 million in subsidies and \$681,000 in loans.²²¹ The Inn's public funding situation is particularly tricky, not only because of the hazy guidelines governing Redevelopment Agencies, but because the City of Riverside was increasingly engaged not in the active preservation of a historic landmark, but in the piecemeal propping up of

a failing business. If, however, consumer activity is a vital part of the site's history and viewed as absolutely integral to its future success, does there need to be a distinction?



Figure 91: Interior view before restoration. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

More to the point, the city funds pumped into the Mission Inn achieved few preservation or urban renewal goals, but instead merely kept the hotel's doors open so it could generate higher debts. By 1983, the optimism of public ownership had eroded as the Inn sunk deeper into the red. Nine managers in seven years resigned in frustration or were fired by the Mission Inn Foundation for unsatisfactory performance. The Inn's

image sank deeper into that of a *Moonchild* horror rather than a prestigious National Historic Landmark as the Inn was rocked by a spate of crime, some of it even comedic in its absurdity. Between 1978 and 1984 the Mission Inn boasted an impressive crime blotter, ranging from the petty to the dangerous. A hotel chef brandished a carving knife on a Mission Inn dinner theater actor in the midst of an argument over prime rib that was served too rare. Armed burglars robbed the Inn's front desk twice in three years, once for \$18,000, briefly holding eleven employees hostage, and another time for \$1,400. Two employees were fired for allegedly trafficking drugs through the hotel; and \$20,000 worth of the Inn's historic paintings, tapestries, and furniture was stolen (and later recovered by local police).²²² In February 1983, the City of Riverside very appropriately approved a \$10,000 a month subsidy for improved hotel security.²²³

The Inn was not just targeted by local hoodlums. One former Inn controller was arrested for embezzling \$51,000 from the hotel between 1981 and 1982, while another resigned after being charged with grand theft and forgery in a San Diego real estate scam.²²⁴ In a bizarre incident, hotel manager and Mission Inn Foundation board member Richard Richardson, a former British security official in Hong Kong, was briefly taken into police custody for wiretapping as he attempted to apprehend an employee making unauthorized long distance phone calls. The charges were later dropped.²²⁵ On top of the crime, even in the midst of sporadic renovations, the Mission Inn was falling apart. Rusting railings and cracked concrete steps caused a city fire inspector to recommend potentially closing the hotel's Rotunda. A fire started by faulty electrical work destroyed one Inn apartment in 1981, prompting tenants to revolt citing the Inn's safety violations

and “substandard living conditions,” including defective fire hoses, “broken fire escapes, dead vines covering the walls outside...broken light switches, unsanitary carpeting, lack of parking and an inability to get the maintenance staff to make repairs.”²²⁶ For many tenants, the quaint charm of living in a “castle,” as some described it in 1971, had worn off in the wake of pressing and unresolved health and safety concerns.



Figure 92: Mission Inn bathroom before renovation. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Yet, in the midst of the mismanagement, crime, funding debacles, and political power struggles that characterized the Mission Inn Foundation and Redevelopment Agency years, Inn leaders did, for the first time, formally solidify fundamental principles for maintaining the public trust in the hotel through public access and the professional care and interpretation of the site’s historic collections. Although the original Economic Development Administration business model suggested implementing an ambitious multiuse strategy for the Inn, by early 1983, it was evident that this plan was unworkable, as the management team could not handle the hotel’s apartments, hotel rooms,

restaurants, banquet and wedding facilities, tours, and collections. An ad hoc Redevelopment Agency committee revisited the Mission Inn's long-term objectives and concluded that operations needed to be streamlined to focus exclusively on two central goals: to make the "Inn a profitable mix between a historical treasure and ultimately a first-class two hundred-room hotel and restaurant facility."²²⁷ City Council members now dismissed the Inn's apartments, once hailed as the hotel's saving grace that would enable the Inn to be renovated through extensive federal funding, as a "low income housing project."²²⁸ The Mission Inn Foundation, Redevelopment Agency, and City Council devised to solicit private real estate investors to re-convert the 137 apartments back to guest rooms and to carve out a specific space within the hotel for a dedicated museum.²²⁹

In the twilight of the Redevelopment Agency's ownership and the Mission Inn Foundation's managing lease, the site came full circle as Inn stakeholders realized after decades of trial and error that neither wholly private nor wholly public ownership was the key, but that the Inn's rare combination of uses demanded both – a private hospitality firm to efficiently and professionally run the hotel and a non-profit organization to steward and interpret the collections for a larger public audience, a necessity after the years of escalating federal, state, and city funding, in addition to the hundreds of volunteers who had over the course of the hotel's public ownership donated their time and money to keep the site afloat.²³⁰ With some managerial retooling the Mission Inn could return to its original function as a "museum-hotel." In 1984, as the Redevelopment Agency looked to dispose of the Inn to a private investment company, the Mission Inn

Foundation reoriented its mission to focus its efforts on acting as trustee of the hotel's historic art and artifacts in order to avoid the sale and/or further degradation of the collections. "Curation, preservation, and conservation," was the Foundation's new motto. The organization had already hired a collections curator and was in the process of designing a large public exhibition space in the hotel's Galeria banquet room. Foundation president and respected architect Clinton Marr stated definitively "all artifacts in the Mission Inn Collections should remain under the trusteeship of a private, nonprofit organization, especially constituted for their care, at the time of sale or lease of the Mission Inn to a private developer."²³¹ In June 1984 the Mission Inn Foundation's new role as the hotel's keeper of the public trust would be officially tested when the Riverside City Council voted to sell the distressed Inn for \$3 million to a joint investment venture headed by Wisconsin's Carley Capital Group and New York-based interior designer Dale Keller.²³² One year later, Carley Capital, which bought out Keller's interest in the project, closed the hotel to embark on what would become a seven-year renovation to structurally rehabilitate the Mission Inn and convert it, once again, to a luxury hotel.²³³

Conclusion

The Mission Inn's struggles between 1935 and 1985 demonstrate the evolving needs of the site as it transformed from a contemporary structure that interpreted the past to a historic structure attempting to remain contemporary. It is equally a study in broader national trends, with each ownership stage reflecting the prevailing notions regarding urban renewal and preservation. The Mission Inn's lens illuminates Southern California militarization and suburbanization, midcentury modern design, the bulldozer mentality

and often questionable practices of Redevelopment Agencies, emerging adaptive reuse programs, and the greater governmental commitment toward historic preservation beginning in the late 1960s. On the local scale, the Mission Inn shows civic leaders' uneasiness about conceptualizing Riverside without the successful landmark exemplifying the city's genteel past. While other historic downtown buildings fell to redevelopment's promise of economic growth, the Mission Inn was spared at considerable cost, not only because of its historic importance, but also because of its potential profitability, bringing forth tough questions about which historic places deserve to be saved and why, in addition to illustrating the inextricable connections between preservation and consumption, concepts which at first blush appear contradictory.²³⁴ The battles over what kind of site the Mission Inn should be, waged as the Riverside community grew suspicious of the hotel's owners, were seemingly solved with the decision that the Inn needed to be privately owned and operated in partnership with the Mission Inn Foundation acting as the site's historical warden. This, however, was not a concrete solution, but the beginning of new interpretive conflicts centered on the underlying question, "who controls the Mission Inn's history?"

NOTES

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- ¹ “Mission Inn Padlocked; Bankruptcy Might Be Filed,” *The Press*, March 24, 1969, B1.
- ² Tom Patterson, “Inn Becomes Silent Monument to Past,” *The Press*, March 24, 1969, B1 and B2.
- ³ Mission Inn interoffice memo, 8 January 1942, file A500-190.I.B.27, Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.
- ⁴ Mission Inn Foundation docent training schedule, 2011-2012, “The Ugly Years,” January 18, 2012; Esther Klotz, “The Years of Chaos,” in *The Mission Inn: Its History and Artifacts* (Riverside: Rubidoux Printing, 1981), 145-158.
- ⁵ Nick Yablon, *Untimely Ruins: An Archaeology of American Urban Modernity, 1819-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-11.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 290.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 290-291.
- ⁹ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, “The Necessity for Ruins,” in *The Necessity for Ruins: And Other Topics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 83-102.
- ¹⁰ Ron Morris, “Reaction Mixed to Inn Purchase,” *The Press*, July 16, 1976, B2.
- ¹¹ The exact nature and length of Miller’s illness and cause of death, reportedly cancer, is still largely unknown. Attempts by local historians, most notably by Miller biographer Maurice Hodgen, to obtain Miller’s medical records have proved unsuccessful and his records remain confidential.
- ¹² Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 90-93.
- ¹³ “What He Gave, His Monument,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 30, 1936-1940, 4.
- ¹⁴ “Mission Inn Elects Head; Mrs. Frank Miller Made President,” *Riverside Daily Press*, May 10, 1936, 13.
- ¹⁵ “Mission Inn Puts Ban on All Hard Liquors,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1936, 14; Mission Inn Foundation Docent Council, News from the Inn-Spector, “Alcohol at the Inn,” January 18, 2009, accessed February 21, 2013, <http://www.missioninnmuseum.com/docents/index.htm>.
- ¹⁶ Allis Miller Hutchings to Directors of Frank A. Miller, Inc., 15 September 1936, box 3, Mission Inn Ephemera, Riverside Metropolitan Museum (hereafter cited as RMM).
- ¹⁷ Allis Miller Hutchings Publications, file A500-190.II.B.2, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁸ “Inn Collection Discloses Wedding Customs of World,” *Riverside Daily Press*, September 7, 1937, 9; “Nearly Five Thousand Couples Married at World-Famed Mission Inn,” *Riverside Daily Press*, February 3, 1938, 4.

¹⁹ Maurice Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn: Frank Miller, A Life* (Riverside: Ashburton Publishing, 2013), 189-191 and 236-238.

²⁰ Draft letter DeWitt Hutchings to Frank Miller, 8 April 1924, file A500-190.III.F.12, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²¹ Hodgen, *Master of the Mission Inn*, 236-238.

²² “Hutchings to Persia,” *Riverside Daily Press*, March 6, 1922, 5; “Riverside Man Had Experience: Major Alexander Writes of Trip Across North Arabia Desert, With DeWitt V. Hutchings Member of His Party,” *Riverside Daily Press*, August 9, 1922, 5; “DeWitt V. Hutchings Home After Trip Through Persia,” *Riverside Daily Press*, November 13, 1922, 5; The acknowledgements of individuals who helped the American party on their expedition listed in Edward Alexander Powell’s travel narrative, *By Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne*, is an impressive list of diplomats involved in the post World War I administration of the region, including the French Ambassador to the United States, the Counselor of the French embassy in Constantinople, the French High Commissioner in Syria, and the French military governor of Damascus, the British High Commissioner of Palestine, the British High Commissioner of Persia, the American Minister to Persia, the American military attaché in Tehran, and American consul’s in Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad, Aleppo, and Constantinople. Edward Alexander Powell, *By Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne* (New York: The Century Co., 1923), vii-ix.

²³ Powell’s dedication reads “To DeWitt Vermilye Hutchings of The Mission Inn, Riverside, California: In memory of days on Mesopotamian wastes and Persian uplands, of nights in Kurdish caravanserais and beside Arab camp-fires: and in appreciation of [his] unflinching cheerfulness and kindness.”

²⁴ Miller asked former Mission Inn artist-in-residence Hovsep Pushman, who moved to Paris after his time at the Inn, to investigate the Murillo painting for him at the Charles Brunner Gallery where it was being sold. Miller is unsure of the painting’s quality, authenticity, and marketing possibilities, so he asks Pushman to examine the canvas anonymously and report back him. Writes Miller, “My idea would be for you to go and see it without mentioning me in any way and see just what sort of a price the owner there has on it and advise me whether you think it is genuine and a fine example. I have been anxious to purchase a Murillo but I must be sure that it will be of such high character and of so much importance that it can be thought of as one of the greatest pictures in the United States, and, therefore, have sufficient advertising value and drawing power.” Frank Miller to Hovsep Pushman, 21 December 1921, file A500-190.III.F.10, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁵ Jennie Kenyon Harris to DeWitt Hutchings, 24 May 1923, file A500-190.III.F.11, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM. Hutchings writes Mrs. Harris back informing her that he “would rather not give such permission to any one just now. I expect to go on to New York soon and will then look into the matter of how the supervision of the copying is taken care of by the Metropolitan directors. I will keep your letter on file, and will be glad to let you know later if I feel that I can give permission for copying.” DeWitt Hutchings to Jennie K. Harris, 12 June 1923, file A500-190.III.F.11, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁶ Charles Brunner to DeWitt Hutchings, 4 December 1923, file A500-190.III.F.11, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁷ DeWitt Hutchings to his father G.L. Hutchings, 1 May 1923, G.L. Hutchings to DeWitt Hutchings, 31 May 1923, DeWitt Hutchings to G.L. Hutchings, 12 June 1923, John C. Van Dyke to DeWitt Hutchings, 18 May 1923, DeWitt Hutchings to Professor Mather, 29 June 1923, file A500-190.III.F.11, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁸ DeWitt Hutchings to Francis Wilson of New Netherland Bank, 22 June 1923 and 24 July 1923, file A500-190.III.F.11, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

²⁹ Draft letter DeWitt Hutchings to Frank Miller, 8 April 1924.

³⁰ “Bartolome Esteban Murillo’s Work, ‘Immaculate Conception,’ Hung Here, *Riverside Daily Press*, November 27, 1937, 4; “Famed Murillo Painting Hung in Mission Inn Chapel,” *Los Angeles Time*, December 16, 1937, A9.

³¹ R.P. Tolman to DeWitt Hutchings, 13 January 1938, William J. McGurk, 27 January 1938, Correspondence file 1921-1951, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

³² Interoffice memorandum 1930-1942, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections; “D.V. Hutchings of Mission Inn Dies,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 1953, 23.

³³ Joseph J. Corn, *The Winged Gospel: America’s Romance with Aviation, 1900-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 4.

³⁴ A. Bowdoin Van Riper, *Imagining Flight: Aviation and Popular Culture* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 45.

³⁵ “Aviation,” Mission Inn Museum website, accessed February 25, 2013, http://www.missioninmuseum.com/collect_aviation/aviation_cont.htm; Hodgen, *Master of the Inn*, 229.

³⁶ Dorothy Cottrell, *A Little Chapel of Memory*, booklet produced for the dedication of the International Shrine of Aviators, 1932, 1 and 4, 86.7.193, found box 76, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections (hereafter cited as MIFM).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1 and 28.

³⁸ Corn, *The Winged Gospel*, 48-49.

³⁹ Walter Parks, *The Famous Fliers’ Wall of the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Rubidoux Printing, 1986), 23 and v-viii. Besides aviatrix Earhart and Cochran, director of the Women’s Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs), the Inn’s Fliers’ Wall also included a who’s who of female aviators, such as the Ninety-Nines (the first organization of women pilots), dirigible pilot Lady Grace Hay Drummond Hay, the Aero Police Woman’s Association, and Andean explorer Laura Ingalls. The shrine represented the integral role of women in flight. Some historians claim that women gained an early foothold in aviation because the field was so new without a “long-established tradition of sex discrimination,” others show that during wartime, aviation “remasculinized the sky,” as women were largely excluded from wartime flight. Van Riper, *Imagining Flight*, 27 and David Courtwright, *Sky as Frontier: Adventure, Aviation, and Empire* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), 116-117. The WASPs, who flew non-combat transport planes, began in 1942, but lost their federal funding in 1944 as the war wound down. Additionally, the shrine’s inclusion of predominantly white, North American and European aviators (with the exception of a handful from South America) demonstrates aviation’s exclusion of minorities.

⁴⁰ Corn, *The Winged Gospel*, 12.

⁴¹ Allis Miller Hutchings to Directors of Frank A. Miller, Inc., 15 September 1936; "Interesting Mementoes at Inn's Aviators' Shrine Have Addition," *Riverside Daily Press*, May 27, 1936, 4.

⁴² Corn, *The Winged Gospel*, 15-16.

⁴³ "Riverside Family on Long Air Trip to South America," *Riverside Daily Press*, December 11, 1936, 10.

⁴⁴ "South America Called Rich Trade Field for United States," *Los Angeles Times*, June 4, 1940, A1.

⁴⁵ "Riverside Family on Long Air Trip to South America."

⁴⁶ Corn, *The Winged Gospel*, 31.

⁴⁷ Courtwright, *Sky as Frontier*, 131.

⁴⁸ Aviation also accelerated the conquest of once remote natural locales by largely American and European explorers. These were imperial endeavors to show national dominance, but also opened isolated regions to natural resource extraction, Courtland, 204-206. The Inn honored international air explorers, such as polar explorers Bernt Balchen and Lincoln Ellsworth, the first person to fly over Mt. Everest, Peregrine Fellowes, and Andean explorer Laura Ingalls. Parks, *The Famous Fliers' Wall*, 35, 39, 77, 78. In later years the International Shrine of Aviators included conquerors of the "final frontier" to the Fliers' Wall by adding astronauts John Glenn and Buzz Aldrin.

⁴⁹ Van Riper, *Imagining Flight*, 27; Corn, *The Winged Gospel*, 37-38.

⁵⁰ Honorees during WWII included: Colonel Ira Eaker who commanded the first B-17 assault on Germany. Parks, 92; John Northrop, the designer of the P-61 Black Widow. Ibid., 95; Lieutenant Colonel Stanley Umsted, a B-19 test pilot. Ibid., 101; Major Jack Adams, B-17 pilot in the Pacific. Ibid., 118; Jimmie Mattern, P-38 test pilot. Ibid., 121; Major General Kenneth Wolfe, leader of the B-29 program. Ibid., 136; and Jimmie Doolittle, who led the first air assault on Japan. Ibid., 142.

⁵¹ Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California: Riverside's First Hundred Years*, 2nd ed. (Riverside: The Museum Press, 1996), 409.

⁵² "The March Field Story," March Air Reserve Base website, last modified July 19, 2010, accessed February 28, 2013, <http://www.march.afrc.af.mil/library/factsheets/factsheet.asp?id=3660>; "Camp Haan," California State Military Department, California State Military Museum website, accessed February 28, 2013, <http://www.militarymuseum.org/cphaan.html>; Galvin Preservation Associates, "City of Riverside, Camp Anza/Arlanza 2006-2007, Certified Local Government Grant, Historical Resources Inventory and Context Statement," September 2007, ii and 13, accessed February 28, 2013, <http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1054/files/camp%20anza%20final%20report.pdf>.

⁵³ Allen J. Pederson to Lieutenant Colonial I. Sewell Morris from Allen J. Pederson, 27 February 1943, file A500-190.I.B.27, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁵⁴ Mission Inn Interoffice memorandum, 8 January 1942, file A500-190.I.B.26, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁵⁵ “Estimate on Rental of Mission Inn,” 17 September 1942, file A500-190.I.B.26, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁵⁶ Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury to Mission Inn, 24 April 1943; Letter Colonel C.H.Mason, Camp Haan commanding officer to DeWitt Hutchings, 23 February 1943; J.H. Davidson, March Field commanding officer to DeWitt Hutchings, 4 March 1943, file A500-190.I.B.27, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM. In February 1943, DeWitt Hutchings wrote to the commanding officers of each local military base asking for a letter of support in order for Mission Inn staff to defer military draft because the Inn provided indispensable wartime services and that those services would be compromised if the Inn lost employees to the draft. Officers from Camp Haan and March Field wrote letters for Hutchings, but Colonel Charles E. Stafford from the Mira Loma Quartermaster Depot summarily put Hutchings in his place for asking for special treatment. Stafford stated, “With reference to furnishing you with a statement which could be used by you in securing deferment for some of your key employees, your attention is invited to the fact that while this Depot is a War Department installation, nevertheless, it is a policy not to ask for deferment of any man of military age. In other words, it is felt that the manpower needs of the armed forces are paramount and that if an employee is called into service, he can be replaced by an older man or even by a female employee,” Colonel Charles E. Stafford to DeWitt Hutchings, 9 March 1943, file A500-190.I.B.27, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁵⁷ Kevin Starr, *Embattled Dreams: California in War and Peace, 1940-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 67-68.

⁵⁸ Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 25-26; Scott Wilson, “Southern California’s Shrinking Aerospace Industry,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 2010, accessed February 28, 2013, <http://articles.latimes.com/2010/jan/05/business/la-fi-northropbox5-2010jan05>.

⁵⁹ “Be Prepared!,” Mission Inn advertisement, *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1941, A10.

⁶⁰ “Institute of World Affairs,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 4, 1941; Other defense-related Mission Inn advertisements included, “Afternoon Drive,” which states, “For that perfect afternoon drive – go to Riverside, passing the great Army bases at March Field and Camp Haan, arriving at Mission Inn for dinner.” *Los Angeles Times*, November 27, 1941. The Roads to Romance Committee, an organization dedicated to enhancing tourism in the Inland Empire, of which DeWitt Hutchings was a founding member, was convinced that hotelmen throughout Southern California needed to be well-versed in the region’s defense buildup because defense tourism would be on the rise. The Road to Romance Committee’s first official event was a National Defense motorcade in April 1941 that departed from the Mission Inn and visited March Field, Camp Callan, and Camp Elliott before reaching San Diego’s naval yards. As committee member R.E. Sandborn stated, “Hotelmen should be informed on all phases of the national defense program. Tourists and vacation visitors will come in ever-increasing numbers to visit selectees at new army cantonments and replacement centers, and to see southern California’s huge military establishments.” *San Diego Union*, April 15, 1941, Mission Inn scrapbook, 1940-1941, unprocessed, MIFM.

⁶¹ Frank Miller to Louis Tiffany, 14 June 1932, file A500-190.I.B.17, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; “Buddhist Prelate Inn Dinner Guest: Cousin of Emperor of Japan Here on Short Visit,” *Riverside Daily Press*, January 11, 1935, 4.

⁶² Frank Miller to The De Mille Contest Editor, 2 February 1926, file A500-190.I.B.5, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁶³ Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 97.

⁶⁴ Mark Howland Rawitsch, *The House on Lemon Street: Japanese Pioneers and the American Dream* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012), 153; Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 99.

⁶⁵ “Lealea... With a Smile,” *Pacific Coast Record*, April 1940, 10-12.

⁶⁶ Kevin Starr, “Designs for the Good Life: Modernism, Tiki, Ranch,” in *Golden Dreams: California in An Age of Abundance, 1950-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 49-50.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁶⁸ Mission Inn advertisement, *Friday Examiner*, no date, in Mission Inn scrapbook, 1940-1941; Mission Inn advertisement, *Assistance League News*, May 1940, Mission Inn scrapbook, 1940-1941, unprocessed, MIFM.

⁶⁹ Allis Miller Hutchings, Hotel Daily Diary, January 1, 1940-December 31, 1940, MIFM; “Lea Lea Opening,” Thursday, October 17, 1940, MIFM; Allen Pederson to I. Sewell Morris, 27 February, 1943.

⁷⁰ Starr, *Golden Dreams*, 52.

⁷¹ Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 43 and 92; Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 349; Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation & the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 7; Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 2 and 4.

⁷² DeWitt Hutchings, “Oriental Rooms” and “Lea Lea,” in *Handbook of the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1940), 60-64 and DeWitt Hutchings, “Oriental Rooms” and “Lea Lea,” in *Handbook of the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1944), 62-65. Another example of this is the discussion of the Torii Gate in the Lea Lea Room. The 1940 *Handbook* reads, “The Torii of red painted wood represents a Shine shrine gateway always found at the entrance of Japanese Shinto temple grounds...The large bronze lantern is also Japanese, and has characteristic fish and dragon decoration,” 63. The 1944 edition reads, “The Torii of red painted wood represents a Shine shrine gateway always found at the entrance of shinto temple grounds...The large bronze lantern has decorations of characteristic fish and dragons,” 65.

⁷³ Solicitation letter by DeWitt Hutchings, 15 May 1942, file A500-190.I.B.25, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM; “China Relief Figure Nears \$2000 Mark,” *Riverside Daily Press*, July 11, 1942.

⁷⁴ Letter drafted by Allis and DeWitt Hutchings, 10 December 1941, file A500-190.I.B.25, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

⁷⁵ As historian Mae Ngai has outlined, Roosevelt’s Executive Order 9066 allowed the U.S. Secretary of War to create military zones “from which persons without permission to enter or remain could be excluded as ‘military necessity.’” This allowed for the legal evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans under the pretense of national security. Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 176.

⁷⁶ “Japanese Families Leave Riverside,” *Riverside Daily Press*, May 25, 1942; Image of International Rotunda exterior with Rising Sun flag, image 901, box 9, Series 1, Avery Edwin Field Collection, UCR Special Collections.

⁷⁷ “Mission Inn Here Sold to SF’s Fairmont Hotel,” *Riverside Daily Press*, May 18, 1956, A1; Tom Patterson, “Mum on Changes: Top Hotel Man Inn’s New General Manager,” *Riverside Daily Press*, June 5, 1956, A4.

⁷⁸ Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 413.

⁷⁹ Douglas Cazaux Sackman, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 295; Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 420; As suburban historians, Kenneth Jackson, Becky Nicolaides, Thomas Sugrue, and Lizabeth Cohen, have illustrated, suburbs were not exclusively a product of the postwar United States. Suburbanization was a nineteenth century impulse centered on the cult of domesticity and emphasizing gentile homes surrounded by park-like atmospheres that were the antithesis to the harsh urban environment. Before automobiles, these homes, located outside the urban core, were linked to city centers by carriage systems and electric trolleys. Kevin Kruse and Thomas Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2; Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 45-103; Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 196-197. From its early beginnings, Riverside was a suburban place, with the downtown surrounded by outlying stately Victorian homes encompassed by citrus groves.

⁸⁰ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 190-218; Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 197; Susan Strasser, et al., *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁸¹ For a more specific discussion of Riverside’s postwar residential development, see City of Riverside’s “Modernism Context Survey,” November 3, 2009, accessed March 5, 2013, <http://www.riversideca.gov/historic/pdf/Modernism.pdf>. This survey analyzes the architectural impacts of Riverside’s suburban boom and includes discussion of the city’s major postwar housing tracts.

⁸² Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 215; Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic*, 204; As historians have shown in *The New Suburban History*, the suburbs were actually not as homogeneous as earlier envisioned with racial minorities, in spite of blatantly racist housing policies and acrimonious neighbors, settling in suburbs.

⁸³ The pattern of segregation in Riverside, which also once included a large Chinatown, began with the early citrus packing plants that employed Mexican and Chinese workers as fruit pickers and later as packers. Riverside’s Chinese population worked in domestic capacities in downtown hotels, such as the Mission Inn, and at local laundries. The first African American churches were established on the Eastside, the Second Baptist Church and Park Avenue Church, and much of the city’s black population settled in this community adjacent to downtown. Riverside schools were segregated until 1965, with minority children attending Longfellow, Irving, and Casa Blanca schools almost exclusively. Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 231; Rawitsch, *The House on Lemon Street*, 64; “The Black Church in Riverside,” *Black Voice News*, February 21, 2008, accessed March 6, 2013, <http://www.blackvoicenews.com/more-sections/community/41819-the-black-church-in-riverside.html>; Susan Clark Studer, “The Voices of Desegregation: Parents, Students, and District Personnel Reflect, Thirty Years Later,” Annual Meeting of American Education Research Association, April 1998, San Diego, California.

⁸⁴ Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 427-437.

⁸⁵ Lizabeth Cohen, "Commerce: Reconfiguring Community Marketplaces," in *A Consumers' Republic*, 257.

⁸⁶ Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 416; See also, "Modernism Context Survey," which describes modern commercial developments on Central Avenue, Magnolia Boulevard, and Brockton Avenue.

⁸⁷ "Arthur Evans Heading New Business Group," *Riverside Daily Press*, January 20, 1956, 4.

⁸⁸ The push for road development to connect cities and regions began in the late nineteenth century. The "Good Roads" Movement first lobbied for thoroughfares to more easily transport foodstuffs between rural farming centers. Owen Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 9-11. In Southern California, "Good Roads" focused more closely on finding ways to link far-flung tourist sites and to make travel between the region's cities less strenuous and time-consuming. Frank Miller was an early proponent of road building through his support of the El Camino Real road between each California Mission and his lobbying for highway construction in Riverside County and throughout the state. Zona Gale, in her hyperbolic fashion, wrote in Miller's biography, "Naturally, road-building throughout California and cross-continent was to him another romance of his time. The father a surveyor, locating roads and digging irrigating ditches in the eighteen-seventies – the son in the early nineteen-hundreds visioning smooth roads over all California and even a continental highway, at that time thoroughly derided." Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938), 97-100; "Better Roads Their Slogan: Camino Real Association Will Press Highway Bills," *Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 1906, III5. At the end of World War II, interstate construction was increasingly discussed as a concern of national security. The Federal-Aid Highway Act was signed in 1944 to allocate \$1.5 billion to construct a cross-country "National System of Defense and Interstate Highways." The original estimates proved too low and in 1956 a new Federal-Aid Highway Act was signed, that, as historian Owen Gutfreund states, "turned the 1944 Act's highway network from a theoretical plan into a steel-and-concrete reality, facilitating the continued suburbanization and deconcentration of America." Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl*, 46 and 55. Southern California's planned decentralization was designed to give the region a pastoral, not urban, feel. This meant, however, that mobility was a necessity. In the postwar years, California drastically ramped up spending for highway construction and planning, increasing spending from \$12 million in 1943, to \$100 million in 1950, and \$633.5 million in 1962. The postwar California automobility dream was voiced in the 1958 *California Freeway System* report written by the state's Division of Highways, which outlined "a species of quasi-utopian planning in its comprehensive vision of the entire state unified and brought to new levels of efficiency and pleasure, in this case through a statewide grid of harmoniously interconnected roads, highways, and freeways," *Golden Dreams*, "Freeways to the Future: An Epic of Construction on Behalf of the Automobile," 245 and 248.

⁸⁹ Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 141; Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 215. Sorkin uses the term "leisure commuters" to describe the development of tourist destinations, such as Disneyland, which were located on the urban fringe, but easily accessed as a result of highway construction and suburbanization; See also, Hal Rothman, *Neon Metropolis: How Las Vegas Started the Twenty-First Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁹⁰ Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure*, 141.

⁹¹ In 1949 and 1950, the Inn began advertising more heavily in the *Los Angeles Times*, attempting to bring more local tourists to the hotel by emphasizing that it was only 53 miles from Los Angeles. Display Ad 26, *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1949, B4; Display Ad 34, *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1949, B5; Display Ad 32, *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 1950, B2; Display Ad 31, *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1950, B4; Display Ad 31, *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 1950, B2; Display Ad 35, *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1950, B2; Mission Inn tourist map from Steve Lech and Kim Jarrell Johnson, *Riverside's Mission Inn*, (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 107.

⁹² "Mission Inn: For a Gay California Holiday," Mission Inn advertising brochure, circa 1957, MIFM.

⁹³ "Mum on Changes: Top Hotel Man Inn's New General Manager."

⁹⁴ "The Glenwood, California's Mission Hotel," *Pacific Electric Magazine*, May 1907, back page, MIMSY EPH.979.4.70, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center.

⁹⁵ Tom Patterson, "Night Club, Three Bars: New Owner Unveils Plans for Changing Mission Inn," *Riverside Daily Press*, June 15, 1956, 1.

⁹⁶ Mission Inn design proposals, Albert Parvin & Company, "Squire's Arms," November 30, 1956, "Patio Area," January 11, 1957, "Galleria," January 28, 1957, "Room Furnishings," February 13, 1957, "Presidential Lounge," February 13, 1957, "Room Furnishings," April 9, 1957, "Lea Lea Room," April 13, 1957, "Dining Room," April 16, 1957, "Room Furnishings," May 1, 1957, MIFM.

⁹⁷ John Wilen, "Casino Design Called a Business, Not an Art," *Las Vegas Sun*, January 15, 1999, accessed March 8, 2013, <http://www.lasvegassun.com/news/1999/jan/15/casino-design-called-a-business-not-an-art/>; Alan Balboni, *Beyond the Mafia: Italian Americans and the Development of Las Vegas* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1996), 62-62; Albert Parvin was also in the news in the 1960s because of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas's involvement with the non-profit Parvin Foundation. Douglas was paid \$12,000 annually to act as the foundation's president and this drew scrutiny and judicial ethics inquiries from politicians, such as Gerald Ford, who moved unsuccessfully to impeach Douglas. L.A. Powe, Jr., "A Unique Kind of Justice," review of Bruce Allen Murphy, *Wild Bill: The Legend and Life of William O. Douglas*, (New York: Random House, 2003), *Reviews in American History* 31, no. 3 (September 2003): 474.

⁹⁸ "Night Club, Three Bars: New Owner Unveils Plans for Changing Mission Inn."

⁹⁹ "Only One Bidder: Murillo Painting Fails to Sell at Art Auction," *Los Angeles Times*, July 22, 1957, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Roy J. Goldenberg Galleries, Mission Inn auction catalogue, "Valuable Paintings, Chinese, Spanish, Italian, English Antiques, Objets D'Art, The Property of the Mission Inn, Riverside, California," July 1957, box 1, Mission Inn Ephemera, RMM. Murillo's "Immaculate Conception with the Mirror" was a focal point of the auction, but failed to sell because it garnered only one bid for \$25,000 and auction rules stipulated that each piece have at least two bids before sale, "Only One Bidder." The painting was finally sold at a later hotel sale and is now part of the Old Masters collection at the Museo de Arte de Ponce in Ponce, Puerto Rico.

¹⁰¹ Tom Patterson, "Inn Faces Enigma – Changes Its Name," *Riverside Daily Press*, August 6, 1958, C1.

¹⁰² Mission Inn financial statements, prepared by Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company, Certified Public Accountants, Los Angeles, February 27, 1963, March 27, 1963, May 27, 1963, August 5, 1963, September

30, 1963, October 25, 1963, November 29, 1963, December 27, 1963, January 27, 1963, F2000.1847, found box 84, MIFM.

¹⁰³ Ben Shore, "City Promotion Program: Mission Inn Official Urges Convention-Luring Action," *The Press*, January 4, 1967, B1.

¹⁰⁴ "Inn Owner Pledges City \$50,000, Proposes Main Street 'Playland,'" *Riverside Daily Press*, October 30, 1958, B1 and B2.

¹⁰⁵ Bill Porter, "Architects to Begin Work on Downtown Mall," *The Press*, July 28, 1965, B3; James Burns, "Trees, Not Paving: Mal to Have Simple Motif," *The Press*, September 10, 1965, C2.

¹⁰⁶ Diane Brewer, "Take a Walk Down the Tomorrow of Riverside's Mall," *Press-Enterprise*, May 1, 1966, B3; "The New Mall," *Press-Enterprise*, November 25, 1966, B24; Porter, "Architects to Begin Work on Downtown Mall."

¹⁰⁷ Cohen, "Commercializing Public Space," in *A Consumers' Republic*, 261.

¹⁰⁸ Tom Green, "Raincross Square Pushed as Name for New Convention Center," *The Press*, November 27, 1972, B2.

¹⁰⁹ Vic Pollard, "City, Chamber Officials Meet: Rescuing Mission Inn from Financial Plight is Topic," *The Press*, December 15, 1966, B1 and B2.

¹¹⁰ Russell A. Berman, "Democratic Destruction: Ruins and Emancipation in the American Tradition," in *Ruins of Modernity*, ed. Julia Hell and Andreas Schonle (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 104-105.

¹¹¹ Pollard, "City, Chamber Officials Meet," B2.

¹¹² "Eastern College May Purchase Inn," *Riverside Daily Press*, December 22, 1960, B1.

¹¹³ Marcia Knopf, "New Owners Take Over Riverside's Mission Inn," *The Press*, September 2, 1967, B1.

¹¹⁴ GoldCo MII, Corp. Limited Partnership Agreement, no date; Mission Inn Bill of Sale, 1967; "Notice of Intended Bulk Transfer, Escrow 51263B, F1999.329, found box 69, MIFM.

¹¹⁵ The complexity of the Mission Inn's business and preservation history was chronicled exhaustively in the local Riverside newspapers. The newspaper record, therefore, is a major source for this section. In her 1981 chronicle of the hotel, *The Mission Inn: Its History and Artifacts*, Esther Klotz provides a nearly encyclopedic Mission Inn chronology from these "years of chaos," utilizing the local press and her own personal experiences as an active member of the Friends of the Mission Inn to form most of her timelines, although she never fully cites any of her information. Naturally, in certain instances we follow similar patterns of events, as it is necessary to maintain a linear narrative to keep the hotel's transactions in an understandable order and to examine the historical contingencies precipitating certain actions. While Klotz provides an unmatched level of detail, her analysis does not go much deeper than statement of events. It is my goal to delve into the broader consequences and historical implications of the Mission Inn during this period.

¹¹⁶ Ron Morris, "Hotel Operation at Inn Closed Down by Owners," *The Press*, June 14, 1971, B1.

¹¹⁷ Max Page and Randall Mason, "Introduction: Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3-16 and Judy Mattivi Morley, "Making History: Historic Preservation and Civic Identity in Denver," in *Giving Preservation a History*, 283-305; As Patricia West has outlined, early historic house preservation movements, such as those to save Monticello and Mount Vernon were an acceptably domestic way for women to take an activist role outside the private home. Historic houses also offered idealized visions of the past and present. States West, "House museum founders used their institutions to bolster the image of the 'home' and of elite forefathers as metaphors for particular interpretations of the American political and cultural tradition." The Mission Inn's preservation was viewed as a way to recapture Riverside's early twentieth century past, increasingly idealized as the height of the city's success. Patricia West, *Domesticating History: Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 159-162.

¹¹⁸ "New Motel Proposed on Annex Site," *The Press*, October 5, 1967, B2.

¹¹⁹ Draft letter of interest from GoldCo MII, Corporation to Federal Housing Administration, 1968, F2000.1854, found box 91, MIFM.

¹²⁰ Tom Patterson, "Mission Inn Sale Reported: Mormon Group Said to be Buying Famed Riverside Hotel," *Press-Enterprise*, February 22, 1969, B1; Tom Patterson, "Mormon Group Acquires Riverside's Mission Inn," *The Press*, February 25, 1969, B1.

¹²¹ Tom Patterson, "Mission Inn's Fate Aired in Bargaining," *The Press*, March 14, 1969, B1.

¹²² Tom Patterson, "Plans Made Yesterday: Local Businessmen Trying to Buy Inn," *The Press*, March 17, 1969, B2.

¹²³ Tom Patterson, "Bankruptcy Action Reveals Inn Debts," *The Press*, March 28, 1969, B1.

¹²⁴ Tom Patterson, "Creditors' Committee Formed: Bankruptcy Proceedings Disclose Inn Owes \$91,000 to Riverside," *The Press*, May 1, 1969, B2.

¹²⁵ Tom Green, "300 Student to Live in Inn: Half of Riverside Hotel to Become Dormitory During UCR's Fall Quarter," *Press-Enterprise*, June 21, 1969, B1.

¹²⁶ Tom Patterson, "Mission Inn and Art Works May Be Sold at Bankruptcy Auction," *The Press*, June 2, 1969, B2.

¹²⁷ "It's a Mission Possible, and 13 Women's Groups Will Prove It Can Happen," *Press-Enterprise*, May 3, 1969, A8.

¹²⁸ Tom Patterson, "Friends of Mission Inn Discuss Ways to Save It," *Press-Enterprise*, June 14, 1969, B5; O'Toole was a well-known local artist and her husband's medical practice was located in Inn's Rotunda. At the inaugural Friends' meeting, O'Toole stated, "I'm tired of getting calls from loyal Inn employees telling me that a piece of paneling or a rare piece of furniture is about to be destroyed. A carpenter once refused to put his saw to some antique oaken benches that he was told to cut up in order to make room for other things. He quit rather than do it. Much has been lost, but a very great deal remains."

¹²⁹ Carol Weissert, "Friends of the Mission Inn: A Rough Year for the Mission Inn," *Riverside Press*, September 14, 1970, A6.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ During the 1969-1970 bankruptcy receivership, the Friends in many ways became the Inn's de facto leadership, famously saving artifacts from the dumpster, advising hotel workers on how to handle historic items, redecorating guest rooms, and completing numerous restoration projects. They did, however, butt heads with the Inn's actual manager, George Parish, who did not appreciate the Friends encroaching on his position with a critical eye. This further exemplifies the contrasting ideas about what was to be done about the Mission Inn, which was increasingly on the public's radar and not just a problem for the hotel's owners and managers. Writes Parish in a March 20, 1970, letter to Patsy O'Toole, "Things will have to be handled in a more businesslike way and items referring to the management of the Mission Inn should be left to the receiver and the manager in charge...The Friends of the Mission Inn started out as an organization to help the Mission Inn. I think this was a wonderful idea, but it seems to me that recently we're getting into personal management problems instead of creating business for the Mission Inn." George Parish to Patsy O'Toole, 20 March 1970, basement files, unprocessed, MIFM.

¹³² Tom Patterson, "Inn As Shopping, Exhibit, Cultural Center Suggested," *The Press*, February 11, 1970, B2.

¹³³ Simon Sykes, "Reaction to Inn Proposal Hostile, Mild," *The Press*, February 20, 1970, B1 and B2.

¹³⁴ Office of the County Administrative Officer, County of Riverside, "Mission Inn Study," March 1970, 30, box 1, file 1, Esther Klotz Collection, MIFM.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 30-35.

¹³⁶ "Path is Clear for Swig to Repossess Mission Inn," *The Press*, June 3, 1970, B2.

¹³⁷ Ron Morris, "At 76, Mission Inn's Owner Isn't Slowing Down," *Press-Enterprise*, September 20, 1970, B5.

¹³⁸ Tom Patterson, "Inn Furniture Sale Raises Questions," *The Press*, July 22, 1970, B3.

¹³⁹ Tom Patterson, "Seller Unhappy with Prices: Inn Furniture Discards Sold," *The Press*, July 20, 1970, B2.

¹⁴⁰ George Parish to Benjamin Swig, 22 July 1970, Benjamin Swig correspondence, basement files, miscellaneous to process, MIFM.

¹⁴¹ Tom Patterson, "Hotelman Swig Resumes Ownership of Inn," *The Press*, August 14, 1970, B1.

¹⁴² State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, "Mission Inn Feasibility Study," May 1971, 10-14, box 2, file 15, Esther Klotz Collection, MIFM.

¹⁴³ Rich Zeiger, "Swig Offers to Sell Mission Inn to City at Reported 'Cut-Rate' Price," *The Press*, April 26, 1971, B1.

¹⁴⁴ Ron Morris, "Hotel Operation at Inn Closed Down by Owners," *The Press*, June 14, 1971, B1.

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- ¹⁴⁵ “Swig Offers to Sell Mission Inn to City at Reported ‘Cut-Rate’ Price”; Rich Zeiger, “City Apparently Gives Up, Will Ask State to Save Inn,” *The Press*, June 16, 1971, C1.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ron Morris, “Mission Inn to Close Tuesday Unless Buyer Found,” *The Press*, May 27, 1971, B1.
- ¹⁴⁷ “7 Named to Redevelopment Agency,” *The Press*, September 12, 1969, B9.
- ¹⁴⁸ State of California, Legislative Analyst’s Office, “Unwinding Redevelopment,” February 17, 2012, accessed April 9, 2013, http://www.lao.ca.gov/analysis/2012/general_govt/unwinding-redevelopment-021712.aspx.
- ¹⁴⁹ Michael Dardia, “Subsidizing Redevelopment in California,” Public Policy Institute of California, January 1998, 3, accessed March 11, 2014, http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_298MDR.pdf.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vii; “Unwinding Redevelopment.”
- ¹⁵¹ “Unwinding Redevelopment”; Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London and New York: Verso, 1990), 421.
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 421-422.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁴ “7 Named to Redevelopment Agency.”
- ¹⁵⁵ T.E. Forman, “Downtown, Eastside Redevelopment Plans Receive Preliminary Approval,” *The Press*, July 22, 1971, B2.
- ¹⁵⁶ “Mission Inn Feasibility Study,” 7.
- ¹⁵⁷ Jim Bettinger, “Agency Discloses Plan for Redeveloping Downtown,” *The Press*, July 18, 1971, B1.
- ¹⁵⁸ Dan Bernstein, “\$7 Million Redevelopment Budget OK’d; Triple Last Years,” *The Press*, April 12, 1978, B3.
- ¹⁵⁹ Judy Mattivi Morley, “Making History: Historic Preservation and Civic Identity in Denver,” in *Giving Preservation a History*, 284.
- ¹⁶⁰ “New Proposal Studied: City Bid to Buy Mission Inn Stalled,” *The Press*, June 9, 1971, B1.
- ¹⁶¹ Urban Housing Company business prospectus and Mission Inn project description, 7, Mission Inn business files, correspondence, MIFM.
- ¹⁶² Ron Morris, “Housing Firm Completes Purchase of Mission Inn,” *Press-Enterprise*, July 31, 1971, County 1.
- ¹⁶³ Rich Zieger, “Firm Moves to Buy Inn, Plans Resident Apartments,” *Press-Enterprise*, July 3, 1971, County 1.

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- ¹⁶⁴ Urban Housing Company, Mission Inn Renovation Plan, Phases I-III, F1999.400, found box 70, MIFM.
- ¹⁶⁵ Urban Housing Company business prospectus and Mission Inn project description, 1.
- ¹⁶⁶ "HUD Again to be Asked for Federal Loan to Rehabilitate Mission Inn," *The Press*, October 6, 1971, B1.
- ¹⁶⁷ Tom Patterson, "Architectural Plans Being Prepared to Convert Inn Rooms into Apartments," *The Press*, May 12, 1972, B3; Tom Patterson, "New Loan May Help Save Mission Inn," *The Press*, June 17, 1972, B1.
- ¹⁶⁸ George Mitchell, "Mission Inn Loan Rejected; Last-Ditch Meeting Set," *The Press*, January 5, 1972, B1 and B2.
- ¹⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁰ Tom Patterson, "Heritage Board Wants 8 Areas In Inn Reserved for Public," *The Press*, May 25, 1972, C11.
- ¹⁷¹ "City Considers Purchase of Inn Heritage Items," *The Press*, November 15, 1972, C1; "City Sets Aside Money to Purchase Mission Inn Artifacts if Necessary," *The Press*, November 22, 1972, B1.
- ¹⁷² Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 166-167; Rich Zieger, "Could be Needed Generator: Bank Building May Start Urban Renewal Project," *Press-Enterprise*, January 3, 1971, B5.
- ¹⁷³ Steve Lech, *Riverside, 1870-1940* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 16; "Postcard: Main Street from Eighth Street," circa 1915, Riverside Historical Society, accessed April 11, 2013, <http://riversidehistoricalsociety.org/2012/09/postcard-main-street-from-eighth-street/>.
- ¹⁷⁴ "Picketing Continues at Mission Inn Over Use of Non-Union Personnel," *The Press*, April 12, 1973, B1 and B2; In the midst of Urban Housing's financial crisis they were also facing mounting labor strife over their use of non-union restoration workers. Members of the local chapters of the Carpenters, Plumbers, and Laborers unions staged demonstrations outside the Mission Inn claiming that Urban Housing was breaking their agreement to use only union labor for their restoration projects. Urban Housing, however, countered that their union contract did not extend to the newly formed Mission Inn Company and that the Mission Inn could not afford to pay union costs.
- ¹⁷⁵ Rich Zeiger, "Mission Inn Co. is in Default on Mortgage to Insurance Firm," *Press-Enterprise*, April 28, 1973, B5.
- ¹⁷⁶ Rich Zeiger, "Mission Inn Gets \$375,000 Loan for Rehabilitation," *The Press*, May 10, 1973, B1; Deane Wylie, "\$450,000 Loan Granted for Mission Inn Rehabilitation," *The Press*, October 2, 1974, B1.
- ¹⁷⁷ Mike Quinn, "Mission Inn's \$525,000 Loan Increase Plan Said Stalled," *The Press*, January 12, 1975, B3.
- ¹⁷⁸ Pat Eickman, "95 Fulltime Mission Inn Residents happy Despite Minor Inconveniences," *The Press*, November 15, 1971, B1.

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- 179 Gordon Ashby, "Mission Inn Evaluation," July 1973, 1-10, CI.xxI.D3, MIFM.
- 180 Wylie, "\$450,000 Loan Granted."
- 181 Dardia, "Subsidizing Redevelopment in California," 5.
- 182 Rich Zieger, "Downtown, Eastside Areas: Renewal Project Funds Requested," *The Press*, August 13, 1971, B1; Mike Gordon, "Agency Acts to Expand Downtown Renewal Area," *The Press*, April 17, 1975, B2; In her history of the Mission Inn, Esther Klotz encapsulates urban renewal's racialized premise with this statement concerning the Eastside Residents' Committee's lawsuit: "Its [the Redevelopment Agency's] projects on the city's eastside, a predominantly black neighborhood, had been quite controversial," Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 172.
- 183 Quinn, "Mission Inn's \$525,000 Loan Increase Plan Said Stalled."
- 184 Mike Quinn, "Attorney for Mission Inn Operator Confirms IRS Probing Client's Firm," *The Press*, February 7, 1975, B1; Mike Quinn, "Inn Bankruptcy Move Aimed At Holding Off Creditors," *The Press*, February 25, 1975, B1; Mike Quinn, "Inn Faces Threat of Power Cutoff," *The Press*, February 24, 1975, B1; Mike Quinn, "Inn, Investors Sued by City for \$33,000," *The Press*, March 7, 1975, B1.
- 185 "Riverside Agency Sued by Mission Inn Backer," *The Press*, April 9, 1975, B2; "Ex-Mission Inn Operator Files \$20 Million Claim Against City," *The Press*, May 1, 1975, B11.
- 186 "In 3 to 4 Months, Mission Inn's Foreclosure Set," *The Press*, January 21, 1976, C9; Mike Quinn, "Mission Inn Auctioned Off – But Not for the \$1 Opening Bid," *The Press*, April 8, 1976, B1.
- 187 *You Came Along*, DVD, directed by John Farrow (1945; Los Angeles, Paramount Pictures); *The First Legion*, DVD, directed by Douglas Sirk (1951; Paris, Sedif Productions).
- 188 *Moonchild*, directed by Alan Gadney (1971; Filmmakers Ltd). *Moonchild* was filmed at the Mission Inn in 1971, but not released until 1974. It is not widely available for purchase, but the full movie is currently uploaded to YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hG07r5HFQGI>.
- 189 Maurice Hodgen, *More Than Decoration: Asian Objects at the Mission Inn* (Riverside: Ashburton Publishing, 2004), 112-113.
- 190 *The Wild Party*, DVD, directed by James Ivory (1975; Los Angeles, American International Pictures).
- 191 *The Black Samurai*, DVD, directed by Al Adamson (1977; BJLJ International Corporation).
- 192 Ibid.
- 193 Ron Morris, "Reaction to Inn Purchase Mixed," *The Press*, July 16, 1976, B1.
- 194 Martin Salditch, "Riversiders in Capital Seeking U.S. Aid for Inn," *The Press*, May 8, 1976, B1; Ron Morris, "Agency May Try to Settle Lawsuit with Offer to Buy Mission Inn," *The Press*, June 17, 1976, B1.
- 195 "Public Ownership of Inn Considered; Settlement of Owner's Lawsuit Sought," *The Press*, June 2, 1976, B1.

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- ¹⁹⁶ Knox Mellon later served as the Mission Inn Foundation's executive director from 1986 to 1997.
- ¹⁹⁷ Salditch, "Riversiders in Capital"; Ron Morris, "Return to Historic Role Seen: Consultants Lend Impetus to Idea of Mission Inn Public Ownership," *Press-Enterprise*, June 20, 1976, B1 and B4.
- ¹⁹⁸ Mike Gordon, "\$26 Million in City Building Projects Proposed," *The Press*, June 4, 1975, B1.
- ¹⁹⁹ Dardia, "Subsidizing Redevelopment in California," 12.
- ²⁰⁰ Morris, "Reaction Mixed to Inn Purchase," B2.
- ²⁰¹ "Return to Historic Role Seen: Consultants Lend Impetus to Idea of Mission Inn Public Ownership," B1.
- ²⁰² Rich Zeiger, "Riverside Officials Must Now Devise Plan for Inn," *Press-Enterprise*, July 17, 1976, B1.
- ²⁰³ "Articles of Incorporation of the Mission Inn Foundation," August 12, 1976, F2001.1897, found box 134, Howard H. Hays Collection, MIFM.
- ²⁰⁴ Klotz, *The Mission Inn*, 188.
- ²⁰⁵ The rest of the Mission Inn's National Advisory Council were former Inn manager Frank Brett, who left the Inn to work as an executive at the Disneyland Hotel, Stuart Cross, vice president of Hotel Utah, Robertson Collins, restoration consultant for Jacksonville, Oregon's pioneer town, contractor Jay Diffenbaugh, De Young Museum board member Mary Homans, Seattle mayor and preservation activist Wes Uhlam, and Kauai's Coco Palms Hotel manager Grace Guslander. Legendary actress and dancer Ginger Rogers acted as the Council's public face and ambassador. T.E. Foreman, "National Panel for Mission Inn to Meet," *Press-Enterprise*, March 31, 1977, B2.
- ²⁰⁶ Morley, "Making History: Historic Preservation and Civic Identity in Denver," 288-290.
- ²⁰⁷ M. Christine Boyer, "Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport," in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, 182 and 189. See also, M. Christine Boyer, *City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Boston: MIT Press, 1994).
- ²⁰⁸ Alison Isenberg, "Animated by Nostalgia: Preservation and Vacancy Since the 1960s," in *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 255-311; Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997), 150.
- ²⁰⁹ Economics Research Associates and Albert C. Martin and Associates, "Economic Development Plan for the Mission Inn," Prepared for Redevelopment Agency of the City of Riverside, California, August 22, 1977, II1-II11, box 1, Esther Klotz Collection, MIFM; The complete renovation plan called for extensive work throughout the hotel, including restoration of 45 hotel rooms, restroom construction, kitchen updates, new elevators, Catacombs restoration, new administrative offices, renovations to the lobby, banquet rooms, and Court of the Orient, roof repairs, painting, landscaping, and extensive infrastructural repairs to the plumbing, electrical, and heating and air conditioning systems. *Ibid.*, Exhibit VI-1. The EDA report, however, neglected to account for the \$132,000 in annual insurance and tax payments required from the

Inn, which could grow to \$249,000 with the restoration's improvements. This meant that the Inn's projected \$602,000 annual revenue would not be able to cover the private loan repayments in addition to these other non-negotiable expenses. City subsidies or other public grants were a necessity. Rich Zeiger, "Error May Alter View Inn Won't Need U.S. Funds," *The Press*, August 25, 1977, B1 and B2; Rich Zeiger, "Consultant Admits 1st Plan to Finance Inn Won't Work," *The Press*, August 26, 1977, B1 and B3.

²¹⁰ Ann Hoffman, "Governor Hails Dedication of Inn As 'Renaissance,'" *The Press*, October 31, 1977, B1. Riverside's "Renaissance" would also be heralded 30 years later as the city embarked on hundreds of millions of dollars of public works projects, many also centering on raising the Mission Inn's appeal. See the Epilogue for a broader discussion of this.

²¹¹ Carla Lazzareschi, "Mission Inn Grant of \$1.68 Million Gets Final Approval," *The Press*, January 3, 1979, B1; Clinton Marr, President, Mission Inn Foundation, "Recommendations Regarding Disposition of the Mission Inn's Spaces and Objects at the Time of Sale or Lease of the Inn," submitted to Riverside Redevelopment Agency, January 31, 1984, 5, F2001.1897, found box 134, Howard Hays Collection, MIFM; Ronnie D. Smith, "Riverside May Support Mission Inn Fix-Up Loan," *The Press*, November 6, 1981; "City Agrees to Guarantee State Loan to Mission Inn," *The Press*, November 11, 1981.

²¹² Marr, "Recommendations Regarding Disposition," 8-9; Ronnie D. Smith, "Mission Inn's Fund Drive Reaches 71 Percent of Its \$749,000 Goal," *Press-Enterprise*, February 28, 1982.

²¹³ Dan Bernstein, "Inn May Get 'Loan' From City Treasury," *Press-Enterprise*, March 29, 1978, B1 and B2.

²¹⁴ Ibid.; Carla Lazzareschi, "City Council Again Delays Action on Inn's Request for City Funds," *The Press*, April 12, 1978, B2; The Mission Inn's initial request for money was tabled so Woodhead and City Manager William Cornett could examine other avenues, besides the general fund, to allocate city money to the Inn, such as through "state laws allowing assistance for historic preservation projects."

²¹⁵ "Mission Inn Closes Year \$20,896 In Red," *The Press*, January 29, 1979, B2.

²¹⁶ James Richardson and Carla Lazzareschi, "City Loans Inn \$260,000, Refuses Another \$100,000," *Riverside Enterprise*, December 2, 1980, C1.

²¹⁷ Carla Lazzareschi, "City Council Loans \$100,000 to Beleaguered Mission Inn," *Riverside Enterprise*, January 14, 1981, B1.

²¹⁸ Walter Parks, interview by Kate Whitmore, October 13, 1988, 22, Mission Inn Foundation oral history archives.

²¹⁹ Dan Bernstein, "Inn Foundation Names Manager, Gives Council Hand in Operations," *The Press*, December 21, 1979, B1; "City Council Loans \$100,000 to Beleaguered Mission Inn," B2.

²²⁰ In April 1983, city officials were removed from the Mission Inn's operating board in an effort to "take members of the council out of the operations of the Inn and take the Inn out of council politics," Ronnie D. Smith, "5-Member Board With No Elected Officials to Take Over at Inn," *Press-Enterprise*, March 4, 1983, B1.

²²¹ Ronnie D. Smith, "Mission Inn, \$500,000 In Debt, Needs Another City Subsidy," *Press-Enterprise*, November 19, 1983, B1 and B3; Ronnie D. Smith, "Council Buys Mission Inn 'A Little More Time' Despite Objections," *Press-Enterprise*, January 4, 1984, B1 and B2.

²²² Dan Bernstein, "Inn Fires Boss of Chef Accused of Threatening Actor with Carving Knife," *The Press*, April 15, 1979; "2 Rob Mission Inn, Hold Employees Captive," *Riverside Enterprise*, August 5, 1980, B1; "2 Rob Mission Inn Clerk At Lobby Desk of \$1,437," *The Press*, March 22, 1983; Bob Webster, "Art Haul Found Before the Inn Even Missed It," *Press-Enterprise*, March 25, 1982; Ronnie D. Smith, "2 Inn Workers, Accused of Selling Drugs, Say They Were Forced to Resign," *Press-Enterprise*, May 28, 1983.

²²³ Ronnie D. Smith, "Inn's New Budget Requests \$364,000 from Redevelopment Agency," *Press-Enterprise*, May 26, 1983, B3.

²²⁴ The embezzlement scheme was yet another strange incident that wrapped the Mission Inn in scandal. The Inn's controller and an accounting office employee embezzled \$51,000 from the hotel. While the accounting employee was caught, the controller then went on the lamb, stealing cars from a Pasadena dealership and calling the *Press-Enterprise* threatening to kill himself. The embezzlement led to the firing of Inn manager, and former Redevelopment Agency executive director, Douglas Shackelton, who then filed a \$1million suit against the city for "leaking information to the press after he was fired as Inn manager." Ronnie D. Smith, "Shackelton, City Reportedly Near Lawsuit Settlement," *Press-Enterprise*, September 27, 1983, B1; Ronnie D. Smith, "Tells of Suicide Plan: Cook Says He Got Much of Inn Theft," *Press-Enterprise*, December 22, 1983, B1; Ronnie D. Smith, "Mission Inn Controller Quits; Faces Prison Term for San Diego Fraud," *Press-Enterprise*, August 26, 1983, B1.

²²⁵ Richardson was very good-natured about his wiretapping arrest, confessing that coming from a national security background, he was unaware that tapping phone lines was actually illegal. In a 2003 Mission Inn Foundation oral history interview he even chuckled about the whole incident, chalking it up to the Mission Inn's erratic environment during the early 1980s. Richard and Barbara Richardson, interview by Allene Archibald DuFour, June 6, 2003, 22-24, Mission Inn Foundation oral history archives.

²²⁶ Skip Morgan, "'A Lot of Us Feel Unsafe Here,' Complain Mission Inn Tenants," *Press-Enterprise*, October 3, 1981, B3; In June 1980, 55 tenants formed an ad hoc Tenants' Association to protest against prolonged electrical outages and the search of apartments by Inn managers looking for missing Mission Inn artifacts. The association did not have the desired effect of providing a more powerful, united front to ensure maintenance of the hotel's apartments. Bob Webster, "Mission Inn Residents Form Group to Seek Solutions to Complaints," *Riverside Enterprise*, June 20, 1980, B2.

²²⁷ "Mission Inn Proposal," Report of Ad Hoc Redevelopment Agency Committee, February 11, 1983, accepted and approved March 1983, unprocessed basement collections, MIFM.

²²⁸ Ronnie D. Smith, "Renovation of Inn Into 200-Room Hotel, Museum Finds Council Favor," *Press-Enterprise*, February 23, 1983.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ The list of people and organizations who donated their labor and money to help the Mission Inn during the Redevelopment Agency and Mission Inn Foundation years is impressive, to say the least. Aside from the ever present Friends of the Mission Inn, painting apprentices painted rooms, the Junior League helped restore the Spanish Art Gallery, the Jaycees took charge of the El Loro Room, local artisans repaired stained glass windows, an organ specialist fixed the Music Room's enormous Kimball Organ, and students

and professionals from Cal Poly Pomona, UCR, UCLA, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and the Getty volunteered their collections management expertise. Marr, "Recommendations Regarding Disposition," 6-7.

²³¹ Marr, "Recommendations Regarding Disposition," 18-20 and 21-26.

²³² Dan Smith, "Inn Subsidy Granted to Stem Competition," *Press-Enterprise*, December 4, 1984, B1.

²³³ Don Babwin, "'Memories Remain As Mission Inn Checks Out,'" *Press-Enterprise*, June 30, 1985, B1; The decision to sell the Inn to Carley Capital was fraught with tension between the Mission Inn Foundation and the Redevelopment Agency. As Walter Parks and former Mission Inn curator Pamela Young recall, many Foundation leaders felt that their recommendations outlining suitable qualifications in an Inn buyer and preferred sale terms to protect the collections, prepared by former Foundation board member at UCR history professor Ronald Tobey, were largely ignored by City officials. As Parks remembers, "In the final analysis, [the] Management Committee of the Foundation was really used as a rubber stamp involving a decision that was made by the Redevelopment Agency staff." Walter Parks oral history transcript, 21; Pamela Young, interviewed by Jolene Cody, June 27, 1988, 29-31, Mission Inn Foundation oral history archives.

²³⁴ Thanks to Professor William Moore of Boston University's History of Art & Architecture Department for his helpful comments regarding the tensions between preservation and consumption at Boston University's American and New England Studies Program conference, "Beyond Production and Consumption: Refining American Material Culture Studies," March 23, 2013.

Chapter Five

The Problem with Heritage in Public/Private Partnerships: Contemporary Interpretation and Preservation Battles at the Mission Inn

After seven and a half years of restoration and vacancy, on December 30, 1992, the chain link fence securing the Mission Inn's perimeter since June 1985 came down and the hotel once again opened for limited business. Local politicians and newspapers heralded the Inn's new owner, Duane R. Roberts, who finalized his hotel purchase on Christmas Eve just one week before the reopening, as nothing short of a civic savior. Roberts' biography reads as an entrepreneurial American Dream saga in the vein of Frank Miller himself. He earned his initial fortune presiding over his family's Riverside meat processing company, Butcher Boy Food Products, begun by Roberts' father during the Depression as a wholesale meat market and growing to eventually supply meat for Bob's Big Boy and the first McDonald's in San Bernardino. Roberts even patented the first mass-produced frozen burrito at 19. He sold Butcher Boy in 1980, by that time a 1,400-employee, \$85 million-a-year business, and diversified his investments into an empire of commercial and real estate holdings. Unlike former Inn suitors, Roberts was a native son, reminiscing to the *Riverside Press-Enterprise* about exploring the Inn as a child, "trudging up the winding steps to a doctor's appointment in the Rotunda offices," and "scrambling over the locked gates at night to sneak up to the roof."¹

The zest with which the public responded to Roberts' Mission Inn purchase and reopening is not surprising considering the financial and structural disasters that plagued

the Inn's renovation by the Wisconsin-based development firm Carley Capital. Finalizing the Inn's purchase from the Riverside Redevelopment Agency for \$3 million in March 1986 after nearly two years of negotiations, Carley Capital originally estimated the rehabilitation to cost \$38.7 million and optimistically planned for a grand reopening in June 1988.² Following nearly thirty years of instability, bankruptcy, political infighting, and decay, Carley's restoration plans and their record of successful historical, adaptive reuse projects across the country fostered cautious optimism among the city's Mission Inn stakeholders. This optimism was unfortunately short lived.



Figure 93: The hotel's front arcade along Seventh Street had to be torn down and rebuilt because it was structurally unsound. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

During the presale building inspections, Carley and the City of Riverside completed only surface structural testing in order to prevent tearing down walls unnecessarily in the event that the Carley sale fell through. On top of already needing to gut the hotel's outdated plumbing and electrical systems, once renovations began engineers discovered that the Inn's entire interior support network was in shambles due to improper construction, botched repairs, and extensive termite damage.³ Although curator Francis Borton had touted in 1917 that unlike the actual California missions, the Mission Inn was "made of brick and concrete of the very best construction and is as solid as a mountain," by 1986 the construction team was in awe that the hotel was still standing.⁴ "It's built like a kid with building blocks," stated Carley's Mission Inn construction manager, Helge Laundrup, "putting blocks here, there, everywhere without any consideration for structural strength, bearing value, or anything."⁵ Laundrup succinctly summarized the desperate conditions of the Mission Inn in a 1991 oral history interview with the Mission Inn Foundation:

The damage to the structural details was far more extensive than anybody had imagined...The structure as built by Frank Miller was of a considerable lower quality than was anticipated, which consequently meant major reinforcement of foundations. We had major settlements in the building. Certain sections of the buildings which had been jacked up, new foundations made and leveled off, the utility system, the piping and the wiring in practically all the parts of the Mission Inn were in a very, very sad shape. [A] lot of the changes and alterations had been done on the building during both Frank Miller's and his successors' time. None was actually done in what you would call a quality work; most of it was done in kind of a bandaid manner, and in many cases where there would be additions, changes and alterations, they paid no attention to the structural integrity of the buildings...It was worse, much worse than anticipated when we got the plaster and the paint scraped off.⁶

The structural surprises meant more time and more money, jeopardizing Carley's already tight schedule and even tighter budget. The majority of Carley's funding was supplied by an \$18.5 million loan from the Chemical Bank of New York with an

additional \$5.5 million low-interest loan pledge from the City of Riverside (\$2.2 million coming from a federal Housing and Urban Development grant) available once Carley spent an initial \$10 million on restoration. In order to fund the remainder of the Inn's nearly \$40 million renovation, Carley planned to raise \$8 to \$15 million by creating a private syndicate, selling project shares to individual investors who could then reap the benefits of historic preservation tax credits.⁷



Figure 94: Due to the Mission Inn's termite infestation the entire hotel had to be tented for termites in 1987. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Unfortunately, like the previous failed Mission Inn revival attempts, Carley had not solidified their financing schemes, and changing political climates quickly threatened the project's monetary flow. Just six months into renovations, Congressional tax reform

legislation cut the available historic preservation tax exemption from twenty-five percent of a project's total cost to twenty percent, dissuading backers from investing in such a risky real estate endeavor.⁸ Without any deep pocket contributors, in April 1987, Carley was forced to renegotiate their loan agreement with Chemical Bank, raising their spending limit to \$28 million and fueling persistent local rumors that the Mission Inn was once again in trouble.⁹ That same month Carley fired the project's architectural firm, WZMH Group of Los Angeles due to unexplained "differences" and hired ELS/Elbasani and Logan of Berkeley to finish the restoration.¹⁰



Figure 95: Looking through the chain link fence at the hotel's Mission Wing during the height of renovation. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Carley's West Coast Manager, Maureen McAvey, vehemently denied any problems, attempting to assuage fears with periodic press tours to demonstrate their progress.¹¹ To boost both public confidence and the confidence of their major lender, Chemical Bank, Carley hired established luxury hotel management company, Omni, to market, manage, and staff the Inn, now solidly slated to open in December 1988.¹² Omni launched an aggressive and nostalgic advertising campaign to lure conventions, business meetings, and weddings to the Inn, fearing that the lack of shopping and entertainment in downtown would hinder vacationers. While Inn architect Barry Elbasani assured that "If there's a single project in Riverside that can put the downtown on the map again, it's the Mission Inn," echoing decades of similar Inn preservation arguments, this did little to get tourists to Riverside in the present.¹³ As Omni's Mission Inn marketing director Vicki Derlachter countered, "We haven't looked at any of it as an easy task. It's a challenge to get people here."¹⁴ Beginning in October 1988, Omni plastered Southern California freeways within a twenty-mile radius of Riverside with billboards proclaiming "Remembered, Recaptured, Reopening" and purchased space in *Modern Bride*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, and all major regional newspapers for their print ads featuring the slogan "Priceless Treasures. Endless Pleasures."¹⁵

And then, on December 2, 1988, just three weeks before the scheduled December 22 opening, all construction halted and the Mission Inn was abruptly shuttered when Chemical Bank refused to lend Carley any additional funds to complete the work, now estimated to run upwards of \$10 million over budget.¹⁶ Carley's financial crisis was not just a product of the Mission Inn, but was compounded by failures at their other ongoing

historic redevelopment projects. Charlotte, North Carolina's \$26 million CityFair "festive market," also funded by Chemical Bank, faced millions in overruns, opened late, and Carley never completed the project's hallmark, the renovation of a historic theatre into a restaurant/entertainment venue. In Baltimore, the adaptive reuse of a former tobacco warehouse into condominiums and a hotel was millions in arrears and Carley was unable to pay construction crews and subcontractors.¹⁷ To meet their overspending and "offset 'substantial' losses," Carley attempted to sell nearly \$200 million in property, causing their creditors to freeze loans in doubt of the company's stability.¹⁸ Immediately after Chemical Bank's loan refusal, McAvey called the on-the-ground Mission Inn project managers alerting them to immediately stop all work, get people out of the building, and secure the premises. As Inn facilities manager Steve Huffman remembers,

We weren't ready for what actually happened. So it was a blow, but again we were so busy, immediately following the call that we had to jump up and sort of go around and tell everybody drop your tools and get out of the building and make sure that everybody was out, make sure everything was secure, and that nobody was in the middle of welding or cutting or had some live wires open or any of that sort of things. And we sort of raced around furiously doing that and then got finished in the middle of the afternoon. Kind of stopped and didn't know what to do. Didn't know whether we should go home, kind of didn't want to leave. It is one of those things that hits sort of gradually, doesn't it? Doesn't sink in immediately.¹⁹

By the end of December 1988, instead of planning grand reopening festivities, Carley relinquished their Mission Inn title to Chemical Bank and faced chapter 11 bankruptcy, leaving the bank to sift through over \$6 million in liens filed against the Inn for unpaid labor and materials.²⁰ Chemical Bank decided to maintain ownership of the Inn through a wholly-owned subsidiary, restarting restoration work in early September 1989 with a deadline to finish renovations for \$7 to \$10 million and put the hotel on the market in May 1990.²¹ Asking a minimum of \$28 million in order to at least partially

recoup their investment, in the summer and fall of 1990 Chemical Bank was optimistic about interest from three Asian firms, Japan's Maruko Inc., which also owned hotels in San Bernardino and Indian Wells, and Nitto Overseas Co. Ltd., as well as an unidentified Taiwanese company.²² Hampered again by poor timing, these potential deals fell through with the economic destabilization and oil crisis precipitated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and subsequent U.S. military action.²³ Losing nearly \$400,000 a month, by October 1991 Chemical Bank and the City of Riverside were eagerly considering a \$14 million "bargain basement" offer from Albany, New York, hotelier John Desmond, the only serious Mission Inn bidder in months.²⁴ After over a year of negotiations, however, Desmond could not secure the necessary loans and \$1 million in cash needed for the down payment.²⁵



Figure 96: Scaffolding encompassing the Cloister Wing. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

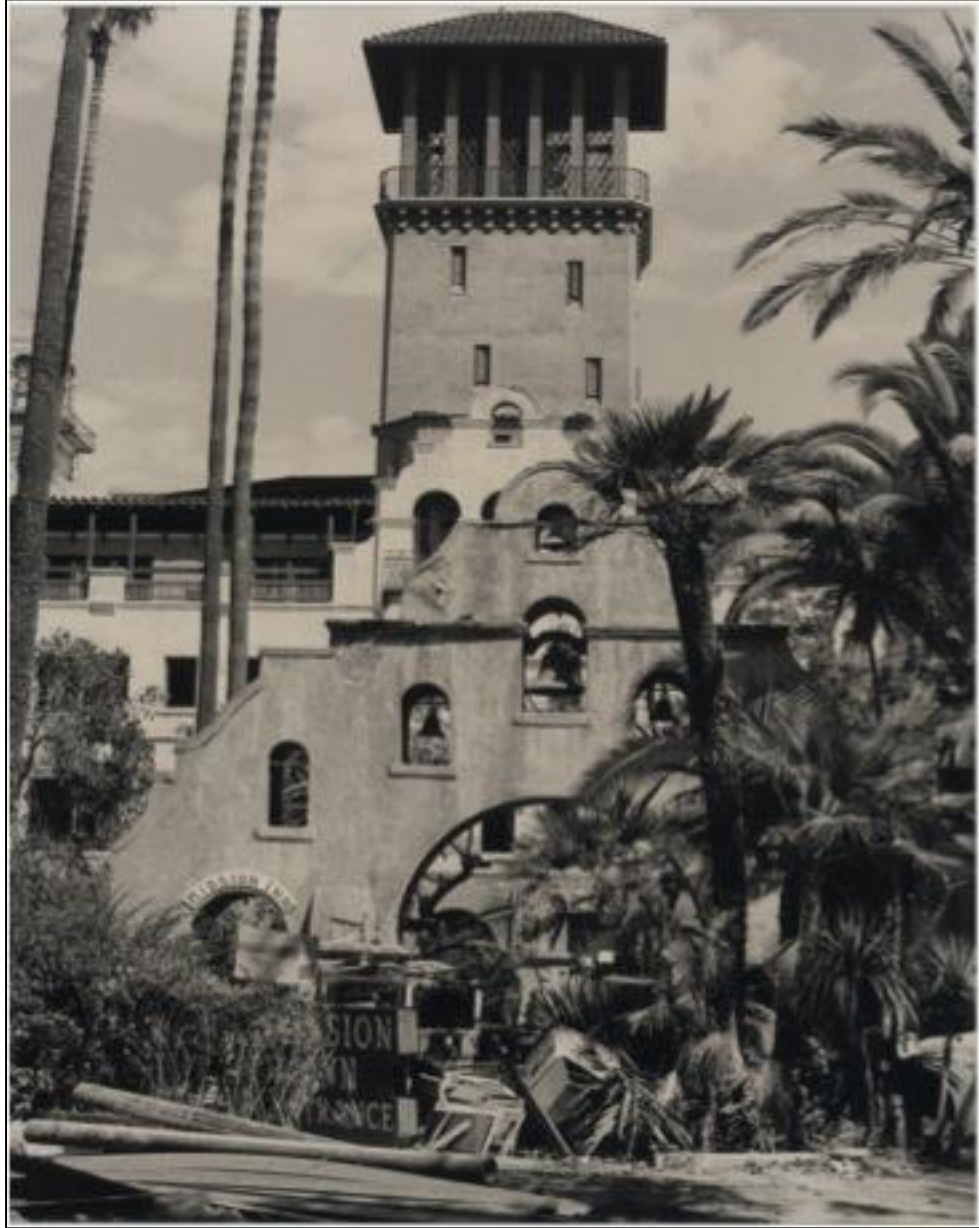


Figure 97: Debris, including the Mission Inn's former neon entrance sign, piled in the courtyard during restoration. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

And so, in early December 1992, as the Desmond sale fell through, Duane Roberts emerged with the financial solvency to complete the purchase. The final renovation cost topped \$50 million, including complete seismic and structural retrofitting,

new plumbing, electrical, and heating/air conditioning systems, landscaping, repainting and re-stuccoing, as well as hundreds of new doors, windows, fixtures, and furniture pieces.²⁶ Roberts acquired the Mission Inn for \$15.6 million in a deal that required relatively little money up front and featured large subsidies from both Chemical Bank and the City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency. Chemical Bank maintained an \$11.7 million first mortgage on the property, repaid \$2 million in loans from the Redevelopment Agency, and loaned Roberts an additional \$875,000 to finish upgrades on the Inn's heating and air conditioning and pay for the lease of in-room telephones, televisions, and mini-refrigerators. The Redevelopment Agency, in turn, gave Chemical Bank's \$2 million repayment to Roberts and lent him another \$2 million to aid in the hotel's down payment and initial opening expenses and to cover the expense of seismically retrofitting the Mission Inn Annex, building a new laundry facility, and improving the retail space along the Inn's Main Street façade. Roberts put up a total of \$1.2 million toward the down payment, closing costs, and to pay for a quarter of the HVAC upgrades. He borrowed another \$1 million from Union Bank for on-hand startup capital.²⁷

The hurried Carley Capital and Chemical Bank years preceding Roberts' purchase also drastically reoriented the Mission Inn Foundation's purpose. The organization's role at the Inn shifted from the management and operation of the hotel in cooperation with the Redevelopment Agency to stewarding and ensuring the safety of the historic collections, designing an on-site museum, and planning for greater public access to the Inn through a docent-led tour program, a necessity considering the final tally of public funds

contributed to the hotel's preservation efforts climbed to over \$9 million.²⁸ Beginning with the Carley sale, the long-term involvement of the Mission Inn Foundation was solidified by a series of agreements brokered by the City of Riverside, which legally granted the Foundation space within the hotel to operate a museum, implement history programming, and care for the hotel's remaining art works and artifacts. In support of this initiative during Carley's ownership, the city's Historic Resources Department allocated over \$100,000 each year to the Foundation for administrative support and museum development.²⁹ Under the Roberts' sale agreement, the Redevelopment Agency prepaid \$1,255,873 for a thirty-year lease of Mission Inn Foundation museum and office space and also allocated the Foundation \$190,000 to move their proposed museum from its original location in the hotel's Galeria to the Mission Wing's southwest corner.³⁰



Figure 98: Preparations for the original Mission Inn Museum located in the hotel's Galeria. Vereshchagin's *Charge Up San Juan Hill* is hanging on the back wall. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Today, the City of Riverside continues to contribute \$60,000 annually to the Mission Inn Foundation's operating budget.³¹ The Foundation's new mission was to represent the public's ongoing interest in and right of access to the hotel even as it passed into private hands. As the "museum lease" section of the Mission Inn Development and Disposition Agreement (DDA) states,

The Developer [Roberts] acknowledges the historic, aesthetic, and cultural significance of the Mission Inn; that the public interest in the Mission Inn will continue after the sale of the property to the Developer; the presence of the Mission Inn Museum under the direction of the Mission Inn Foundation and the responsibilities of the Foundation to interpret the history of the Mission Inn, its artifacts, works of art, and cultural associations.³²

Despite the decades of struggle, the Mission Inn is a preservation triumph. As a National Historic Landmark, the hotel's renovation was completed, where applicable, in line with federal and state preservation guidelines overseen by the California State Office of Historic Preservation and historic architecture expert Bruce Judd of San Francisco's Architectural Resources Group. Since his 1992 purchase, Roberts' has maintained continuous hotel and restaurant operations, reclaiming the Inn's place as the Inland Empire's premier luxury hotel. It is being used for its original purpose and the Roberts' family – the ownership team now includes Roberts' third wife Kelly and her daughter Casey Reinhardt – coining themselves the "Keepers of the Inn" to Miller's original "Master of the Inn" moniker, have been stable proprietors for over twenty years, second only to the Miller family's ownership span. While the Roberts focus on making the Inn a profitable enterprise, sought after by the country's elite as it was in Miller's day, the Foundation ensures the safety of the collections and provides a modicum of access to the site, allowing those who might not be able to afford a room the opportunity to experience the Riverside landmark. But, how well does this partnership actually work in practice?

The record of preservation success and corporate/civic/non-profit cooperation, however, should not overshadow the many deep-seated problems facing the Mission Inn regarding the hotel's historical interpretation. The Mission Inn is a political place where control over the site's historical interpretation, space, public access, and artifacts are constantly negotiated between the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, the Mission Inn Foundation, the City of Riverside, and the Friends of the Mission Inn, who continue to raise money for restoration projects throughout the hotel. From legal ambiguities concerning which Inn organization owns which historic objects and uncertainties about how much influence the Mission Inn's corporate entity should wield over the hotel's interpretation, to the efficacy and uncertain future of the Mission Inn Foundation as it attempts to reinvigorate its relevance in the Riverside (and greater Southern California) community, the Inn is a laboratory where the defining questions of public history are confronted every day.

Exploring the inner-workings of history organizations – funding sources, board membership, staff duties, program development processes, government and community involvement – is a central element of public history theory and practice. By deconstructing both the historical interpretations presented to their audiences and how those interpretations are influenced, and potentially constrained, by an organization's various stakeholders reveals the contentious environments public history sites operate within. In the last twenty years, scholarship investigating intellectual struggles and controversies (local, national, and international) surrounding museum exhibitions, archival repositories, and historic monuments and parks has exploded. In their

groundbreaking 1998 study examining how Americans interact with history, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen found that nearly eighty percent of the 808 people they surveyed trusted museums and historic sites as a source of historical information, scoring higher than personal and eyewitness accounts, college history professors, high school teachers, nonfiction books, and movies and television programs.³³ When asked to explain why they found museums so trustworthy, many respondents cited museums' artifact collections as the reason, feeling that the objects provided them with an unmitigated connection to the past not tainted by political agendas. As one respondent stated, "by displaying objects 'for everybody to see,' the museum 'isn't trying to present you with any points of view...you need to draw your own conclusions.'"34

Public history, however, is a mediated practice. As scholars such as Michael Frisch, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, and Mike Wallace, among others, first elucidated (specifically in the public history realm) is that which historical material is saved, how that material is presented, and what is in turn buried illustrates the rigid social hierarchies and power dynamics governing all avenues of the history discipline.³⁵ Rather than being repositories of definitive historical truth, sites of history and the narratives crafted around them are, writes Trouillot, "a particular bundle of silences."³⁶ In the U.S. context, influential works examining politically charged disputes over the interpretation of the nation's past have shown the deeply personal and contentious nature of remembrance, especially if what is presented challenges an individual's or group's beliefs and identity. Books, such as *History Wars*, Edward Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt's evocative study

of the Smithsonian's ill-fated and short-lived Enola Gay exhibition, which was vilified by veterans groups as unpatriotic, even treasonous, for questioning the U.S. decision to use atomic weaponry against Japan during WWII, demonstrates the intense outrage historic interpretations of divisive topics can incite.³⁷

More recently, works on the display of history's "tough stuff" have further analyzed the negotiations and ideological fights that define the public history field. James Oliver Horton and Lois Horton's anthology, *Slavery and Public History*, scrutinizes the hard-fought battles at historic sites in the American South to revise their narratives to include more critical and in-depth discussions of slavery, often in the face of regional identities built upon the "Lost Cause," Southern gentility, Rebel bravery, and persistent racial hostility.³⁸ Linenthal provides another example in his insider examination of the creation of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Demonstrating how wealthy donors and government-sponsored commissions made the museum a reality, the process was also a political minefield as founders debated how to appropriately exhibit the horrors of mass human extermination, which victims to include in the final narrative, and how to either valorize or problematize the U.S. role in WWII.³⁹

Using anthropological methods, front and back stage observations of Colonial Williamsburg by Richard Handler and Eric Gable in *The New History in an Old Museum* and Cathy Stanton's investigation of Lowell, Massachusetts historic industrial sites in *The Lowell Experiment*, uncover the "corporate culture" of these national historic sites whose success, and the success of their neighboring communities, rely on robust heritage tourism and consumer spending.⁴⁰ Finally, examining the relationship between

consumption, memory, and souvenirs, works by visual culture scholars Marita Sturken and Erica Rand reveal that public history interpretations in places like the Oklahoma City National Memorial and the Ellis Island Immigration Museum do not end at the conclusion of an exhibition or walking tour, but continue into the gift shop where items are specially developed to aid the persistence of particular historical memories.⁴¹

While many of these foundational public history studies have focused on large-scale historical operations of national and transnational importance that draw thousands (or millions) of visitors annually, the interpretive battles waged at local history sites, such as the Mission Inn, are no less fierce, even if their interpretive and economic influence is on a smaller, regional scale. Helping to knit together community identity, local museums and historic places serve to connect people “to a locale, to understand it, identify with it, or simply enjoy its distinctiveness,” writes historian David Kyvig.⁴² Often first stops for road trippers and relatives visiting out-of-town family as well as main avenues for volunteerism and school programs, these sites, as public historian Tammy S. Gordon states, “attract people to converse about community, national, or international issues in the context of local history” and “serve to explain communities, families, and individuals to outsiders and tie insiders together around a shared narrative of historical experience.”⁴³ What and who is included or left out of these local narratives, therefore, is evocative of how a community wishes to present itself, often revealing underlying inequalities. How, then, is the Mission Inn locally interpreted and for what purposes? How is its history utilized to promote hotel business, validate the Mission Inn Foundation’s projects, and define the City of Riverside? What is silenced in the process?

Frank Miller's Legacy as Corporate and Civic Narrative

“From its beginning in 1870, Riverside has always been a prosperous, desirable place to live because of the foresight and innovation of its founders,” states the City of Riverside’s 2009 economic development and civic marketing plan, “Seizing Our Destiny: The Agenda for Riverside’s Innovative Future.”⁴⁴ This planning document rebranded Riverside as the “City of Arts and Innovation,” while laying a strategic path for the city to expand its global economic reach to become a “city of the future,” broadly defined as a place with an “outstanding quality of life,” a “catalyst for innovation,” and a “location of choice” for residents that is a “unified city for the common good.”⁴⁵ According to the plan, the road to this future was paved over a century ago by “forward-thinking, creative and ingenious pioneers and innovators,” such as Riverside Colony founder John North and Washington Navel Orange maven Eliza Tibbets, each contributing to Riverside becoming “the wealthiest city per capita nationally by 1895.”⁴⁶ Included in this list was, of course, Frank Miller: “Another dreamer with big plans,” states “Seizing Our Destiny, “Frank Miller expanded a small hotel into the Mission Inn...Along with the City’s prosperity, climatic and geographic advantages, the treasured Mission Inn has been a prime attraction for the rich and famous, including celebrities and several U.S. Presidents.”⁴⁷ Evoking American Dream imagery and Manifest Destiny entitlement, “Seizing Our Destiny” narrowly identified Riverside’s “impressive heritage of pioneers and innovators” to link the city’s history to its present. The plan defined Riverside’s success through its former economic prosperity and the high-profile visitors that once flocked to its most identifiable tourist landmark, hoping that this heritage would provide

“a solid launching pad for the future.”⁴⁸ What the plan also demonstrates, however, is the way in which the Mission Inn’s history and the life of Frank Miller have been transformed into an unchanging and useable past, deployed by groups, such as the City of Riverside, the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, and the Mission Inn Foundation, each with a stake in the Inn’s ongoing prosperity. The result is that much of the site’s current historical interpretation is in service of celebrating heritage and preserving Miller’s pristine legacy.

“Heritage” is a slippery term. As historic preservationist Ned Kaufman outlines, in its basic definition, heritage “Is what one inherits...At its root, the word suggests generational connectedness, family solidarity, goods, and ownership.”⁴⁹ Yet, as Kaufman and scholars Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Hal Rothman, and David Lowenthal have further theorized, heritage, when applied to the tourism industry, is about molding the interpretation of history in service of present needs. The drive to save heritage sites as static reminders of a lost time runs the risk of idealizing the past “as islands of security” in reaction against unsure futures.⁵⁰ In the process, writes Kaufman, “the notion of heritage can help to suppress or stigmatize dissent: it denies the legitimacy of conflicting claims for recognition and attempts to hide the turmoil of politics behind a mask of unity.”⁵¹ Aside from the often conservative bent, heritage sites are more than simply unchanging historical snapshots, but are transformed into “representations of themselves,” asserts Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, displaying their former functions as a glimpse into a past that is no longer functioning. These new representations are made

once again “economically viable” through the tourist industry even though the site’s original use has ceased to be.⁵²

Although the Mission Inn operates as a hotel just as it did a century ago, the uses of its history have drastically changed. From the hotel’s start, history at the Mission Inn has been malleable – enhanced, embellished, and flat-out made up to craft a unique identity, merge with regional trends, and provide a deep well of promotional gimmicks. From Miller’s early efforts to make the Inn a center of the mission tourism industry through architecture, performance, literature, and advertising, to his collecting practices and huckster-esque exhibitionary tactics, historical interpretations have been crafted specifically to increase the Inn’s popularity and profitability. In the Inn’s early years, Miller and his staff were concerned with actively constructing a sense of history around the new hotel and engaged in the constant curation of the site and its contents to achieve this goal.

Today, the opposite is true. The Mission Inn’s place in history as a premier destination hotel in the early twentieth century’s robust Southern California tourist industry is firmly established; the fantasies Miller strove to make real are now preserved and rigidly entrenched into the site’s historical narrative. History is still what sets the Inn apart from other hotels, but for the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, it is enough to simply reference that the Mission Inn has history without actually explicating what that history is or what it means. Contemporary Mission Inn advertisements are filled with descriptions of the lavish historical landscape awaiting guests, tying the Inn to notions of “old world” European luxury and global jet-setting, similar to early Inn marketing

campaigns, but without the accompanying layers of myth-building interpretive work. “Enjoy a leisurely getaway and explore the rich history, breathtaking architecture and Old-World charm at one of Southern California[’s] most unique treasures,” proclaims an ad from November 2010, while another from the same month encourages guests to “Fall in love all over again as you allow yourselves to be swept away to a far-away European castle steeped in fine art, history and romantic splendor.”⁵³ Other promotions from 2011 declare “No passport required” for visitors to “Enjoy an exotic journey through grand archways, flying buttresses and secluded gardens...all without leaving Southern California.”⁵⁴ The Inn’s current marketing campaign featured on the hotel’s website implores potential guests to find “Your place in history, with breathtaking architecture, where rich history meets modern luxury, where grand vistas harbor intimate hidden treasures, and Tuscan-inspired luxury set a grand stage for life’s most dramatic moments.”⁵⁵



Figure 99: Advertisement on the exterior of the hotel’s International Rotunda, 2014. The ad states, “An enchanting wedding in a European setting right here in Southern California...Our history becomes your story.” Photo by author.

The Historic Mission Inn Corporation's interpretation of the hotel's past is predominantly centered on the Inn's famous guests. The hotel utilizes recognizable names to easily communicate the site's historical worth in much the same way Miller once did by overlaying his artifacts with (often dubious) associational meanings. The hotel itself is now the historic artifact. The history section of the Mission Inn's website provides a brief historical chronology along with a short description of the Miller's bell collection and the other "priceless treasures" guests might encounter onsite, but it is largely dedicated to listing the celebrities and politicians who have stayed at the hotel.⁵⁶ Organized into separate categories, the hotel's history section details the eight U.S. Presidents who have visited the Inn (from Benjamin Harrison to George W. Bush), "Social leaders" (including Albert Einstein, Helen Keller, John Muir, and Booker T. Washington), and entertainers (a disparate list featuring Harry Houdini, Sarah Bernhardt, and Clark Gable as well as Miss Piggy, Merle Haggard, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Ozzy Osbourne).⁵⁷

In the Presidential Lounge, once the hotel's most elegant suite that hosted Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Richard and Pat Nixon's wedding ceremony, guests can now order signature drinks off the Lounge's awkwardly titled "If These Walls Could Talk" menu in celebration of the Inn's "111 Years of History!"⁵⁸ For \$12, guests can choose from twenty-one cocktails named after the Inn's famous visitors, such as a "W.H. Taft Appletini," an Amelia Earhart "Queen of the Air," a Henry Ford "Sidecar," or a Bob Hope "Golf Swing."⁵⁹ As a salute to this history, the menu includes the date each cocktail's namesake visited the Inn. Even the Presidential

Lounge's antique paneled walls, which Miller proudly detailed in the *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* came from a sixteenth-century Belgian convent, are now plastered with autographed celebrity photos from the likes of former Van Halen singer Sammy Hagar, actress Michelle Monaghan, and the U.S. Women's Synchronized Swimming Team.

If Frank Miller constructed the Inn as a pastiche of mission culture, the hotel is now one step further removed, representing Miller's representations, doing so even as much of the hotel's original material remains. Miller's marketing schemes and those of the contemporary hotel owners, on one level, operate in similar fashions – utilizing history to sell hotel rooms. In past and present, the Mission Inn is about consumption. Yet, there are also glaring differences. Miller's showman antics romanticized the region's history and produced exaggerated claims concerning the art and artifacts, but it was also a creative vision that encouraged Inn visitors to wander the halls, learn, discover, read, and contemplate. Regardless of how problematic the historical interpretations were, Miller and his staff put great effort into their curatorial endeavors, producing brochures, catalogues, and labeling each piece so that guests would take time with the collections. Today, the hotel wants visitors to feel as if they are enveloped inside a vaguely European, generally opulent, historic place filled with “priceless treasures,” but that is it. Walking through the hotel there is scarce historic information save for a few plaques adorning the Inn's most prestigious pieces. The hotel flatly declares it has history by listing the famous people who have stayed at the Inn and offering overpriced drinks named after them as both a bland and lucrative “celebration”

of that past. The Inn has moved into the realm of kitsch not only because it relies on what Marita Sturken describes as “easy formulas and predictable emotional registers which form a kind of escapism,” but also because these current shallow interpretations maintain the hotel’s historical innocence, forcefully resisting the Inn being understood as anything but a benign site of leisure by refusing to acknowledge it has ever been anything else.⁶⁰

Interpretation, however, is not the Historic Mission Inn Corporation’s main purview, but is the responsibility of the hotel’s non-profit partner, the Mission Inn Foundation & Museum, which presents a broader and more detailed examination of the Mission Inn’s history through its museum exhibitions, site tours, and public programming. While the City of Riverside is interested in Miller as the city’s chief innovator and the Historic Mission Inn Corporation is concerned solely with the hotel’s historic ambiance and famous faces, the Mission Inn Foundation is caught somewhere in between. Hemmed in by its obligations to the City of Riverside and its location within the Historic Mission Inn Corporation-controlled hotel, the Mission Inn Foundation’s historical interpretations in recent years have focused on preserving Frank Miller’s legacy as a civic booster, community leader, and advocate for international peace and friendship.

Intimately connected to heritage, “legacy” denotes that which is passed down over time. The Mission Inn is a tangible example of Miller’s Riverside legacy, but much of the Foundation’s historical work is in service of protecting Miller’s character against interpretations that might slightly sully, or just call into question, his standing as one of Riverside’s most exemplary leaders. In upholding Miller’s and the Mission Inn’s

reputations, legacy preservation figures heavily in Foundation exhibits and programming, with titles such as “The Mission Inn, Celebrating 30 Years as a National Historic Landmark: Saving a Community’s Legacy,” “Sharing History and Creating a Legacy: Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Docent Program,” “Rebirth of a Dream: The Precarious Years, 1969-1992,” “One World, One Community: Riverside’s Evolving Legacy, ‘Frank Miller and Multiculturalism,’” and “Building a Dream, Preserving a Legacy.”⁶¹ A 2013 exhibition title best summarizes the takeaway message the Foundation strives to instill in its visitors: “Frank Miller: Civic Leader, Innovator, and ‘Citizen of the World.’”⁶² Even as the Foundation grows its document collections and new research becomes available, its dominant narrative remains largely unchanged or problematized: the Mission Inn is about Frank Miller’s dream, Miller’s entrepreneurial spirit built Riverside into a thriving tourist spot, and his international collecting brought the world to the region while fostering within him a benevolent attitude to love all people.

An example of this essentially static narrative is the exhibition, “Building a Dream: Preserving a Legacy: The Jane Clark Cullen Collection,” on display in the Mission Inn Museum from November 2013-April 2014. The exhibit features items from a recently acquired collection of documents, artifacts, and textiles from Jane Clark Cullen, the niece of Frank Miller’s second wife, Marion, a largely unknown figure in Mission Inn history. While the exhibit showcases artifacts from Marion Clark Miller’s life as well as letters between Marion and Frank during their 1910 courtship, even with this rich cache of new material, the main narrative remains staid. Marion is largely discussed in the exhibit text only in relation to Miller. The focus is on Miller’s world

travels, which contributed to his “broad sense of cultural understanding, appreciation, and friendship,” and his “social consciousness” that “endeavored to promote peace and to humanize and protect the rights of all people, especially those most at risk.”⁶³ A recent social media update from the Mission Inn Foundation went so far as to equate Frank Miller with Abraham Lincoln. To commemorate the former President’s birthday, the Foundation posted a photo of a Lincoln doll – “an example of his everlasting legacy” – from the Inn’s historic doll collection with the caption, “This extremely influential man was born on this day in 1809 in Hodgenville, Kentucky. Although Lincoln was never a visitor of the Inn, having been assassinated prior to Riverside’s founding, his beliefs and his progressive way of thinking were traits that Mission Inn founder Frank Miller shared as well.”⁶⁴

At the Mission Inn Foundation, this uncomplicated, triumphant interpretation persists for a number of reasons. First, the Foundation’s small staff is charged with researching, designing, and mounting multiple temporary exhibitions about the hotel’s history each year. Often crunched for time and resources, sticking to the tried and true, albeit not groundbreaking, narratives from the hotel’s secondary local history literature is an efficient and uncontroversial method for getting the exhibitions up on time.⁶⁵

Although born of convenience, this constant rehash of the same material is gradually solidified as the sole interpretation and other alternatives erased. Secondly, maintaining this overwhelmingly celebratory viewpoint is in certain instances financially beneficial to the Foundation. One of the organization’s biggest fundraisers each year is the “Frank Miller Civic Achievement Award” gala, an annual award given by the Foundation to a

Riverside community booster who has “provided outstanding civic leadership, service, and support to the community in the tradition of Frank Miller, founder of the Mission Inn.”⁶⁶ As the self-titled “Keepers of the Inn,” who renewed “the legacy of private family ownership” and are ensuring the hotel’s “legacy will continue on for many years to come,” the Roberts family is also deeply committed to upholding Miller’s historical purity as a reflection upon their own reputations.⁶⁷

The motivations behind the Mission Inn Foundation’s interpretive choices are most profoundly, and complexly, connected to the process by which history is disseminated through the Foundation to a larger public and its interconnectedness to the Historic Mission Inn Corporation. The Mission Inn Foundation’s exhibits are not the main avenue visitors experience the Mission Inn’s history; it is through the organization’s hotel tours. For \$13 apiece guests can take a seventy-five minute docent-led historical walking tour throughout the hotel, including, if not closed for a private function, areas like the Spanish Art Gallery, St. Francis Chapel, and Ho-O-Kan Room, which are otherwise off limits to general visitors. The Foundation offers four-to-five public tours seven-days a week, plus additional tours for private groups and schools. During the busy holiday season, the Foundation often schedules upwards of fifteen tours per day. A dedicated cadre of approximately 140 docents meets this tour demand.⁶⁸

Although completely volunteer, the Mission Inn Foundation’s docent program is a model of professionalism. While under the Foundation’s institutional umbrella, it has operated almost completely as a self-sufficient organization since 1987 with separate by-laws, strict rules and regulations, educational lectures and mentoring, and a docent-only

“INNsider” newsletter. In addition to the main fifteen-member “Docent Council” governing body who are voted into office each year, the docent program includes ten other management committees: recruitment, training, mentors, peer review, continuing education, historian, special events, docent roster, newsletter, and sunshine, which is solely responsible for sending greeting cards to docents for special occasions.⁶⁹

Becoming and maintaining status as an active Mission Inn Foundation docent is time-consuming and selective, beginning with an application and interview process, followed by nine months of weekly classes detailing Mission Inn and Riverside history as well as lessons on public speaking, tour etiquette, and a bevy of practice tour sessions. Mission Inn docents do not memorize a set tour script, but write their own historical tours (all scripts must be approved by the docent council), meaning that docents can individualize their tours to their specific interests. No Mission Inn tour is the same with each docent focusing on different aspects of the Inn’s history. After completing docent training, new docents must commit to lead or assist four tours per month for two years, which subsequently reduces to two per month, in addition to annual peer reviews to ensure tour quality, and attendance at quarterly docent continuing education lectures.⁷⁰

Docent tours are a central revenue source of the Mission Inn Foundation’s roughly \$850,000 annual budget and the tour program’s continued success relies on working closely with hotel management.⁷¹ Because much of the tour clientele comes from hotel guests and the tour route winds through the hotel’s interiors, tours are not just about interpreting the hotel’s history, but are also about painting the hotel in a positive light and providing guests with a unique tour experience. Even though the docent

program is the Foundation's responsibility, Inn management keeps close tabs on docent activity, alerting Foundation staff if guests express tour complaints, if docents go into unauthorized areas or interrupt private functions, or if something is overheard on a docent tour that hotel managers deem unsuitable. Providing tours is integral to the Foundation's mission and a central element of the hotel's sale agreement stipulating continued public access, but the tours run the risk of devolving into what Tammy S. Gordon identifies as a "corporate exhibit." Writes Gordon, "While the corporate exhibition shares some academic methods, its purpose is decidedly more connected to marketing a particular product or company...Using professional development and materials, the corporate exhibit employs history as indirect advertising."⁷²

Mission Inn Foundation docents are the public face of the hotel and volunteering as a docent is an elite activity. The substantial time commitment necessary to become a Mission Inn docent privileges those with ample free time to dedicate to the process, but docents are additionally required to look and act the part with a strict business dress code and an interview process to weed out any docent applicants the council or Foundation views as inappropriate.⁷³ The Mission Inn's history, then, is not for all, but is reserved for those who can make the cut to interpret it as a docent or for those who can pay to go on a tour.

But, the docent program is elite in ways that transcend social status and economics. Docents are the bearers of Mission Inn knowledge, which they are specially qualified and certified to impart onto tour guests.⁷⁴ Classes are taught by longtime docent mentors, many of whom are also prolific local historians. In this way the docent program

is highly insular and historical interpretations are continually recycled. Docent coursework centers heavily on the chronologies of the Mission Inn and Riverside, focusing on early pioneers, the citrus industry, mission history and Southern California tourism, the stages of Mission Inn construction, and the life of Frank Miller, in addition to descriptions of art and artifacts docents will encounter on their tour route, and famous guests. The program is overwhelmingly concentrated on Frank Miller's time period with only one and a half classes moving beyond Miller's 1935 death to examine the Inn's history from 1950 to the present.⁷⁵

Additionally, the docents are a close-knit social community who host a graduation bash for new docents every year along with an annual Christmas party and a summer docent sleepover at the Inn. Being a Mission Inn docent requires so much time and dedication, it becomes more than just a volunteer position; many form an intense emotional attachment to the Inn and its history. The docents are the staunchest defenders of the Inn's booster interpretations of Frank Miller, but are deeply concerned that all facts stated on tours are solid. In 2008 they instituted an "INN spectator" docent article series to debunk the Inn's mythic minutia, such as how much Christopher Columbus Miller paid for the Mission Inn's original plot of land, what specific missions the Inn's front arches were modeled after, and whether or not Miller allowed alcohol consumption at the hotel.⁷⁶ In a place built on fantasies where history was liberally shaped to make the Inn more intriguing, docents now equate properly interpreting the site as guaranteeing their tours stick to only indisputable and verifiable hard facts, while at the same time maintaining Miller's iconic status through their own loose interpretations of the past and

myth-building practices. The multiple organizations with a stake in the portrayal of the hotel's history means that interpreting and sharing history at the Mission Inn is not about free discussion, but about controlling the flow of information.

Collections Questions and Calamities:
Enduring Struggles Over Ownership, Stewardship, and Preserving the Public Trust

The concerns arising from the intricate relationships between the various Mission Inn organizations does not end with the hotel's historical interpretations, but is also pertinent to the ongoing stewardship of the hotel's historic art and artifacts. Who owns the Mission Inn's collection of historic artifacts and artworks, numbering upwards of 10,000 pieces? During the Inn's first fifty years the answer was simple: the Miller family. Frank Miller owned the majority of items inside his hotel with his daughter and son-in-law, Allis and DeWitt Hutchings, laying claim to specific collections and individual art pieces. Ownership was transferred down the family line following Frank Miller's 1935 death and the Hutchings' deaths in the early 1950s. After Miller's grandchildren sold the hotel outside of the family to Benjamin Swig in 1956, however, the ownership question grew increasingly cumbersome to answer. Swig endangered the long-term security of the collections when he set the precedent of selling the hotel's historic pieces to raise money to fund the site's maintenance and renovation. The Inn's subsequent parade of owners in the 1960s and 1970s continued to sell items (or threatened to) and leveraged the collections as collateral against their large, high-risk loans. Although the volunteer Friends of the Mission Inn attempted to do what they could to restore, safeguard, and purchase back the hotel's historic objects, during these years, the building's preservation was prioritized over protecting the collections. With

the 1976 sale of the Inn to the City of Riverside's Redevelopment Agency, the site and its art and artifacts became, for the next nine years, a public entity. Like previous sales, Carley Capital's 1985 Mission Inn purchase included the hotel's collections, but Carley and the Mission Inn Foundation, which was now charged with stewarding and interpreting the hotel's history, began separating the collections between the two organizations, a process that continued after the Carley bankruptcy and the final sale of the Inn from Chemical Bank to Duane Roberts.

The resulting situation is a series of complex, and often unclear, ownership and loan agreements between the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, the Mission Inn Foundation, and the Friends of the Mission Inn. Although designed to protect the hotel's collections, these agreements present daunting legal and ethical uncertainties regarding the roles and responsibilities of each group. Additionally, the rightful possession of a large swath of Inn artifacts remains troublingly vague. A 2007 Mission Inn Foundation organizational planning document summarizes the difficulties: "Over the years, roles among and between these organizations have been based on mutual respect and a shared goal of caring for the collections in perpetuity, but the lack of clarity in terms of specific responsibilities has hindered best museum practices, hampered efforts to rally critical resources, and fostered confusion in the minds of the public."⁷⁷ In other words, the hotel's collections have remained intact over the last two decades solely because the rickety base underlying these agreements has not been seriously tested. The continued care of the Inn's collections requires compromise and cooperation from all parties. Yet,

if recent events are any indication, regardless of which organization holds legal claim over what pieces, it is the hotel ownership that wields the final authority.

Although the Carley sale was met with guarded hope, many leaders and museum professionals within the Mission Inn Foundation and Friends of the Mission Inn were wary – justifiably so – about the fate of the hotel’s collections, sold off piecemeal at the whim of each previous owner with little recourse. Agitation from Foundation board members, restrictions stemming from the Inn’s 1977 National Historic Landmark designation, and the site’s near decade-long tenure as a publically owned property contributed to the addition of specific collections’ protections to the Carley sale contract. “People think, erroneously, that if they own the hotel and put up the money, they have the right to do what they want,” stated longtime Mission Inn Foundation board member Walter Parks, who was on the organization’s board at the time of the hotel’s sale to Carley Capital. “I wanted to make sure that there was some language in there that said that these things can’t leave the Inn.”⁷⁸

As sale negotiations were finalized, the City of Riverside approached the Foundation’s staff and board members to comb through the Inn’s collections and identify the hotel’s most significant pieces, which were deemed either integral to the Mission Inn’s history or of specific artistic importance. Under the purchase agreement, these pieces would be prohibited from leaving the Inn. The resulting compilation of 254 items, known colloquially as the “A List,” identified by numbers assigned to each artifact during a 1982 hotel inventory, included fixed architectural and decorative elements, historic artifacts, artworks, and furniture, from the Tiffany stained glass windows, the Rayas

reredos, Vereshchagin's *Charge Up San Juan Hill*, and the Henry Chapman Ford mission paintings to the Taft Chair, Ho-O-Kan Buddha statue, and the supposed "oldest bell in Christendom."⁷⁹ As former Mission Inn Foundation curator Kevin Hallaran summarizes,

The objects contained in the 'A' List were considered of such importance to the cultural heritage of (not just the Mission Inn, but to) the City of Riverside, that they were legally tied to the building in perpetuity at the time of the development agreement: that is, the 'A' List items may not be sold or disposed of unless sold as a group along with the hotel; nor may they be removed from the premises unless for the purposes of conservation or temporary travelling exhibition.⁸⁰

The inclusion of these restrictions in the sale contract legally guarded the hotel's most precious historical items while still transferring these pieces into private hands. In essence, the collections, at least those items deemed the most historically significant, were privately owned by a corporate entity yet contractually required to be retained and cared for as part of the public trust.⁸¹

The "A List," however, accounted for only a miniscule portion of the Inn's object collections. As Carley prepared for renovations, the Mission Inn Foundation continued to sift through and categorize the hotel's thousands of remaining artifacts. Items not included on the most prestigious "A List" were designated as part of the "B List" and each piece was tagged with a colored ribbon to indicate its intended usage. For example, objects tied with a red ribbon identified items Carley interior designers wanted to retain for furnishing and decorating the hotel, but items tagged with a white, yellow, or blue ribbon indicated pieces Carley had no use for that were to be donated to the Mission Inn Foundation for museum exhibitions and educational programming. Pieces deemed by both parties as too damaged or unusable in hotel spaces were placed on the lowest "C List," designating them for auction or offsite disposal. In the harried days leading up to the finalization of Carley's sale agreement with the Riverside Redevelopment Agency, as

the Mission Inn Foundation staff rushed to tag and categorize artifacts, aside from the “A List” included in the contract, a comprehensive itemization of which objects were included in the other lists was never completed.⁸² Additionally, in many instances entire boxes containing multiple artifacts were referenced as only one item, meaning hundreds of objects were not accurately accounted for. The transfer of collections between the multiple hotel organizations continued as restoration began. In 1986, the Mission Inn Foundation board members negotiated with Carley to transfer ownership of approximately 880 “C List” items to the Foundation and the following year Carley also donated a Mission Inn neon sign, the safe from the original Glenwood Tavern, and a number of historic doors to the non-profit.

After evaluating the Carley donations, Mission Inn Foundation staff deaccessioned over 450 items (mostly furniture) to sell at a public auction in September 1987 in hopes of raising \$25,000 to support the new museum and conservation work on other artifacts.⁸³ Careful to separate this auction from the Benjamin Swig sale thirty years prior, which had disposed of some of the Inn’s most prized pieces, Foundation staff emphasized they had followed best museum practices in determining which items to sell and were pragmatically culling the collections due to space and resource constraints. “Responsible care of the collection requires that finite resources be directed to objects of interpretive value,” stated the Mission Inn Foundation’s auction press release. “All objects which have value for the understanding and interpretation of the Mission Inn’s history are being retained. Objects being ‘deaccessioned’ and auctioned are duplicates of items in the collection, have no interpretive value, or are otherwise inappropriate.”⁸⁴ The

auction sold over three hundred items to a crowd gathered at the Riverside Convention Center eager to own a piece of the Mission Inn.⁸⁵

In the wake of Carley Capital's 1988 bankruptcy, Chemical Bank of New York gave an additional cache of roughly three hundred pieces of furniture, art, and historic artifacts to the Foundation, objects which Carley had stored in the former Sears building down the street from the Inn during renovation.⁸⁶ To further complicate matters, since their founding in 1969, the Friends of the Mission Inn began acquiring a small, but significant, collection of Mission Inn furniture and art, purchased at public Inn auctions or later from private dealers.⁸⁷

Following his 1992 Mission Inn purchase, Duane Roberts contracted University of California, Riverside history department graduate student Hongwei Huang to inventory the historic pieces included in the Historic Mission Inn Corporation's collections.⁸⁸ Not only did this inventory uncover that several historic items were missing, including a chair and painting from the "A List," but it also falsely identified a number of objects as part of the hotel's collections that were actually owned by the Mission Inn Foundation.⁸⁹ Soon after reopening the Inn, the Historic Mission Inn Corporation also entered into long term loan agreements with the Mission Inn Foundation and Friends of the Mission Inn to display in the hotel's hallways and art galleries over seventy art works legally owned by these two groups.⁹⁰ Since 1998 the Mission Inn Foundation has actively attempted to solve the inconsistencies with the collections, employing museum consultants, working with local lawyers on the Foundation board, and receiving grants through the American Alliance of Museums and Heritage

Preservation.⁹¹ In 2000, in an attempt to reconcile the various incompatible records and implement a tracking system to better ensure the collections' safety, the Mission Inn Foundation launched a four-year initiative to comprehensively inventory, barcode, photograph, and catalogue every artifact in the Inn, compiling the information, including each object's owner, in a computerized collections' management system. While leading this colossal undertaking, then-collections' manager Lynn Voorheis estimated that at the beginning of the inventory process approximately 4,870 items had no clear legal title.⁹²

The result is that historic artifacts and art works from all three Mission Inn entities, the for-profit Historic Mission Inn Corporation and the non-profit Mission Inn Foundation and Friends of the Mission Inn as well as items of uncertain ownership are exhibited throughout the hotel. The Mission Inn Foundation and hotel management additionally maintain onsite collections storage areas in the Foundation office and in the hotel's basement, which include a mixture of hotel, Foundation, and Friends objects. The Foundation and Historic Mission Inn Corporation also rent dozens of vaults offsite at a professional storage facility. Although the Mission Inn Foundation has identified the ambiguities of the Inn's collections' policies as problematic, potentially catastrophic should the present or future owner decide to clean house – the prohibitive cost of legally determining provenance and lack of documentation has prevented any concrete solutions.⁹³

Even though the three organizations cooperatively manage the hotel's collections, the undefined roles and legal ambiguities cause continual practical problems, stemming from the fundamental ideological differences between the Inn's corporate and non-profit

sides and the blurring of each organization's function in the hotel's operation. The Mission Inn Foundation maintains control of the historic items in their collections' storage areas and archives, but the hotel management exercises authority over the art and artifacts exhibited throughout the Inn, including the hotel's most significant "A List" items. The Mission Inn Foundation serves in an advisory capacity to the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, providing recommendations for the proper care and display of the collections, but the hotel is not required to heed that advice. Aside from a handful of old guard hotel employees in the Inn's engineering and maintenance departments, few staff people are trained to handle historic objects and worker turnover is high. The hotel also freely moves and rotates historic items as they redecorate, often without first alerting the Mission Inn Foundation of their plans. Echoing the collections' mishaps of the 1970s and early 1980s, in one recent incident in 2011, a pair of historic candlesticks prominently marked with a Mission Inn Foundation barcode (which is supposed to alert staff that an object is part of the hotel's historic collections) was found by the Inn's dumpsters, trashed during a room renovation and luckily saved by an observant hotel employee.

Like thousands of other small museums and heritage sites around the country operating in historic buildings, the Mission Inn must deal with the necessity of housing their collections in less-than ideal environmental conditions. Foundation staff members do their best with limited resources, but amidst the preservation effort, the specter of ruin persists. The Mission Inn Foundation's main basement storage facility is plagued by flooding due to its location directly underneath the hotel's spa. As a result, one entire

room is virtually unusable with the majority of its contents crammed into the remaining space, rendering each item's location identification in the collections' database meaningless. The Foundation's office space in the hotel's International Rotunda, which holds much of the archival material, has also experienced major floods due to leaking pipes (running the entire length of the office ceiling) and heavy rainstorms.⁹⁴

Additionally, the offsite storage facility charges a fee to access each individual vault – the wooden vaults are sealed and stacked and must be professionally removed with a lift – meaning that it is not financially feasible for the Foundation to regularly assess the condition of the historic pieces stored there.⁹⁵



Figure 100: The Mission Inn Foundation & Museum artifact storage in the hotel's basement holds art, artifacts, furniture, and archival documents. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 101: A water leak in 2009 made one basement storage room almost completely unusable. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.



Figure 102: The overhead pipes that caused the water damage. Photo courtesy Mission Inn Foundation & Museum.

Because so much of the collections are on permanent display in the hotel's lobby, banquet and guest rooms, restaurants, and hallways, the Inn's art and artifacts are subjected to a higher level of stress and accelerated degradation than if they were in a more controlled museum setting. For instance, one of the Inn's most respected paintings, Vereshchagin's *Charge Up San Juan Hill* hangs prominently in Duane's Prime Steaks, the hotel's ritzy steakhouse, directly underneath a large booth, the gilt frame and bottom edge of the canvas level with diners' heads. The walls of the Frank Miller Room, a smaller banquet room used for business meetings and modest-sized private parties, is lined with historic canvases painted at the hotel in the early twentieth century by former Mission Inn artists-in-residents George Melville Stone and Hovsep Pushman. Several Stone paintings are marked with food stains and small punctures, leading the hotel management to install protective Plexiglas shields around each painting. Vandalism is also not uncommon, from smashed antique furniture in private guest rooms to the defacement of prized artworks. In the late 1990s, an overzealous guest attending a reception in the Spanish Art Gallery slashed through the seventeenth century painting, *A Knight of the Golden Fleece*, attributed to Claudio Coello. Several years later, in a politically-charged act against the Inn's romantic depiction of California mission life, someone scrawled "murderer" in permanent pen across James McBurney's custom painting of Father Serra commissioned by Frank Miller in 1912. The painting was restored and continues to be displayed at the top of the stairs on the hotel's second level.

The preservation problems faced at the Mission Inn are not unexpected for an operating hotel housing historic art and artifacts. Who pays when something is damaged

or needs conservation work further exemplifies the ethically tricky relationships between the hotel's three organizations and brings to the fore concerns about what it means to uphold the public trust in a private place. Duane Roberts and the Historic Mission Inn Corporation have spent thousands on protective art insurance policies and artwork restoration, most notably in 1994 under the art loan agreement between Roberts and the Mission Inn Foundation. The Foundation agreed to a multi-year, renewable loan for over 70 of their pieces to hang in the Spanish Art Gallery, Galeria, and Duane's Prime Steaks with the stipulation that the Historic Mission Inn Corporation first pay to professionally clean and conserve (where needed) each canvas.⁹⁶

No organization, however, can top the efforts of the Friends of the Mission Inn, which over the last forty-five years has donated over \$700,000 toward restoration projects throughout the hotel.⁹⁷ At its founding in 1969, the Friends strove to protect the Inn's collections in the wake of bankruptcies and a series of financially volatile owners (including the City of Riverside) who could barely keep the site in operation, let alone safeguard its historic collections. But, what is the organization's role now? As a certified non-profit, the Friends' current mission is to "preserve the historic and educational values of the Mission Inn." This is done partially through partnering with the Mission Inn Foundation to fund new acquisitions, research projects, student internships, and exhibitions.⁹⁸ The majority of the Friends' money goes towards the restoration and conservation of the Inn's fixed architectural elements and individual artifacts definitively owned by the Historic Mission Inn Corporation. Since Duane Roberts purchased the Inn, the Friends have spent \$150,000 to repair the Music Room's hundred-year old pipe

organ, over \$62,000 on painting restorations, \$41,000 to restore the St. Cecilia Chapel, nearly \$24,000 to clean and seal the St. Francis Atrio fountain, and \$15,000 to conserve the Asian collections in the Ho-O-Kan Room, in addition to dozens of other smaller projects.⁹⁹

As a non-profit organization, the uncomfortable question that arises is whether the Friends' efforts are considered in service of preserving the hotel's collections (and by extension a facet of Riverside's cultural heritage) for the greater public or if their monetary support is contributing to the private gain of the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, the organization contractually obligated to care for these pieces. The answer is both. In 1995, the Internal Revenue Service briefly investigated the Friends regarding this very issue. Writing a letter of support and giving his professional opinion of the IRS inquiry, former City of Riverside Development Director Ralph Megna concluded the following:

The Collection is substantially displayed in public areas and in the Museum operated by the nonprofit Mission Inn Foundation...It is seen and appreciated by hundreds of thousands of visitors annually, and its [sic] treated by the citizens of Riverside as a community asset...It would be a terrible tragedy, and a great injustice, if the reward for devoting hundreds of thousands of dollars and countless hours of volunteered labor by the Friends were to be a decision by the IRS that anything the Friends did resulted in private gain.¹⁰⁰

It is certainly reasonable to argue, in one sense, that the Friends are helping to protect Riverside's historical fabric. On the other hand, because the hotel's fame and current success is largely predicated on its history, a history that is materially evidenced through the Inn's physical structure and object collections, the Friends' ongoing restoration projects also result in private gains for the Historic Mission Inn Corporation. Even if the Inn and its collections are treated as a "community asset" this does not mean the hotel is a

public space where anyone can freely view the art on display, as Megna intimates. Much of the collections are exhibited in closed rooms only accessible, if accessible at all, to guests, restaurant patrons, meeting and banquet attendees, or those paying to go on a Mission Inn Foundation hotel tour. A person needs to look like they belong in a luxury hotel in order to feel welcome.

Furthermore, the convoluted collections agreements have in recent years prevented the wider exhibition of the Mission Inn's art and artifacts. Since purchasing the Inn in late 1992, Duane Roberts has, with the aid and expertise of the Mission Inn Foundation, regularly loaned the hotel's artworks for national and international exhibitions. Examples from the Henry Chapman Ford mission painting series, one of the hotel's most artistically and historically significant collections, have been displayed at the U.S. Court of Appeals, Stanford University, at the U.S. Embassy in Madrid, Spain, as part of the State Department's Art in Embassies initiative, and locally at the Riverside County Courthouse complex.¹⁰¹ A case from 2012, however, may be a harbinger that these freer loan policies are shifting. In preparation for The Huntington Library's exhibition, "Father Junipero Serra and the Legacies of the California Missions," which ran from August 2013 to January 2014, curators approached the Mission Inn Foundation, Friends of the Mission Inn, and Historic Mission Inn Corporation for loans of mission-related art pieces and artifacts.¹⁰² The Huntington show offered the opportunity for selected pieces from the hotel's collections to be included in a major exhibition at an internationally respected institution, potentially connecting the Inn to a larger audience. Curators were initially interested in paintings and objects from all three collections,

including two Henry Chapman Ford paintings, a James McBurney painting of Serra owned by the Friends and on loan to the Inn, as well as several items of unclear title.¹⁰³ Although the Historic Mission Inn Corporation did not explicitly own every piece Huntington curators were interested in obtaining, the Mission Inn Foundation decided that the hotel should ultimately approve all loans. In the final August 2012 loan appeal, The Huntington requested three paintings – two Chapman Fords not currently on display in the hotel depicting Mission Santa Barbara and Mission San Gabriel and McBurney’s “Serra and de Portola at Monterey Bay.”¹⁰⁴ The request was denied with little explanation from hotel ownership.

Certainly it was the hotel’s prerogative to deny the Chapman Ford request, but what this small case study potently demonstrates are the ways in which the hotel ownership can exercise ultimate power over the collections in the wake of the ill-defined legal agreements. The Foundation, in order to prevent potential conflicts, deferred final decisions regarding objects with unclear ownership to the hotel. Although the Friends of the Mission Inn were supportive of including their McBurney painting in the Huntington exhibition, because the piece was on long-term loan to the hotel, the hotel declined to temporarily remove the canvas. What it comes down to is the fact that while the hotel’s three central organizations steward the collections in partnership, the Historic Mission Inn Corporation has the financial and political leverage as the site’s owner and operator to assert near-absolute control, short of selling the pieces it is legally mandated to keep in perpetuity.

In September 2007, the Mission Inn Foundation launched a “Bring It Home” campaign to rebuild their collection of Inn art, artifacts, and archival material.¹⁰⁵ Prior to this initiative, the Foundation had been a popular repository for Mission Inn-related donations, and the Foundation purchased particularly noteworthy pieces as they became available. In a reversal of the 1987 selective purge of their collections, however, the Foundation is now actively pursuing and allocating funds for new acquisitions. Not only does this influx of items help diversify the Foundation’s collections, potentially enabling the organization to broaden their historical scope, initiate new research projects, and deepen their exhibition offerings, there is also no legal wrangling entailed with these “returning” pieces, allowing the Foundation greater interpretive autonomy. From trinkets once sold in the Cloister Art Shop and arrays of advertising ephemera to watercolor renderings of the St. Francis Chapel stained glass windows, custom-made Limbert rocking chairs emblazoned with inlaid ebony Raincrosses, and an archive of love letters between Frank Miller and his second wife Marion, the “Bring It Home” campaign illuminated the far reach of the hotel’s material trace. Miller’s penchant for selling his historic finds, the Cloister Art Shop’s robust business, the multiple public auctions, and the rampant theft during the hotel’s grim years has scattered the collections across the country and around the world. Inn artworks and artifacts are currently part of the permanent collections of institutions as close as the local Riverside Metropolitan Museum and Santa Ana’s Bowers Museum to as distant as Puerto Rico’s Museo de Arte de Ponce and Urbino, Italy’s Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Additional pieces

regularly come up for sale on eBay and at auction houses nationwide while others remain hidden in private hands.¹⁰⁶

In this, the Mission Inn operates as what art historian Robert Adams terms a “lost museum.” Through sale and theft, much of the hotel’s former collections were redistributed to unknown locations while others fell into decay along with the site at midcentury, leaving behind only photographs and documentation of once was. Writes Adams, “Even nowadays, when documentation is almost a fetish...art works can quietly disappear from public ken almost as easily as forgeries can slip into the canon... There is no major artist...of whom it cannot be said that one of his known works has somehow or other, quietly or violently, slipped out of public view.”¹⁰⁷ The Foundation’s naming of their acquisition campaign “Bring It Home” speaks to this feeling of loss as the organization works to reunite the Inn with its collections. “So much of the rich past associated with the Mission Inn has been sold, lost, or at worst, stolen,” states a 2007 Mission Inn Foundation newsletter, “We encourage all our museum guests to consider donating artifacts and historic materials back to their original home, for safekeeping and sharing with others into the future.”¹⁰⁸ The Foundation’s dedication to artifactually reconstructing the hotel’s history, framed as righting a wrong after decades of dispersal, forgets that historically the Inn’s collections have always been transient and that the “original home” for much of the hotel’s collections is not, in fact, the Mission Inn. This renewed commitment to “safekeeping and sharing,” therefore, makes it imperative to strictly define and legally qualify integrated collections management plans and balance

responsibilities between the Mission Inn Foundation, Friends of the Mission Inn, and the Historic Mission Inn Corporation to prevent future losses.

Vision 2020:
Organizational Expansion, Community Engagement, and the Mission Inn Foundation's Future

The Mission Inn Foundation acutely understands the constraints it must function within and the way in which the intricate organizational relationships, while preserving the Inn, also limit their efficacy in collections management, stewardship, and historic interpretation. In 2006, the Foundation's board of directors "took an honest look at options for the future" of the organization, concluding that due to stagnant financial growth and a lack of new programming to build a larger audience base, the Foundation was headed toward limited operations or a complete shutdown unless its mission and structure were drastically reinvented.¹⁰⁹ The result was the December 2006 launch of the Foundation's strategic planning process led by San Francisco-based museum consultant Gail Anderson. In a year-long effort, Anderson and her consulting team completed nearly forty interviews of staff, volunteers, board members, hotel management, and community leaders, in addition to conducting brainstorming workshops and extensive facility tours.¹¹⁰ Anderson's work culminated in the two-year institutional roadmap, "Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community, 2008-2010," approved by the Foundation board in December 2007.

The plan identified six discrete goals. Four goals provided ambitious schedules for remedying persistent organizational shortcomings, including fostering a more active and engaged board, diversifying revenue sources, finding solutions to the ongoing

collections uncertainties, and securing new permanent facilities. The plan's first two goals, "Establish Expanded Role" and "Strengthen Institutional Partnerships," however, set the stage for the Foundation's desired reinvention through a wider regional interpretative focus and by staking a greater leadership claim amongst the city's historical organizations.¹¹¹ Through bolstering programming and outreach, the strategic plan outlined an agenda for the Foundation to increase "its activity in the community" and take "more of a leadership role on behalf of the history and heritage preservation of Riverside" beyond the Mission Inn.¹¹² Laying claim to Frank Miller's iconic status as a Riverside booster and his supposed commitment to multiculturalism, Foundation executives explained their decision – based on the strategic plan's findings – to expand their organizational reach as a natural continuance of Miller's civic ideals. As former Foundation director John Worden wrote in the plan's opening letter:

This more than year-long strategic planning process has reaffirmed our central commitment to interpreting the cultural heritage of Riverside and the Inland Empire. Given the enormous value of the diverse heritage of this part of Southern California, we see a great need to better harness and connect Riverside's many historic voices. Frank Miller, the founder of the Mission Inn, was a community-builder and world visionary. In much the same vein, we hope to continue his ideals and vision, and aim to take a leadership role in the ongoing interpretation and preservation of the rich heritage and histories throughout the Inland Empire and Southern California – continuing to celebrate and showcase the Historic Mission Inn and working to assure that all the many voices and stories are told and remembered for generations to come.¹¹³

The Foundation's new "Vision 2020" (what the organization hoped to achieve by that year) was to be a model organization, institutional leader, and regional history center, no longer just a non-profit narrowly concerned with the Mission Inn.¹¹⁴ Their revised mission statement, adopted by the Foundation's board in June 2008, reflects these broader priorities: "The Mission Inn Foundation preserves, interprets, and promotes the cultural heritage of the Mission Inn, Riverside, and the surrounding southern California

communities through its museum services, educational programs, and outreach activities.”¹¹⁵ In order to remain relevant, the Foundation needed to expand.

I cannot detach myself from any discussion of the Mission Inn Foundation’s reconfiguration because I was hired as Curator of History in February 2008 as part of the strategic plan’s objective to professionalize and fill vacant staff positions. While working at the Foundation my main job functions were to develop museum programming and act as a coordinator for community and institutional outreach projects. This section is as much an analysis of the pitfalls and potentials of the Foundation’s expansion as it is an evaluation and critique of my own public history work.

By implementing the plan’s goals, the Foundation has achieved many positive changes. Since 2008, the organization now boasts a robust monthly public programming series, regularly rotating temporary exhibitions, a roster of community partnerships, an energetic board of trustees eager to help guide the Foundation, more aggressive fundraising campaigns, and a strong internship program that provides paid and unpaid internships for high school, undergraduate, and graduate students. But, in certain instances, the Mission Inn Foundation’s decision to deem itself leader of the region’s historical organizations as well as its push to expand its interpretive scope have proved deeply problematic. The Foundation’s unilateral declaration of leadership coupled with its own lack of institutional capacity and delicate political connections meant that its fledgling idea to convene a “heritage consortium” of local history and cultural groups, while starting out strong fizzled in the end. Furthermore, the Mission Inn is a site of economic privilege, both historically and contemporarily. Its history is one of complex

racial and social hierarchies; although often veiled through celebratory narratives, this history, as discussed previously, is anything but in the past. Through the Foundation's grant-funded education projects in some of Riverside's socio-economically poorer neighborhoods, these paternalistic attitudes are forcefully reified in the present. The Mission Inn Foundation's outreach experiences demonstrate the sensitivities inherent in public engagement projects, exemplifying the need for organizations to approach community-based work with a gentle and humble, not aggressive, touch that focuses on collaboration and not control.

The title of the Mission Inn Foundation's strategic plan, "Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community," is indicative of the organization's ultimate outreach goal. The strategic plan's title in one phrase, evokes that "heritage" is not inherent, but actively constructed, that the Riverside community lacks heritage, and that the Mission Inn Foundation, connected as it is to Riverside's leading historic landmark, should be the "natural leader" to maximize the area's heritage potential.¹¹⁶

The Foundation's first step in claiming its leadership position was to conduct a "needs assessment" of local history-related assets, broadly defined as anything remotely connected to the past, from museums, libraries and archives, and historic sites and landscapes, to interpretive markers and individuals knowledgeable about Riverside history. Using heritage tourism guidelines from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, this assessment would study the community's history resources and suggest "practical steps to further develop these resources" through the Foundation's launch of a support forum and communication network for and between the identified groups. This

forum would meet monthly to brainstorm potential partnerships, workshop problems individual organizations might be facing, provide updates on current events and programs, and share resources. As Foundation staff stated in their March 2008 pitch to the board for approval to begin the project, “The historic fabric of the community has not been unified through historic interpretation or forums for support and networking,” further citing the “urgent need to assess and preserve the community’s history as Riverside’s population expands rapidly in order to forge both a common heritage and celebrate the city’s diverse pasts.”¹¹⁷

Mired in grant-speak and vague notions of civic accord, however, the Foundation’s desire to launch this “heritage needs assessment” was to strengthen its own position in the community as it looked to increase its public programming, audience base, and marketing opportunities. The organization also hoped that the assessment would provide an avenue for the Foundation to build satellite docent tour programs at historic sites throughout the city, such as the Citrus State Historic Park, the Fox Theater, and Mt. Rubidoux, attempting to gain an interpretive monopoly over some of the city’s most recognizable historic places.¹¹⁸

From the start, many on the Foundation’s board were wary of undertaking such a large-scale project at the same time the organization was implementing other sweeping changes under the strategic plan. Even as the Foundation planned for a sizeable expansion, it was still a small non-profit with only two full-time and six part-time staff members. I was hired specifically to lead this initiative, but as a second-year M.A. student largely unfamiliar with Riverside’s cultural terrain and in my first “real” public

history position, I was woefully out of my depth. To both assuage the board's fears and give me a better understanding of my task, the Foundation's director and I met with representatives from the City of Riverside and Riverside County Parks and Open Space District to build support for the Foundation's project and field advice about how to begin.¹¹⁹ While the city and county officials were cautiously supportive of increasing collaboration between local history organizations, they expressed confusion over why the Mission Inn Foundation had anointed itself the leader, especially considering the City of Riverside had recently commenced a very similar initiative to survey and connect the city's cultural institutions in its effort to rebrand Riverside as a "City of Arts and Innovation."¹²⁰

The solution, drawing from a suggestion by Riverside County Historic Preservation Officer Keith Herron, was to approach the needs assessment in a friendly, non-intrusive way through first hosting a roundtable discussion with people working in the regional history field.¹²¹ The result was the Mission Inn Foundation's October 10, 2008, "Heritage Programming Workshop" held at *The Press-Enterprise's* public meeting room, a space viewed as neutral so as not to raise ire that the Foundation was too territorial. The meeting's facilitator, Dr. Vince Moses, a respected local historian and retired director of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, but with no current affiliations, was deliberately chosen for this reason as well.¹²² The meeting, as a first step toward understanding the shortcomings faced by the area's history institutions, was largely a success. The Foundation invited over five hundred people from institutions throughout western Riverside and San Bernardino counties and had seventy-two participants,

including representatives from city government, area universities, museums, historic sites, libraries, and a diverse array of historical organizations. During the three-hour discussion, participants identified three main challenges facing history groups in the region: 1) “Lack of a heritage plan or heritage consortium to define the vision and long-term plans/goals of the greater Riverside heritage community.” 2) “Lack of communication and coordination among heritage groups” and the “need to form more collaborative efforts, partnerships, and mutual promotion.” 3) “Funding constraints in a tough economic climate.” The response to this initial meeting was overwhelmingly positive with two-thirds of those in attendance citing that they found the workshop either extremely or very worthwhile.¹²³

Armed with this early optimism, within two weeks of the October 10 meeting the Foundation moved quickly to found a “heritage consortium,” convening an exploratory “heritage working group” comprised of professionals (chosen by the Foundation) from the Mission Inn Foundation staff and board, the Ontario Museum of History and Art, the Riverside Mexican-American Historical Society, the Chinese Culture Preservation Association, Riverside African American Historical Society, the Inlandia Institute, the City of Riverside, and California State University’s Public and Oral History Program. In a series of meetings, the working group identified the general goal of forming a consortium that would “strive to foster communication and develop audience for heritage programming in greater Riverside.”¹²⁴ Actively promoting their new initiative, in early 2009 the Foundation began grant applications for consortium seed money, met with Riverside officials to secure a position for the burgeoning consortium as the consulting

body for history-related activities in the city's "City of Arts" cultural plan, and worked with the City of Riverside's Neighborhood Partnership to include a track of local history programming in the popular annual Riverside Neighborhood Conference.¹²⁵

The Mission Inn Foundation called together the large group once again in February 2009 to officially announce the consortium's formation, but its exact goals and functions remained undefined. Under the Foundation's direction, over the next two years the consortium approved the cumbersome working title, "Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California," met bi-monthly, and formed a series of subcommittees devoted to figuring out just what exactly the group's mission was and how it would be achieved. The Governance Subcommittee drafted a "Purpose, Values, and Annual Goals" document outlining the consortium's mission statement: "The Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California is a group of organizations and individuals who value history and heritage. The Consortium will work together to promote the values of history, heritage preservation, and related education. We accomplish this through communication, advocacy, and shared resources and programming."¹²⁶ The Action Subcommittee, responsible for forging ahead with activities in support of this mission, worked unsuccessfully toward developing a website, logo, informational brochure, and traveling local history exhibits.¹²⁷ The Social Subcommittee hosted an informal Sunday afternoon "Potluck in the Park" networking event at Riverside's Fairmount Park with attendance by over fifty people from regional history groups.¹²⁸ Gradually, however, as little was actually achieved other than a continual stream of meetings, consortium participation

ebbed, from a high of 72 at the October 10 meeting to an average of ten to fifteen per meeting by October 2010.

The nascent “Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California” had glimpses of potential. Certainly, the Mission Inn Foundation’s efforts were timely and built upon up-to-date research concerning cultural organizational management. Over the last decade, museum practitioners and professional organizations, such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation, American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), and the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), have urged the necessity of collaboration and partnership between institutions in order to execute and promote public programs, fill funding gaps, share resources, and find new audiences.¹²⁹ The heritage consortium began, if fleetingly, achieving some of these goals. The networking component allowed individuals and institutions involved in regional historical work the opportunity to informally connect with each other in a way they might not have before, attempting also to maintain an inclusive membership that represented the area’s diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural makeup. Because of the consortium, events such as the 2009 City of Riverside Neighborhood Conference, gave exhibiting space to community history organizations to promote their activities and recruit new members. The rotating meeting and event locations enabled consortium participants inside access to local history sites, such as the Mission Inn, the Sam Maloof studio, and the Perris branch of the National Archives and Records Administration. In an exemplary instance of collaboration, in April 2010, the consortium co-sponsored a lecture with UCR, the *Journal of African American History*,

and the Studio for Southern California History – the first of what was hoped to be many future collaborative programs – by African American historian Marne Campbell.¹³⁰

Why, then, did the heritage consortium experiment fail? Issues over control and the lack of a cohesive vision are at the heart of the answer. As Urban Institute senior research associate Maria-Rosario Jackson succinctly states in the AAM professional guide, *Mastering Civic Engagement: A Challenge to Museums*, “People committed to collaboration must remain open to the possible range of configurations and paths that will lead to shared goals.”¹³¹ The Mission Inn Foundation, while preaching openness and cooperation, wanted at all costs to maintain singular rule over the consortium even when it was advantageous to the consortium’s growth for the Foundation to ease its hold. The Foundation’s continued management of the consortium was a marker of the organization’s overall success at implementing the strategic plan. From the beginning, the Foundation framed the consortium endeavor as integral to achieving *its* future plans, inviting history professionals to the inaugural meeting in October 2008 to get their “thoughts, suggestions, and ideas” for the Foundation’s expanding programming agenda.¹³² As the consortium’s convening organization and chief administrator, the Foundation’s civic profile was also greatly elevated. It was through the Mission Inn Foundation, on behalf of the heritage consortium, that a “heritage component” was added to the City of Riverside’s cultural planning process.¹³³ The Mission Inn Foundation, on behalf of the heritage consortium, applied for grants. This meant in practice that if the project received funding, the monies would have first funneled through the Foundation’s budget for disbursement to consortium efforts.¹³⁴ While the Foundation pumped

substantial staff time and resources into the consortium, it met with limited results because the project required so much more staff time and resources than the Foundation had the capacity to give. In September 2009, Professor Cherstin Lyon of California State University, San Bernardino's Public and Oral History Program enthusiastically proposed entering into a Memorandum of Understanding with the Foundation to take over the consortium's management, offering dedicated meeting space, storage, website capabilities, student interns, and development and grant writing consultants.¹³⁵ Yet, even with the widespread support of the consortium's members, Foundation leaders were reluctant to let go, tabling the MOU discussions for months and reaffirming that the Mission Inn Foundation was the consortium's "fiscal partner" and "key facilitator."¹³⁶

Additionally, the blurred operational distinctions between the Mission Inn Foundation and the Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California ultimately limited the consortium's effectiveness as an advocacy group. Although early brainstorming meetings identified that the heritage consortium "should be a way to constructively engage (and not shy away from) sensitive historical issues – means to be forward looking without ignoring the past," the group was largely wary of broaching uncomfortable histories or taking any sort of activist stand.¹³⁷ Instead, the consortium's identified goal and mission was to predominantly be a support network and communication conduit for heritage-related efforts.¹³⁸ History and politics, however, cannot be disentangled. The consortium's efforts, from the Foundation's early strategic plan language invoking the "Frank Miller as community-builder" trope and the Neighborhood Conference's civic boosterism, to the "Potluck in the Park" social gathering, reinforced the notion that

heritage is “an essentially conservative ideology of cultural harmony.”¹³⁹ This, at least partially, was a result of the Mission Inn Foundation’s own organizational intricacies. Since the Foundation operated the consortium, the consortium was then, as a result, directly influenced by the Foundation’s own political constraints, such as the directives of its board of directors, its annual funding through the City of Riverside, and its relationship to the Historic Mission Inn Corporation.¹⁴⁰

Finally, the heritage consortium was greatly hampered by a lack of definition. The consortium nebulously defined its membership as the “heritage community” of “greater Riverside.” What was the “heritage community”? Did it include anyone interested in local history or genealogy? Did it only refer to people actively working or volunteering at a history-related organization? Did “heritage community” extend broadly to encompass those in related fields like the arts or cultural resources management? These questions were never concretely answered. There were also no solid geographic boundaries from where the group would seek membership, problematic for an organization in a region encompassing two of California’s largest counties in land mass and population. While the fluid membership welcomed new participants at each meeting, there was little consistency from meeting-to-meeting, making it difficult to discuss and approve ongoing consortium initiatives. In the end, with little forward momentum, the Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California provided little incentive or tangible benefits for individuals and organizations (this includes the Mission Inn Foundation) to continue their involvement. After months of silence, in early 2011 the Foundation decided to officially abandon the consortium effort.¹⁴¹

The Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California was the Mission Inn Foundation's venture into staking their claim as an institutional and professional leader among local history organizations, but the strategic plan also challenged the Foundation to branch out interpretively to pursue more community-based history projects throughout the City of Riverside. As the "Vision2020" statement imagines, by 2020 the Foundation strives for their "public programs, exhibitions, on-line services, and Internet capabilities [to] connect people with the diverse history and contemporary issues of our communities, embracing stories, traditions, and the evolving history of our region," in the process allowing the Foundation to reach new audiences and heighten its own visibility.¹⁴²

Over the last three years, with the aid of several local and national grants, the Foundation has assertively reached out to schools and afterschool programs outside of Riverside's downtown core, coordinating projects that attempt to connect elementary and middle school-aged children with their neighborhood's history through oral interviews, photography, mapping, and historical research, culminating in a student-produced walking tour and exhibition organized by the Foundation. Centering on Riverside's most ethnically diverse and so-called "underserved" neighborhoods, this initiative begs the question – one that all organizations must reckon with as they pursue public engagement projects – do the programs forge mutually advantageous partnerships or does the Foundation reap unequal benefit through the increased publicity and grant monies these projects generate?

Since 2011 the Foundation has completed two pilot programs in Riverside's Eastside and Arlanza districts with others currently underway throughout the city. If the

Foundation is committed to greater community-based efforts, the organization must critically evaluate its work through honest discussions within the organization, with its project partners, and with the students participating in the history projects, examining whether or not they are engaging students to better think about and challenge historical power structures through the integration of neighborhood histories into the city's dominant narratives. Or, do these efforts simply reaffirm ingrained hierarchies under the guise of a "bottom-up" populist approach, what Michael Frisch deems the "offensively patronizing" perception that communities unaided by history professionals cannot grapple with the ways in which their histories are bound to larger processes?¹⁴³ The Mission Inn Foundation, as part of the Mission Inn, must not neglect its own history as an elite institution and the integral ways this plays a role in how the Foundation is perceived by and interacts with its project neighborhoods. An analysis of the Foundation's "Eastside History Project" with Riverside's Community Settlement Association further illuminates the central issues confronting the organization's ongoing community work.

The "Eastside History Project" was the product of the Foundation's 2011 E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation grant to develop an educational community history project in partnership with elementary and junior high afterschool programs. An ambitious and multi-layered undertaking, Foundation staff members worked with 13 students, all approximately ten-years old, in Riverside's Community Settlement Association's afterschool program. For ten weeks from April to June 2011, staff taught the basics of oral history, photography, and historical research, helping the students craft an historical walking tour of their Eastside neighborhood. The Eastside, a residential

community sandwiched between Riverside's downtown and the University of California, Riverside, is a predominantly Mexican-American and African-American neighborhood born from the citrus packing industry and the city's restrictive racial covenants. The Community Settlement Association, located in the Eastside since 1911, began as an Americanization and assimilation settlement house, but now provides nutrition assistance, counseling services, and educational programs.

As Curator of History, I was charged with creating the project's oral history component with two other Foundation staff members acting as the project manager and photography teacher. Using guidelines from the Oral History Association's "Practices in Oral History" series, I outlined an array of games and listening exercises (utilizing short snippets from the StoryCorps website) to get the students thinking about how to ask open-ended questions and how oral history could help them learn more about their history.¹⁴⁴ In the first weeks students also drew maps of what their neighborhood looked like to them, identifying their personal landmarks and explaining why they included specific places in their individual maps. Each student was issued their own point-and-shoot camera and the Foundation's then-marketing director taught photography basics, giving students homework to take photos of people, places, or objects important to them. As the project progressed, students led 30-minute interviews with community members who had grown up in the Eastside and took multiple "photography adventures" to document the neighborhood landscape, as well as a special trip to the Mission Inn for a behind-the-scenes tour.¹⁴⁵ The resulting exhibit combined the student maps and

photographs with short historical excerpts about Eastside landmarks and videos of each interview the students conducted.

Certain aspects of the “Eastside History Project” worked well. The individual mapping exercise produced insightful, and sometimes poignant, results. Students, of course, identified their homes and those of their friends and family as important places, but also included area parks, the Community Settlement Association, the local McDonald’s, a neighborhood market, and one girl, both shyly and proudly, drew the Lincoln Boxing Club where she was learning to box. The students were attentive and engaged listeners and interviewers during the oral history sessions, asking questions and eagerly discussing what they had found most interesting. The Foundation was able to involve Eastside residents as interviewees, such as Riverside City Councilman Andy Melendrez; retired teacher Sue Strickland, member of the Riverside African American Historical Society and niece of the founder of Riverside’s first African American church, Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal; Rebecca Diaz, executive director of the Community Settlement Association, former Eastside policeman Alex Tortes; Elizabeth Medina, whose family owns Zacatecas Café, a Riverside institution and community meeting place; and Dell Roberts, Riverside Sport Hall of Fame inductee, football coach, and local African-American activist for over forty-five years.

As a pilot program, however, the “Eastside History Project” was not without serious shortcomings.¹⁴⁶ The entire project from start to finish was only ten weeks and staff had little time to do legwork to develop relationships inside the tight-knit community, in the end, making it extra difficult to find volunteers willing to be

interviewed. Time constraints prevented the students from fully participating in the exhibit's construction. Instead, on the project's last day Foundation staff gathered the students' materials for assembly on display boards at the Mission Inn. Additionally, while the oral history interviews played in tandem with the exhibition of student maps and photography, no information from the interviews was actually integrated into the historical descriptions of the Eastside landmarks. In fact, the students did not do much historical work. Foundation staff wrote the exhibit's text using research from the standard local history repertoire, which is painfully silent about the Eastside.

Problematically, an exhibit about Eastside history and neighborhood landmarks was not debuted in the Eastside. The exhibit reception in celebration of the students' work was held at the Mission Inn Museum, not at the Community Settlement Association, and no students involved in the project were able to come, due to family work schedules or a lack of transportation.¹⁴⁷ In the end, the "Eastside History Project" forged only a short-term partnership lasting the length of the grant funding cycle and added little to the Eastside's historical record. There was limited follow-up to glean what the students learned or how the project needed to be revised.¹⁴⁸

While many of the project's problems can be attributed to the inevitable kinks organizations encounter when embarking on new initiatives, as the Foundation moves forward with outreach programs in other Riverside neighborhoods, it must be careful to analyze, understand, and negotiate its own biases and historical relationships. The Mission Inn's history is not immune from complex race and class tensions. In the Eastside context, for example, the Eastside Residents' Committee had staunchly opposed

and filed suit against the Riverside Redevelopment Agency's continued financial support of the Mission Inn in the 1970s.¹⁴⁹ Frank Miller was also an early supporter of the Community Settlement Association's Americanization efforts, providing seed money in 1925 for their weaving program, earning praise from the Association's executive secretary for aiding the "Mexican girls" in learning "American ways."¹⁵⁰ In some instances, the Foundation's work on the "Eastside History Project" reinforced paternalist beliefs and attitudes like those expressed by Woods. Holding the exhibit reception at the Mission Inn Museum sent a message that it was the outreach efforts of the Mission Inn Foundation that should be celebrated above the Eastside's history or the students' achievements. Even the exhibition reception's press release was peppered with the language of empire that signified a rigid power structure:

This project worked with the CSA's afterschool program to utilize oral history interviews, photography and video to craft a student-created historical walking tour of the Eastside neighborhood. We engaged students with the many histories of their neighborhood, allowing them to explore the people and places of value to them and to introduce the students to the other people and sites of historical significance to the community.¹⁵¹

It was the Foundation that "engaged" students with their history and introduced them to their community's significance, "allowing" them to "explore the people and places of value" in their neighborhood. The message the Foundation is sending is that without their expertise, the Eastside students would have no knowledge of their history and that only the Foundation understood what history was important for them to know. As Steven Lavine asserts in his article "Audience, Ownership, and Authority: Designing Relations between Museums and Communities" discussing the pitfalls of museum community engagement projects, "It is dangerously easy to appear to celebrate shared experiences while actually selecting exhibiting themes that implicitly support claims to superiority by

the dominant culture. To develop a genuinely cross-cultural exhibition practice will require museum professional to interrogate the history and inbuilt assumptions of their institutions.”¹⁵²

The crux of any meaningful museum outreach initiative is that it is a time consuming, slow process that requires commitment to listening, gaining trust, and confronting potentially uncomfortable pasts. A museum does not build lasting inroads into new communities through piecemeal terminal projects. In his critical analysis of his work with the Chinatown History Museum in New York, John Kuo Wei Tchen articulates the ideological trap museums can easily fall into as they attempt community-based work:

Many administrators and trustees naively hope that having one event in the museum about any given community will quickly translate into that community coming to other museum events and becoming members...often overlooking the many nonmonetary benefits of a more sustained engagement with their constituencies. Tragically, such short-sighted tokenism often shuts the door more tightly against future collaboration with traditionally underserved communities.¹⁵³

Tchen’s “dialogic” museum was an early model of how museums could construct lasting relationships within specific communities through workshops, walking tours, oral histories, object sharing events, and a dedication to continually reshaping and updating exhibits to include as much public involvement as possible. This process required total organizational devotion and constant follow-up, reevaluation, narrative revisions, and a continued commitment to maintaining an open dialogue.

While museums might strive for their programs to incorporate diverse community voices and experiences that enable links to past and present life, as public historian Graham Black questions, “can these ambitions be delivered in practice?”¹⁵⁴ Currently, the Mission Inn Foundation’s small staff is inundated with other projects, each year

putting on multiple exhibitions, monthly programming, a half-marathon fundraiser, and several galas, in addition to their collections' stewardship mandate and docent tour management. The result is that in the rush to do so much, critical thought about what is actually being done is lost. Following the "Eastside History Project," the Mission Inn Foundation received a Community Foundation grant to complete a similar history program in the Arlanza neighborhood, a district at the far reaches of the Riverside city limit and the former site of the Camp Anza Army installation during World War II.¹⁵⁵ In July 2012, the Foundation was awarded a \$127,000 Institute of Museum and Library Services "Museums for America" grant to upgrade its educational website, start a Mission Inn "youth ambassadors" junior docent program, and continue expanding its community history projects to new areas in the city.¹⁵⁶ This substantial grant enabled the Foundation to hire a Curator of Education and graduate intern dedicated solely to these initiatives. Recently, the Foundation's outreach component has been renamed the "Our Riverside! Neighborhood History Project," professionalized and consolidated onto its own "Hands on History in the Community" website where teachers and afterschool program coordinators can contact staff for lesson plans or to schedule a history program for their neighborhood. As the website states, the Foundation offers "premier, customized, contracted and grant-funded project plans to middle and high schools throughout RUSD [Riverside Unified School District]."¹⁵⁷

Learning from the problems of the "Eastside History Project," later iterations of the Foundation's outreach initiatives have ensured that students craft their own exhibitions, that exhibit receptions are held in the project community, and that the

programs include multiple fieldtrips to neighborhood historical sites. Moving forward, however, the Mission Inn Foundation must do the more challenging work of seriously interrogating its community position to frankly consider how best to foster partnerships. Can “customized” packaged project plans translate into a deeper understanding of a specific neighborhood’s history that is built upon and layered with multiple, perhaps competing, perspectives? Underneath the populist sentiment, whose history is the Mission Inn Foundation actually telling in their outreach programs? If recent promotional materials are any indication, the increased staff and professional development of the neighborhood history program has yet to result in the organization grappling with these fundamental questions. Advertisements for the 2013 Mission Inn Run, the Foundation’s largest annual fundraiser, featured a troubling, almost fetishistic, preoccupation with describing the socio-economic position of their outreach project areas. Social media updates from the Foundation asked, “Did you know that by participating in the annual Run you are supporting youth programs in the underserved neighborhoods and schools of Riverside? These programs provide quality opportunities to school districts and community centers that do not have such programming available.”¹⁵⁸ A feature in the *Press-Enterprise* proclaimed that the Run benefited “youth art programs and student education projects in disadvantaged Riverside schools,” while the Riverside Community Calendar listing stated that proceeds would go towards the Foundation’s “art and education programs it runs in the underdeveloped school districts of Riverside.”¹⁵⁹ Partnerships are not built by touting benevolence.

Conclusion

Over the next decade the Mission Inn Foundation will go through further changes in its quest to expand and redefine its purpose. The organization is now searching for a new executive director to spearhead another strategic planning process to continue the non-profit's financial advancement and "promote the organization's visibility, growth and prominence in the city and region."¹⁶⁰ In 2022, the Foundation's 30-year museum lease, brokered and prepaid by the Riverside Redevelopment Agency in the 1992 hotel sale to the Historic Mission Inn Corporation, will expire.¹⁶¹ Although there is the contractual possibility of two 10-year lease extensions, the Mission Inn Foundation is actively looking for a new home outside the Inn, hoping to find a location adjacent to the hotel in Riverside's downtown core that would provide the organization with an area "large enough to accommodate visitor services, exhibitions and public program areas balanced by adequate space for collection store, exhibition preparation, office and meeting areas, and general storage."¹⁶² Leaving the site that it is dedicated to preserving and interpreting might seem counterintuitive, but a move could potentially provide the Mission Inn Foundation with facilities that meet professional museum standards while also granting the organization greater interpretive autonomy and freedom. Currently, the onsite Mission Inn Museum is constrained by an acute lack of space after losing one of its galleries to the hotel's 2006 spa construction adjacent to the museum. One gallery is dedicated to the museum's rotating temporary exhibits while the other must house the museum's permanent exhibition, front desk, museum store, and tour staging area. In recent years as the Foundation has enlarged its museum store offerings to increase sales,

the store now takes up the majority of the first gallery, leaving only a small corner devoted to the insufficient permanent exhibit. In addition to the essential spatial upgrades, being out from under the watchful eye of the Historic Mission Inn Corporation could enable the Mission Inn Foundation to institutionally differentiate itself and to explore more critical historical avenues outside of the tired congratulatory narratives it often relies on. As the Mission Inn Foundation works to reposition itself and increase its influence in Riverside and beyond, the organization needs to do so gradually and mindfully with a keen awareness of its own institutional history. The Mission Inn's structural preservation battle may have been won, but the struggles over the site's historical interpretation and management are ongoing.

NOTES

¹ Laurie Lucas, "Roberts Known as Rescuer," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, December 30, 1992, B1 and B8.

² Vickie Elmer, "Mission Inn Revival: Financing Renovation while Planning for New Guests," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, July 21, 1986, B7 and B8.

³ Joanne Fiske, "\$1.5 Million Loan Sought to Repair Inn Structure," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, July 3, 1986, B1 and B6.

⁴ Francis Borton, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1917), 10.

⁵ Helge Laundrup, interview by Jolene Cody, June 9, 1988, 7, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum oral history archives.

⁶ Helge Laundrup, interview by Allene Archibald, May 21, 1991, 3-4, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum oral history archives.

⁷ Vickie Elmer, "Finances are a Tangled Web," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, July 21, 1986, B8.

⁸ Martin Salditch, "Tax Break for Tire Plant, None for Mission Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 23, 1986, B1 and B3.

⁹ Dan Smith, "Inn Fund-raising Troubles Blamed on New Tax Laws," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, April 24, 1987, B1 and B2.

¹⁰ David E. Hendrix, "Mission Inn's New Architect Shows Enthusiasm for Task," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, April 15, 1987, B1 and B3.

¹¹ Beginning in September 1986, the *Riverside Press-Enterprise* began an ongoing feature series tracking the progress of the Mission Inn renovation titled "Heritage in Transition."

¹² Carley originally employed the Loral Group, a San Luis Obispo-based hotel management firm to operate the Mission Inn once it opened for business. However, with their increased financial involvement, Chemical Bank requested a nationally established hotel company to run the Inn to ensure return on their considerable investment. "Inn Fund-raising Troubles Blamed on New Tax Laws," B2.

¹³ "Mission Inn's New Architect Shows Enthusiasm for Task," B3; The Mission Inn renovation was a double-edged sword for downtown Riverside retailers. While they were hopeful that a fully-functioning Inn would bring more business to the area, the Inn's increasing property value meant higher rents and taxes for tenants, pushing many small businesses that had weathered the Inn's closure out, Vickie Elmer, "Mission Inn May Waken Riverside's Downtown," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, November 20, 1988, G2; Vickie Elmer, "Some Businesses Near Mission Inn May Be Forced Out," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, November 20, 1988, G1.

¹⁴ Vickie Elmer, "Mission Inn Sees Challenge in Marketing Historic Rooms," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 11, 1988, G1.

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- ¹⁵ Vickie Elmer, "Ads Feature Photographs of Mission Inn 'Remembered, Recaptured, Reopening,'" *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 11, 1988, G2.
- ¹⁶ David E. Hendrix, "Work Halted At Troubled Mission Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, December 3, 1988, A1 and A14.
- ¹⁷ Vickie Elmer, "Tax Changes, Overruns All Hurt Carley's Mission Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, December 11, 1988, G1 and G4.
- ¹⁸ "Carley Group Suffers Substantial Losses: Mission Inn Overruns Added to Red Ink," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, November 22, 1988, C1 and C5.
- ¹⁹ Steve Huffman, interview by Allene Archibald, July 26, 1995, 37, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum oral history archives.
- ²⁰ Raymond Smith, "Inn Ownership Transferred to Chemical Bank," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, December 20, 1988, B1 and B2; Raymond Smith, "Liens Filed for Unpaid Work at Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, February 24, 1989, B1 and B3.
- ²¹ Raymond Smith, "Inn Work to Resume in 4 Days," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 1, 1989, B1.
- ²² Raymond Smith, "Chemical Bank Sets \$28 Million Minimum on Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, March 2, 1990, B1; Raymond Smith, "Mission Inn Sale Could Be Near: Talks Under Way With Two 'Very Strong Prospective Buyers,'" *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, April 8, 1990, B1; Raymond Smith, "Sale Agreement for Mission Inn Expected Soon," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, June 9, 1990, B1; Pat O'Brien, "Artifact Collection Tells Story of Mission Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, January 13, 1991, G1.
- ²³ Raymond Smith, "Inn Sale Termed Hampered by Mideast Crisis," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 8, 1990, B1.
- ²⁴ Ibid., B2; Raymond Smith, "Bargain-Basement Bids Submitted for Mission Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, October 18, 1991, B1 and B5; Dave Boyles, "Desmond Banks on Mission Inn," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, April 27, 1992, B1 and B3.
- ²⁵ Phil Pitchford, "City OKs Inn Loan Easing for Buyer," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, February 6, 1992, B4; Phil Pitchford, "City Reserves Mission Inn For New Buyer," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, June 10, 1992, B1 and B5; Juan C. Arancibia, "Riverside Executive Named Potential Mission Inn Buyer," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, December 2, 1992, B1.
- ²⁶ David E. Hendrix, "Renovating the Inn Section by Section," in "Heritage in Transition" series, *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 28, 1986, A7.
- ²⁷ Phil Pitchford, "Who is Providing What in the Deal," special section of "The Mission Inn's Rebirth," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, December 15, 1992, B2b; City of Riverside City Council Memorandum, Joint Public Hearing with Redevelopment Agency, "Disposition and Development Agreement Between the City of Riverside, the Redevelopment Agency and the Historic Mission Inn Corporation for the Sale, Reopening, and Operation of the Mission Inn," December 15, 1992.
- ²⁸ Raymond Smith, "Bank Urged to Push for Mission Inn Sale: A Bank Spokesman Said Recession has Created the Worst Possible Climate for Selling the Hotel," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, June 23, 1991, B5.

²⁹ “Museum Lease” between Carley-Mission Partners and City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency, December 30, 1985, in “Museum Relocation Box,” unprocessed documents, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum (hereafter cited as MIFM); Joan Radovich, “Mission Inn Museum Seeks Funds From City,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, February 18, 1988, B1 and B2; “Inn Foundation Will Get Extra Funds for Museum,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, March 2, 1988, B2

³⁰ Pitchford, “Who is Providing What in the Deal.”

³¹ “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” Mission Inn Foundation Strategic Plan, 2008-2010, adopted and approved by Mission Inn Foundation Board of Directors December 20, 2007, 51.

³² Mission Inn Foundation & Museum lease agreement between Historic Mission Inn Corporation and the City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency, original draft faxed to Dr. Knox Mellon, Executive Director of Mission Inn Foundation, December 22, 1992, “Museum Relocation Box,” unprocessed documents, MIFM; “Disposition and Development Agreement” between City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency and Historic Mission Inn Corporation, December 23, 1992, obtained from City of Riverside Office of the City Clerk.

³³ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 21.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁵ Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); Mike M. Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

³⁶ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 27.

³⁷ Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996).

³⁸ James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, eds., *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

³⁹ Edward T. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America’s Holocaust Museum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

⁴⁰ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

⁴¹ Rand cautions that “meanings do not reside in objects. No matter how directly objects might seem to express a message, no matter how transparent seem the intentions of the producer(s), people who derive meanings from the objects contribute to the production of those meanings.” Her analysis of the items available in the Ellis Island Immigration Museum’s gift shop, however, show that the souvenirs helped to reinforce the American Dream narrative of the exhibits, from the site’s signature image of an immigrant nuclear family (or what appeared to be one) looking out at the Statue of Liberty from atop their arriving

steamship to the subtle dark tinting of depictions of immigrants to identify them as alien. Erica Rand, *The Ellis Island Snow Globe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 15. In examining the souvenirs available at sites of American trauma and violence, Sturken analyzes how these kitschy products, such as the teddy bear that came to signify the Oklahoma City bombing or the variety of “freedom” souvenirs available in the wake of 9/11, operate to reify American innocence while removing the nation from any complicity or blame for the tragedies. Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

⁴² Amy K Levin, ed., *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007), 2.

⁴³ Tammy S. Gordon, *Private History in Public: Exhibition and the Settings of Everyday Life* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2010), 4.

⁴⁴ City of Riverside Development Department, “Seizing Our Destiny: The Agenda for Riverside’s Innovative Future,” 2009, 2, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://www.riversideca.gov/pdf/seizingourdestiny.pdf>.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5 and 46.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁹ Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), 296.

⁵⁰ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-30; Hal K. Rothman, “Selling the Meaning of Place: Entrepreneurship, Tourism, and Community Transformation in the Twentieth-Century American West,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (November 1996): 526-536.

⁵¹ Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 297.

⁵² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Theorizing Heritage,” *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 370-371.

⁵³ “Fall Back Inn Time” and “Couple’s Splendor to Remember,” Mission Inn Hotel & Spa November 2010 e-news, October 13, 2010.

⁵⁴ “Early Year Special,” Mission Inn Hotel & Spa January 2011 e-news, December 16, 2010; “Summer Leisure Retreats and Celebrations,” Mission Inn Hotel & Spa June 2011 e-news, June 1, 2011.

⁵⁵ Mission Inn Hotel & Spa website, accessed February 25, 2014, www.missioninn.com.

⁵⁶ “History of the Hotel,” Mission Inn Hotel & Spa, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://missioninn.com/about-the-hotel/history-of-hotel/index.cfm>.

⁵⁷ “Famous Guests,” Mission Inn Hotel & Spa, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://missioninn.com/about-the-hotel/famous-guests/index.cfm>; “Presidential History,” Mission Inn Hotel & Spa, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://missioninn.com/about-the-hotel/presidential-history/index.cfm>.

⁵⁸ Presidential Lounge, “If These Walls Could Talk” menu, accessed February 25, 2014, http://missioninn.com/media/docs/menusFlyers/2014events/IfTheseWalls_2014_OLf1.pdf; There seems to be no understanding that *If These Walls Could Talk* references a 1996 HBO film about three women’s struggles with abortion.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Sturken, *Tourists of History*, 19-21.

⁶¹ Mission Inn Foundation & Museum exhibitions, “The Mission Inn, Celebrating 30 Years as a National Historic Landmark: Saving a Community’s Legacy,” September 2007-June 2008; “Sharing History and Creating a Legacy: Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Docent Program,” opened April 19, 2012; “Rebirth of a Dream: The Precarious Years, 1969-1992,” March 17, 2013; “Building a Dream, Preserving a Legacy,” November 2013-April 2014; “One World, One Community: Riverside’s Evolving Legacy, ‘Frank Miller and Multiculturalism,’” February 9, 2014.

⁶² MIFM exhibition, February 7, 2013-July 2013.

⁶³ “Building a Dream: Preserving a Legacy: The Jane Clark Cullen Collection,” MIFM exhibition, November 2013-April 2014; On January 26, 2014, the Jane Clark Cullen Collection intern did give a special lecture specifically dedicated to exploring the life and impact of Marion Clark Miller and the depth of the Jane Clark Cullen Collection, but the narrative that remains in the exhibit does not reflect this deeper, nuanced look into her life. Karen Raines, “Uncovering the Jane Clark Cullen Collection,” Mission Inn Foundation public program, January 26, 2014.

⁶⁴ Mission Inn Museum Facebook status update, February 12, 2014, accessed February 26, 2014, https://www.facebook.com/missioninmuseum?hc_location=timeline.

⁶⁵ This discussion of the hurried exhibition process also includes work that I completed while working at the Mission Inn Foundation. Often in the rush to plan exhibits, find artifacts, work with the graphic designer, get images duplicated, do sufficient marketing, and plan for exhibit programming, all with only two staff members dedicated to the exhibit process, the text and research elements are not prioritized as they should be. The end result is that although new artifacts are exhibited, the story remains essentially the same.

⁶⁶ “Riverside: Chamber President to Receive Civic Award,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, May 8, 2013, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://www.pe.com/local-news/riverside-county/riverside/riverside-headlines-index/20130508-riverside-chamber-president-to-receive-civic-award.ece>.

⁶⁷ “History of the Hotel,” Mission Inn Hotel & Spa, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://missioninn.com/about-the-hotel/history-of-hotel/index.cfm>.

⁶⁸ Current docent numbers coming from “Overview of Mission Inn Foundation and Museum,” in Mission Inn Foundation Executive Director job opening post, MIFM, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://missioninmuseum.com/jobs/executivedirector.htm>.

⁶⁹ “INNsider” docent newsletter, Mission Inn Foundation docent council, no. 125, Fall 2013, December 3, 2013.

⁷⁰ “Inn-Laws of the Docent Association of the Mission Inn Foundation and Museum,” MIFM, amended and restated February 13, 2012, accessed February 27, 2014, http://missioninmuseum.com/docents/Inn-laws_Feb2012.pdf; “Policies and Procedures of the Docent Association of the Mission Inn Foundation and Museum,” Mission Inn Foundation, revised and restated May 14, 2012, accessed February 27, 2014, http://missioninmuseum.com/docents/pp__May2012.pdf.

⁷¹ The Mission Inn Foundation’s 2007 strategic plan estimates the Foundation’s annual budget at approximately \$600,000, but current estimates reach closer to \$850,000; “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 51; “Overview of Mission Inn Foundation and Museum.”

⁷² Gordon, *Private History in Public*, 21; The Mission Inn Foundation has increasingly moved to a more corporate customer service model for their museum operations to mimic the Mission Inn Hotel’s guest services. In December 2011, for example, the Foundation implemented a one-day “Museum Concierge/Guest Services Training Program,” voluntary for docents, but mandatory for all museum front desk staff and volunteers. Taught by a former Mission Inn Hotel concierge and Mission Inn docent, the program’s goal was to teach hospitality basics so museum staff could follow in Frank Miller’s “ideological footsteps and continue his practice of hospitality.” Museum concierges would greet visitors one-on-one at the door and provide information about museum exhibits and featured items in the museum store. As the program summary states, “As a volunteer for this exciting new program you will get the opportunity to greet guests with your new found knowledge and provide a deeper level of customer interaction and relations. Not only will you be providing guests with outstanding service and abundant information, but you will also be helping to sustain interest and support of the Foundation on a new, more intimate connection with our guests. Join us in our innovative, new way to walk in Frank Miller’s footsteps.” Mission Inn Foundation and Museum press release, “Come on ‘INN,’” December 5, 2011.

⁷³ “Policies and Procedures of the Docent Association of the Mission Inn Foundation and Museum.”

⁷⁴ In 2008 the Docent Council instituted the quarterly continuing education program in order to help inject new information into the tours. The continuing education schedule included lectures on Mission Inn history, but also on other local history topics that were connected in some way to Frank Miller or the Mission Inn. Mission Inn Foundation executives approached the Docent Council about making these lectures open to the public since they would have wide appeal, but the docents vehemently rejected this proposal, instead wanting to keep the lectures open only to Mission Inn docents who would then be responsible for disseminating the information through their tours.

⁷⁵ “Mission Inn Foundation Docent Training Program, Class Schedule for 2013-2014,” MIFM, accessed February 27, 2014, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1J7IGtaakW9MmVNE11NtMld0GKdvoK8vKhy0uJkW81o0/edit?pli=1>; The full list of history-focused docent classes includes, “Early Mission Inn & Riverside History, 1870-1903”; “Mission Inn History, 1903-1935”; “Mission Inn History, 1935-1992”; “The Hotel That Oranges Built”; “Architecture of the Mission Inn”; “A New Look at Frank Miller”; “Frank Miller’s World View”; “The Inn Between 1950-1990”; “Faces of the Mission Inn: Presidents, Authors, Celebrities, Booker T.”; “California History”; “The Chapels and Atrio and Fliers’ Wall”; and “Ramona Myth and Leisure and Resort Hotels.” The histories offered in docent classes, save for Frank Miller biographer’s Maurice Hodgen’s “A New Look at Frank Miller,” are largely centered on descriptions, dates, and chronologies of when specific events happened, not on examining historical motivations, contingencies, or race, class, gender tensions. It must be noted, however, that the majority of docent lecturers donate their time.

⁷⁶ INN spectator articles, “Arches of 7th Street,” September 28, 2008; “Alcohol at the Mission Inn,” January 18, 2009; “Miller Acquisition of Mission Inn Lot,” March 22, 2009, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://missioninnmuseum.com/docents/index.htm>.

⁷⁷ “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 45.

⁷⁸ Walter Parks, interviewed by Kate Whitmore, October 13, 1988, 12, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum oral history archives.

⁷⁹ “Mission Inn Collection – ‘A’ List,” MIFM.

⁸⁰ Kevin Hallaran, “A Brief Narrative and Chronology on the History of the Mission Inn’s Collections,” December 1997, 2, MIFM.

⁸¹ The interconnection between corporate ownership and the public trust is a unique and confusing situation with few other professional examples or precedents to follow. As a 2007 American Alliance of Museums collections management publication states, “The laws that define governmental museums and those that regulate private museums are complex and change from state to state. Unless museums are commercial (Madame Tussauds Wax Museum, for example), their collections are held for the benefit of the public. Oversight of this public trust in each state rests in the office of the attorney general. The responsibility for care of the collections is guided by law and by the higher professional and ethical standards set by professional organizations.” The Mission Inn provides an example that is simultaneously commercial yet with stipulations to uphold the public trust. Rebecca A. Buck and Jean Allman Gilmore, *Collection Conundrums: Solving Collections Management Mysteries* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 2007), 2.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸³ Auction catalog, “The Mission Inn Foundation and the Frank Miller Club present an Auction of Furniture and Objects Used in the Mission Inn,” September 12, 1987, CI.XII.G.9-28, MIFM; Pat Murkland, “Bidders Snap Up 300 Mission Inn Items,” *Riverside Press Enterprise*, September 13, 1987, B1 and B6.

⁸⁴ Auction press release, “The Mission Inn Foundation and the Frank Miller Club present A Public Auction of Furniture and Objects Used in the Mission Inn,” September 12, 1987, F2000.1852, found box 89, MIFM.

⁸⁵ Murkland, “Bidders Snap Up 300 Mission Inn Items.”

⁸⁶ Gilmore, *Collection Conundrums*, 3-4; Interoffice memorandum, Mission Inn Foundation Collections Manager Lynn Voorheis to Mission Inn Foundation Executive Director John Worden, “Draft of Collections Related ‘Significant’ Events,” June 22, 2000, MIFM.

⁸⁷ The Friends collection at the time of the 1985 Carley Capital sale negotiations included historic furniture, including a large Florentine art portfolio and Frank Miller’s office desk as well as two of the custom Father Serra paintings by James McBurney commissioned by Miller in 1912 and the portrait of Allis Miller Hutchings done by Inn artist-in-resident George Melville Stone in 1909. Friends of the Mission Inn, “The Three R’s: Recovery, Restoration, Repairs, 1969-2004,” in-house publication, February 2004, 2, Friends of the Mission Inn collection, MIFM.

⁸⁸ Hallaran, “A Brief Narrative,” 4; Huang completed his M.A. in Historic Resources Management from UCR in 1992. His field report, “Historic Preservation in 'Eastside' -- A Minority Community in Riverside,

California,” examined preservation efforts in Riverside’s Eastside neighborhood, see “Guide to the University of California, Riverside, Department of History Field Reports,” University of California, Riverside, Special Collections, updated June 25, 2013, accessed March 24, 2014, <http://library.ucr.edu/content/collections/spcol/universityarchives/u288.pdf>.

⁸⁹ Hallaran, “A Brief Narrative,” 4.

⁹⁰ Loan listings, “Historic Mission Inn Corporation from Mission Inn Foundation and Museum Collection,” February 1996, MIFM.

⁹¹ “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 61-62.

⁹² Interoffice memorandum, Voorheis to Worden, 2.

⁹³ Resolving the legal issues concerning the Inn’s collections was a main subject of the Mission Inn Foundation’s 2007 strategic plan, falling under the organization’s fourth goal “Ensure Care of Collections.” According to the plan, by January 2010 the Foundation hoped to “Lay out plan, process, and timeline for reconciling numerous inventories of different collections conducted at different times, including addressing items where legal title may be in question (including lost MIF records).” “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 46.

⁹⁴ In spring 2011 a major portion of the archival material housed in the basement was moved to a secure room in the Foundation’s office suite, previously the private office of the collections’ manager. This was done to better control the environmental conditions of the paper documents because of the basement’s history of flooding, high temperature/humidity levels, and the presence of harmful insects, as well as to provide easier access to the archives for researchers. Although a pipe in the far left corner of the room had previously leaked, the risk of damage was deemed far less than keeping the sensitive archival material in the basement. A positive step toward protecting the collections housed in the Foundation’s Rotunda office is the recent addition of a locked door only accessible to Foundation staff. The office sits atop the kitchen of the hotel’s Italian restaurant and until last year the restaurant workers and Foundation employees shared a common door. Not only did heat, steam, and fumes from the kitchen continually waft into the office, covering all surfaces with a layer of grease, but the office was the site of suspicious behavior and suspected burglaries because it remained unsecured after hours.

⁹⁵ The items in each vault for both the pieces owned by the Historic Mission Inn Corporation and the Mission Inn Foundation are input into the collections database. The information sheet for each object is also printed out and placed in binders organized by vault. In summer 2010 the Foundation had several vaults opened in order to gather artifacts for a temporary exhibition. Many items could not be found, indicating that they had been mismarked during the 2000 inventory or had since been moved.

⁹⁶ Hallaran, “A Brief Narrative,” 4-5.

⁹⁷ “The Three R’s: Recovery, Restoration, Repairs,” Addendum to 35th Anniversary Book and 6.

⁹⁸ Over the last decade, the Friends of the Mission Inn have become a major financial supporter of the Mission Inn Foundation. Rather than buying historic Mission Inn items and documents to build their own collections, the Friends now either outright purchase new acquisitions and donate the items to the Mission Inn Foundation or provide generous donations to aid in the Foundation’s purchase. Certainly this is an easier solution given that the Foundation already houses the Friends’ artifacts in their collections storage areas as well as maintaining a Friends of the Mission Inn archive. Additionally, the Foundation is not shy about approaching the Friends for money to fund internships or collections management initiatives.

Although the Friends have funds to utilize, as an all-volunteer group they have little organizational infrastructure, while the Foundation is often met with the reverse problem.

⁹⁹ “The Three R’s: Recovery, Restoration, Repairs,” 5-6 and Addendum to 35th Anniversary Book.

¹⁰⁰ Evie Guin, board member Friends of the Mission Inn, to Ralph Megna, May 31, 1995, unprocessed, basement files, MIFM.

¹⁰¹ “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 61-62; As part of my June-September 2007 internship at the Mission Inn Foundation I aided Collections Manager Steve Spiller in retrieving several Chapman Ford paintings from the courthouse at the end of the loan period.

¹⁰² From March to September 2012 I worked as a research assistant for Catherine Gudis, co-curator of The Huntington exhibition, helping to identify potential Mission Inn items to include in the exhibition and facilitating loan procedures between the Inn organizations.

¹⁰³ Two particular pieces of unknown ownership were a hammered metal plate depicting a Franciscan monk by artist Archibald Barrelle and a 1908 architectural rendering of the Mission Wing by artist William Alexander Sharp. In the case of the Barrelle piece, Foundation Collections Manager Steve Spiller was unsure of the legal title although the item was housed in Mission Inn Foundation storage and had been used in multiple Mission Inn Museum exhibits over the years. As for the Sharp rendering, the Friends of the Mission Inn paid for its restoration and professional framing, but it was housed in Mission Inn Foundation storage.

¹⁰⁴ David Zeidberg, Avery Director of the Huntington Library to Duane Roberts (cc’d to John Worden, Mission Inn Foundation executive director, and Deane Wylie, Friends of the Mission Inn president), 22 August 22, 2012.

¹⁰⁵ “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 46.

¹⁰⁶ In addition to a large collection of artifacts, the Riverside Metropolitan Museum holds the Miller Hutchings collection, an immense document archive of materials from the Inn’s early years. Two paintings currently on display in the Bowers Museum permanent exhibition on the California missions came from the Mission Inn – the unattributed Spanish Colonial piece “Painting of St. Joseph Holding the Christ Child” and “Heart of Mary” by Miguel Ballejo y Mandirano. For a discussion of the disposition of paintings to Puerto Rico and Italy, see chapter three.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Adams, *The Lost Museum: Glimpses of Vanished Originals* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980), 28.

¹⁰⁸ “Saving a Community’s Legacy,” *Foundations* 26, no. 1 (Fall 2007): 1.

¹⁰⁹ “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 3.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 19-56.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹³ Ibid., “Letter From the President and Executive Director,” in “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community.”

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 12-13.

¹¹⁵ “Mission Statement,” Mission Inn Museum website, accessed February 14, 2014, <http://www.missioninmuseum.com/about/about.htm#01>.

¹¹⁶ The full rationale for the Mission Inn Foundation to take a stronger community leadership position is stated in the summary of the strategic plan’s second goal, “Strengthen Institutional Partnerships.” It reads, “As the area continues to grow, there is an ever increasing need to establish a central organization that supports the cultural heritage for Riverside. MIF is the natural leader to move into this role. As the Board moves to resolve existing relationship, it plan to cultivate and develop new relationships, exhibitions, and programs that pull from a wide circle of topics and contemporary issues of interest to the residents of Riverside and its many annual visitors. MIF will also factor in ongoing community feedback to assure that it remains relevant to the heritage of the past and issues of the present and future.” “Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community,” 28.

¹¹⁷ National Trust for Historic Preservation, “Heritage Tourism: The Four Steps,” accessed February 14, 2014, http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/economics-of-revitalization/heritage-tourism/#.Uv5Tr_akmkF; John Worden and Emily McEwen, “Mission Inn Foundation Heritage Needs Assessment,” presentation for Mission Inn Foundation Board of Trustees, March 20, 2008, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.; In September 2007, in the final stages of the strategic planning process, the Mission Inn Foundation absorbed the non-profit Friends of the Fox. This group was formerly dedicated to raising money and awareness to preserve and restore Riverside’s historic Fox Theatre located just one block from the Mission Inn. In spring 2007 in the open house celebrations leading up to the Fox’s closure for renovation by the City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency, Foundation docents gave Fox tours and staff produced an informational postcard on the Fox’s history. In the merger, the Friends of the Fox’s board president joined the Mission Inn Foundation’s board. The Foundation hoped that it would continue to provide docents for the Fox following its renovation and reopening, but enmeshed in city politics, the relationship never fully got off the ground. John Worden, “Mission Inn Foundation and Friends of the Fox Merge,” *Foundations* 26, no. 1 (Fall 2007): 2. The Foundation has worked with the Friends of Mt. Rubidoux on two Mission Inn Museum exhibits (“Stories From My Mountain” in March 2009 and “A Community’s Love Affair With a Mountain” in July 2013), but their most fruitful collaboration came in April 2013 with the purchase of .43 acres of land surrounding the Serra Cross on Mt. Rubidoux. The Foundation formed “Totally Mt. Rubidoux” with the Friends of Mt. Rubidoux and the Riverside Land Conservancy to purchase the small parcel after the group, Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, filed a claim against the City of Riverside, which now owns Mt. Rubidoux, to remove the cross from city-owned land. Totally Mt. Rubidoux purchased the land at public auction on April 11, 2013, for \$10,500. Ed Fuentes, “Public Memory of Mt. Rubidoux Saved in Riverside,” *Writing on the Wall, KCET*, April 26, 2013, accessed February 14, 2014, <http://www.kcet.org/socal/departures/columns/writing-on-the-wall/public-memory-saved-in-riverside.html>; Jeff Horseman, “Mt. Rubidoux Cross: Auction Winner Will Keep Riverside Landmark,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, April 11, 2013, accessed February 14, 2014, <http://www.pe.com/local-news/riverside-county/riverside/riverside-headlines-index/20130411-mount-rubidoux-cross-auction-winner-will-keep-riverside-landmark.ece>.

¹¹⁹ In spring 2008, John Worden and I met with Jonathan Yorba, who was then working as the City of Riverside’s Director of Arts and Cultural Affairs, and Keith Herron, Historic Preservation Officer for Riverside County.

¹²⁰ Keith Herron meeting notes, April 11, 2008, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011; Riverside Mayor Ron Loveridge, “A Strategic Arts and Culture Approach,” Riverside City Council Memorandum, June 26, 2007, accessed February 12, 2014, aquarius.riversideca.gov/clerkdb/DocView.aspx?id=54357.

¹²¹ Keith Herron meeting notes.

¹²² Heritage Programming Workshop invitation letter, September 10, 2008, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹²³ Emily McEwen, “Heritage Programming Workshop Summary” for Mission Inn Foundation Board Meeting, October 16, 2008, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011; The inaugural meeting included representatives from Riverside City Council, Mission Inn Foundation, Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside African American Historical Society, Riverside Unified School District, Loma Linda University Library, Riverside County Parks, Riverside Historical Society, Ontario Museum of History and Art, Riverside County Archives, La Sierra University, Riverside Community College, World Affairs Council, California Citrus State Historic Park, University of California-Riverside, Old Riverside Foundation, California State University-San Bernardino, Riverside County Library System, Riverside Public Library, Inlandia Institute, Riverside Downtown Partnership, Riverside Department of Parks and Recreation, Temple Beth El, Sherman Indian Museum, San Bernardino County Museum, and the California Museum of Photography. Programming Workshop Contact List, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹²⁴ Emily McEwen, Heritage Working Group meeting notes, October 24, 2008, November 10, 2008, December 12, 2008, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹²⁵ Emily McEwen, Heritage Planning Meeting notes, February 13, 2009; Emily McEwen, Heritage Consortium Collaborative Initiative Meeting notes, July 10, 2009; The annual Neighborhood Conference is a widely attended annual event sponsored by the City of Riverside to foster the development of neighborhood associations. The conference features workshops, city service exhibitors, and free food and entertainment. In 2009, the heritage consortium’s special neighborhood history track featured workshops on Riverside history and architecture, the basics of oral history and local history research, and how to properly preserve historical documents and photographs, 2009 Riverside Neighborhood Conference workshop descriptions. MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹²⁶ Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California, “Purpose, Values, and Annual Goals,” September 22, 2009, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹²⁷ Emily McEwen, Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California, Action Subcommittee meeting notes, 18 September 18, 2009, October 30, 2009; May 11, 2010; June 11, 2010, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹²⁸ Emily McEwen, Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California meeting notes, February 19, 2010; April 30, 2010; “Spring Into History With the Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California’s Potluck in the Park,” networking event invitation, April 15, 2010, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹²⁹ National Trust for Historic Preservation, “Heritage Tourism: The Four Steps”; American Association of Museums, *Mastering Civic Engagement: A Challenge to Museums* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 2002); Robert R. Janes, *Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse?* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 57-93; Graham Black, “Embedding Civil Engagement in Museums,” in *Reinventing the Museum: The Evolving Conversation on the Paradigm Shift*, ed. Gail Anderson (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2012), 267-285; The American Association for State and

Local History's website and conference proceedings are filled with tools and examples for local history museums to collaborate and build community partnerships, including articles and audio files for "Transforming Organizations Through Community Involvement," "Achieving and Sustaining Community Change Through Diverse Partnerships," and "Historic Sites Providing Life and Leadership in Their Communities," accessed February 14, 2014, http://resource.aaslh.org/resources_tags/collaboration/.

¹³⁰ Event publicity flyer, Marne Campbell, "Arrival and Revival in the American West: African Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1915," Mission Inn Spanish Art Gallery, April 15, 2010, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹³¹ Maria-Rosario Jackson, "Coming to the Center of Community Life," in *Mastering Civic Engagement: A Challenge to Museums*, 32.

¹³² Heritage Programming Workshop invitation letter, September 10, 2008, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹³³ Emily McEwen, Heritage Consortium Collaborative Initiative Meeting notes, July 10, 2009, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹³⁴ The Mission Inn Foundation applied for two Community Foundation grants on behalf of the heritage consortium in February 2009 and February 2010. Emily McEwen, Heritage Planning Meeting notes, February 13, 2009, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011; Emily McEwen, Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California meeting notes, November 6, 2009, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011; Emily McEwen, Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California meeting notes, February 19, 2010, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹³⁵ Emily McEwen, Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California, Action Subcommittee meeting notes, September 18, 2009, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011; Emily McEwen, "Mission Inn Foundation Board Executive Committee Consortium Summary," January 6, 2010, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011; Cherstin Lyon, Draft Memorandum of Understanding Relating to the Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California between California State University, San Bernardino Public and Oral History Program and Mission Inn Foundation, September 23, 2009, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹³⁶ Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California meeting notes, November 6, 2009.

¹³⁷ Emily McEwen, Heritage Working Group meeting notes, October 24, 2008, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹³⁸ Heritage Consortium of Inland Southern California, "Purpose, Values, and Annual Goals," September 22, 2009, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹³⁹ Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 297.

¹⁴⁰ One such sticky political situation occurred in July 2009. After a consortium meeting I was approached by a consortium member to forward an email to the consortium's email contact list discussing impending staff reductions at the Riverside Metropolitan Museum due to city budget constraints. The email implored people to write letters to the mayor and city council members expressing dismay over the layoffs. Thinking, perhaps naively, that this kind of advocacy on behalf of the "heritage community" was exactly what the consortium was supposed to be about, I enthusiastically forwarded the email (written anonymously) to consortium participants. The consortium contact list included all Mission Inn Foundation board members, the entire city council, and a wide range of other city officials. I was reprimanded for my

action. Because the email was sent through an official Mission Inn Foundation email by the Foundation's Curator of History, even though I was acting in my capacity as the heritage consortium's administrator, it read as if the Foundation was giving its institutional support to the protests against the city, a political stance the Foundation did not want to take because of its entwinement with the City of Riverside. In retrospect, I should have checked with Foundation executives before sending the email, but this example demonstrates the ongoing conflicts of interest plaguing the Foundation's operation of the consortium.

¹⁴¹ The heritage consortium may still live again under the auspices of CSUSB's Public and Oral History Program. In October 2011 shortly after I left the Foundation, Professor Cherstin Lyon approached the Foundation to revisit signing an MOU for the consortium between the Mission Inn Foundation and CSUSB. This time, the Foundation more eagerly transferred the consortium's management to CSUSB.

¹⁴² Previous to this renewed commitment to community outreach, the Mission Inn Foundation headed up the "Family Voices" initiative, which ran for eight years in five Riverside high schools. Through this program, a local photographer and artists-in-residence, author Gayle Brandeis and musician/storyteller/historian Karen Wilson worked with students on their written and oral communication skills. Each student picked an object important to their family and used that as the center to explore their history through writing, interviewing family members, and visually capturing the image through photography and video. Every year the project produced a publication, exhibition, and video. The project ended in 2006 when the Foundation funneled their resources into upgrading their website and educational lesson plans. "Family Voices 2006," Mission Inn Museum website, accessed February 18, 2014, http://www.missioninmuseum.com/fvpages/fv_intro.htm.

¹⁴³ Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, xxi.

¹⁴⁴ Laura Mercier and Madeline Buckendorf, *Using Oral History in Community History Projects* (Atlanta: Oral History Association, 2010); Linda P. Wood, *Oral History Projects in Your Classroom* (Atlanta: Oral History Association, 2001).

¹⁴⁵ Emily McEwen, "Eastside Historical Youth Project, Oral History Component, Project Proposal and Timeline," March 2011, MIFM Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹⁴⁶ The Eastside project faced several administrative issues from the start. Staff members were alerted to the start of the project just two weeks before it was scheduled to begin, meaning there was a scramble to outline the project goals and create a 10-week curriculum of activities. In order to be able to complete the program before the end of the school year in mid-June it needed to start in April, but I had already scheduled a month-long absence from the Mission Inn Foundation in order to complete a residential research fellowship at the Autry National Center. Because of this, I was in and out of the entire project, leaving only two Foundation staff members to undertake the entire endeavor on top of their regular duties at the Foundation. This was also the first community outreach project for all staff involved.

¹⁴⁷ This is a mistake that has been corrected in later neighborhood history projects. All student work is now exhibited at a site in their community. Having the exhibit reception at the Mission Inn Museum was my idea and I did not fully consider or think through the potential ideological and logistical problems. I originally conceived that we could offer the students and families complimentary Mission Inn tours, but this idea never came to fruition. The whole event fell flat. The only representative from the Community Settlement Association in attendance was the executive director, Rebecca Diaz.

¹⁴⁸ Susan Straight and Doug McCulloh's April 2013 Riverside Art Museum exhibit, "More Dreamers of the Golden Dream," provides an instructional counter to the Foundation's "Eastside History Project." The exhibition centered on Eastside neighborhood life, exploring the neighborhood through contemporary and

historical photographs and oral interviews with community members. As local author Gayle Brandeis eloquently summarized, the exhibit attempted to show “how a whole world of stories could be found in the rectangle formed by Park and Victoria Avenues between 11th and 14th Streets.” Straight had long-standing familial relationships in the neighborhood stretching back to her high school years and photographer Doug McCulloh made it a point to spend time getting to know the people he was hoping to photograph. A fundamental difference between the Foundation’s project and “More Dreamers” is that Straight and McCulloh built a foundation of trust and equality rather than launching right into their agenda. Gayle Brandeis, “Exploring the ‘Golden Dream’ of Riverside’s Eastside,” KCET Artbound, April 26, 2013, accessed February 18, 2014, <http://www.kcet.org/arts/artbound/counties/riverside/susan-straight-more-dreamers-of-the-golden-dream-riverside.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Deane Wylie, “\$450,000 Loan Granted for Mission Inn Rehabilitation,” *The Press*, October 2, 1974, B1; For a larger discussion of this Eastside Resident’s Committee action see chapter four.

¹⁵⁰ Eloise Woods to Frank Miller, 13 July 1925, file A500-190.I.D.14, Miller Hutchings Collection, RMM.

¹⁵¹ “Mission Inn Foundation Announces Exhibit Reception, Eastside Historical Youth Project,” Mission Inn Foundation press release, June 8, 2011.

¹⁵² Steven Lavine, “Audience, Ownership, and Authority: Designing Relations between Museums and Communities,” in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. Ivan Karp, et al. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 141.

¹⁵³ John Kuo Wei Tchen, “Creating a Dialogic Museum: The Chinatown History Museum Experiment,” in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, 290.

¹⁵⁴ Graham Black, “Embedding Civil Engagement in Museums,” in *Reinventing the Museum: The Evolving Conversation on the Paradigm Shift*, 268.

¹⁵⁵ “Hands on History: In the Community of Arlanza, Exhibit and Reception,” MIFM press release for Community Foundation-funded program, April 23, 2012.

¹⁵⁶ “Riverside: Mission Inn Foundation Receives Federal Grant,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, August 2, 2012, accessed February 18, 2014, <http://www.pe.com/local-news/riverside-county/riverside/riverside-headlines-index/20120802-riverside-mission-inn-foundation-receives-federal-grant.ece>; “Mission Inn Foundation Receives Federal Grant for Program Expansion,” MIFM press release, July 24, 2012.

¹⁵⁷ “Our Riverside! Neighborhood History Project,” Hands On History in the Community, MIFM, accessed February 18, 2014, <http://www.hohriverside.com/our-riverside.html>.

¹⁵⁸ Mission Inn Run Facebook status update, September 24, 2013, accessed February 9, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Mission-Inn-Run/325514413667>.

¹⁵⁹ “Riverside: Mission Inn Run Courses Through Downtown,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, November 10, 2013; “35th Annual Mission Inn Run,” Riverside Community Calendar listing, accessed February 9, 2014, riversideca.gov/calendar/item.aspx?id=4174.

¹⁶⁰ “Overview of Executive Director Position,” Mission Inn Foundation executive director job description, accessed February 28, 2014, <http://missioninnmuseum.com/jobs/executivedirector.htm>.

¹⁶¹ Mission Inn Foundation and Museum lease agreement between Historic Mission Inn Corporation and the City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency, original draft faxed to Dr. Knox Mellon, Executive Director of Mission Inn Foundation, December 22, 1992, "Museum Relocation Box," unprocessed documents, MIFM; "Disposition and Development Agreement" between City of Riverside Redevelopment Agency and Historic Mission Inn Corporation, December 23, 1992, obtained from City of Riverside Office of the City Clerk.

¹⁶² "Mission Inn Foundation: Building Heritage in the Community," 55.

Epilogue

Today the Mission Inn stands as a fortress of opulence, its own self-contained island of luxury against the backdrop of downtown Riverside. Since the 1950s, local officials and business leaders have pinned their hopes on the Inn's revitalization to jumpstart downtown economic growth, but the city is still largely waiting for this transformation to happen. By the early 1970s, the City of Riverside started publicly subsidizing the hotel's operation and restoration through its Redevelopment Agency, a precedent of public/private funding schemes that continues into the present with the city currently relying on tactics to revive downtown similar to those deployed nearly forty years ago to resuscitate the Inn.

The Mission Inn's preservation battle began amidst the intensive growth of Redevelopment Agencies and urban renewal campaigns across the state. In Redevelopment's waning years – Governor Jerry Brown officially dissolved agencies statewide during the dire California financial crisis in December 2011 in order to funnel approximately \$5 billion in Redevelopment revenue back into the state's budget – the City of Riverside launched an aggressive Capital Improvement Program to complete three decades of infrastructural improvements in just five years.¹ Approved by City Council in October 2006 and termed the "Riverside Renaissance," the program aimed to undertake nearly four hundred projects to upgrade Riverside's roads, parks, public utilities, and civic buildings at a cost of \$1.5 billion, financed through a patchwork of monies from the city's general fund, Redevelopment Agency tax increments, municipal bonds, land sales, and federal and state grants.²

Over \$100 million of work focused specifically on downtown to achieve city officials' ultimate dream of turning Riverside's core from "a gritty city center" into a "vibrant urban village...teeming with high-income professionals, upscale neighborhoods, trendy restaurants, boutique businesses, [and] artistic attractions."³ In early 2008 work commenced on the \$10 million renovation of the Main Street pedestrian mall that included new pavement, landscaping, water features, benches, public art, lighting, and music. Business owners were optimistic that the facelift would entice more shoppers downtown, echoing the sentiments of proprietors in 1966, the year the pedestrian mall was first built.⁴ The most expensive downtown "Renaissance" project was the \$43 million convention center rehabilitation to upgrade the original 1972 structure, which convention officials lamented "was too small and behind the times" to compete with facilities in nearby Ontario, Temecula, and Palm Springs.⁵ In the city's first round of urban redevelopment, the Mission Inn was the historic structure and tourist draw anchoring the downtown area. While this is still the case, in the city's recent redevelopment fervor to renew its previous renewal efforts, it is the city-owned Fox Theater that officials see as the key to the downtown's popularity resurgence. Restored for \$32 million, the formerly vacant 1,600-seat theater built in 1929 reopened in January 2010 as the Fox Performing Arts Center, offering traveling Broadway shows, concerts, and comedy acts.⁶

In preparation for the proposed "Riverside Renaissance" changes, the City of Riverside used eminent domain to acquire land and buildings downtown for \$30 million to resell to developers in a purported effort to eliminate rundown areas that were

“magnets for criminals and homeless people.”⁷ While the city pushed to preserve the Fox Theater, it also purchased nearby historic structures in order to demolish them or implement radical adaptive reuse to construct an entertainment district surrounding the Fox.⁸ By late 2007 two new mixed-use condominium complexes were under construction with real estate brokers selling the units for between \$400,000 and \$700,000 in hopes of luring prosperous professionals to downtown. This redevelopment also raised red flags for affordable housing proponents wary that the “Renaissance” developments would price the 13,000 people living in the downtown’s ethnically diverse residential neighborhood out of the market.⁹

The gentrification fears, however, were at least momentarily put on hold at the end of 2008 with the subprime mortgage bust and ensuing economic recession.¹⁰ Whereas Riverside had been striving to update its negative regional reputation predicated on pollution, urban sprawl, and crime, the county’s uncontrolled housing boom was now nationally publicized as the center of the mortgage-lending crisis. Riverside’s housing prices dropped 50 percent from 2006 to 2009 and unemployment rose to fifteen percent, not the aura of affluence the city wished to convey.¹¹ Local stakeholders are now betting on the “Riverside Renaissance” improvements to speed downtown’s economic recovery, but success is not guaranteed. Opened in March 2014, city officials are waiting to see if the new state-of-the-art Riverside Convention Center will finally make Riverside a convention destination with the addition of a new Hyatt Place Hotel constructed to provide ample hotel rooms for the conference traffic. So far, the Fox Theater has not lived up to the city’s expectations, running a \$1 million deficit each year since its

opening, which the city council hopes can be remedied by their new \$1.72 million three-year contract with venue booking and marketing giant Live Nation, pushing the city's annual budgetary commitment to the Fox to \$3.7 million.¹²

This Mission Inn is the focus of the current downtown renewal initiative in more ways than just the fact that Riverside leaders are attempting to mold the hotel's surroundings to fit the expectations and demands of the Inn's high-class clientele. Much like Frank Miller's behind-the-scenes political maneuvering a century ago, Duane Roberts holds considerable clout in the shaping of Riverside's downtown. As the Fox Theater prepared to open in January 2010, Roberts and his wife Kelly signed on as chairman and trustee of the Fox Foundation, the theater's non-profit fundraising arm. The Roberts pledged \$100,000 to start the Foundation's endowment and began heavily cross promoting Fox events with special hotel and dining packages marketed through the Inn's advertising channels.¹³ Additionally, from 1996 until August 2012, Roberts' company, Entrepreneurial Hospitality Corporation, operated the Riverside Convention Center for the City of Riverside. Roberts undoubtedly lobbied to steer "Riverside Renaissance" funds into rebuilding the convention facility, located just one block from the Mission Inn. Increased convention traffic means more business for the Inn's hotel, dining, and special event services. Close ties between the Mission Inn and the Riverside Convention Center remain. The renovated center is now run by former Entrepreneurial Hospitality Corporation vice president, Ted Weggeland, who formed his own company, Raincross Hospitality, in 2012 and negotiated with Roberts to buy out his convention contract.¹⁴

Even though the preservation battle waged over the Mission Inn Hotel proper ended over twenty years ago, the Mission Inn Annex located across Sixth Street from the hotel's back service and delivery entrance is increasingly in the news. The Annex, historically used as the on-site dormitory for Inn workers and the service staff of elite guests, is an imposing brick structure connected to the Inn by a small footbridge. It was designed by Arthur Benton and constructed in two phases (a women's side and a later men's wing) in 1921 and 1928.¹⁵ Although the Annex was included in the National Historic Landmark designation and is an integral part of the Inn's architectural and labor history, the Annex was not restored, signifying the hotel's enduring socio-economic stratifications and a final reminder of the histories that Mission Inn stakeholders want remembered and those they might rather be forgotten.¹⁶ The Historic Mission Inn Corporation currently maintains the Annex's first floor as a storage facility, but entry to the rest of the building is prohibited because of safety hazards stemming from structural deterioration. The small interior dorm rooms are tagged with graffiti and surround a central court that is now filled with debris. The upper floor walkways are unsound and pocked with holes; the building no longer has operational plumbing or electricity.¹⁷ Local preservation organizations have cited the Annex as one of Riverside's "most endangered buildings."¹⁸ The City of Riverside has expressed interest in turning the Annex into a "boutique conference center" for smaller conventions and private meetings, and the Mission Inn Foundation also briefly examined the feasibility of the Annex for its new home after the organization's hotel lease expires in 2022.¹⁹ The tens of millions of dollars needed to restore the building have deterred any serious action. In the end, the

fate of the Annex will largely be up to Roberts. He has previously voiced his desire to rehabilitate the building into condominiums, hotel meeting rooms, or retail space, but is “waiting to see” if Riverside can once again become a tourist destination.²⁰



Figure 103: The Mission Inn Annex today. The left side of the balcony is crumbling and the entire exterior is plastered with “No Trespassing” signs. Photo by author.



Figure 104: A side view of the Annex with broken windows, visible interior graffiti, and missing roof tiles. Photo by author.



Figure 105: The back of the Annex faces the hotel's employee parking lot. The windows are left open or broken out. Photo by author.

Besides his continued Mission Inn ownership, Roberts' most visible contribution to the economic development of downtown Riverside is his annual Festival of Lights Christmas celebration going into its twenty-second year in 2014. Self-labeled as the Roberts' "gift to the community," during the Festival of Lights the Inn is adorned with over four million Christmas lights and dozens of life-sized animatronic figures, from panda bears, Dickensian carolers, Jack-in-the-boxes, and gnomes, to the giant decorative presents and miniature trains surrounding the front courtyard.²¹ Festival of Lights is a phantasmagoria of commercialism, oddity, and kitsch that is right at home at the Mission Inn. The six-week event running from Thanksgiving through the New Year packs the hotel's guest rooms and restaurants and attracts approximately 250,000 people to downtown. The pedestrian mall becomes a carnival of consumption with an ice rink (\$15 for skate rental and one hour on the ice), food vendors (mini-donuts, kettle corn, hot chocolate), horse-drawn carriage rides around the Inn's perimeter, a Santa's workshop (photos with Santa available for purchase), and even a reindeer petting zoo.²² The

“Switch-On Ceremony” held annually the Friday after Thanksgiving features fireworks and local marching band performances and brings in upwards of 50,000 people.²³ The event is an expert combination of hotel promotion mixed with an essence of community spirit and civic boosterism.

As the City of Riverside continues its downtown urban renewal initiative first implemented nearly a half-century ago, and Duane Roberts, the second coming of Frank Miller and the self-styled “Keeper of the Inn” maintains a strong hand in local development, new processes of mythmaking are being added to the Mission Inn’s enterprise. In 2009, the Mission Inn opened a new flagship bakery, Casey’s Cupcakes, operated by Casey Reinhardt, Duane Roberts’ stepdaughter with wife Kelly Roberts. Reinhardt frequently models for hotel advertisements and is the face of the Inn’s spa. In 2005, Reinhardt gained brief notoriety as a character in the second season of the MTV reality series about the privileged lives of South Coast high schoolers, *Laguna Beach: The Real Orange County*. Her turn as Casey “The New Girl,” known for her platinum blonde hair extensions, enormous cliffside mansion estate, and pageant pedigree, garnered her and her mother a three-page spread in celebrity gossip magazine *OK!* with photos shot around the hotel and mentions of the Inn sprinkled throughout the interview.²⁴

Since opening the first store, Casey’s Cupcakes has now expanded to add locations in Irvine, Huntington Beach, and Newport Beach. The store’s surge in popularity had much to do with Reinhardt’s 2011 appearance on The Food Network’s reality baking competition *Cupcake Wars* where she won the grand prize, claiming that

her baking success is thanks to her great-grandmother who taught her how to make cupcakes at age four.²⁵ Mentions of Casey's Cupcakes regularly appear in celebrity magazines, such as a May 2011 issue of *OK!* listing a number of young starlets, including Reinhardt, eating Casey's Cupcakes at a Los Angeles music festival and a May 2013 *US Weekly* column on singer Usher treating his children to cupcakes at the Mission Inn.²⁶ Miller relied on the draw of history and crafted his hotel's heritage through romantic portrayals of California's past. He used his collection of international art and artifacts overlaid with believe-it-or-not provenances to market his hotel while simultaneously demonstrating his own economic power and cultural authority to shape Riverside into a cosmopolitan tourist destination. The hotel's layers of intrigue are now increasingly constructed through the lens of reality television, displaying a piecemeal, edited vision of life's moments enacted and re-presented in front of the camera. At the Mission Inn, the lines of truth and fantasy continue to blur, and although the tools for doing so have changed, selling the myth, in past and in present, has always been the ultimate goal.

NOTES

¹ Mary Dolan, Jessica Garrison and Anthony York, “California Supreme Court Puts Redevelopment Agencies Out of Business,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 29, 2011, accessed March 24, 2014, <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/dec/29/local/la-me-redevelopment-20111230>; City of Riverside, “2006/07 Budget-in-Brief,” accessed March 24, 2014, <http://www.riversideca.gov/finance/pdf/budget-0607/Budget-In-Brief.pdf>.

² Doug Haberman, Joan Osterwalder and Sarah Burge, “Riverside Renaissance: Riverside’s Revival Plan Goes to Council Tuesday,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, October 2, 2006; “Riverside Renaissance Approaching the Finish Line,” City of Riverside, *Riverside Outlook*, May 2011, 1.

³ Michelle DeArmond and Kimberly Trone, “An Upscale Vision for Downtown,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, April 8, 2007.

⁴ Doug Haberman, “Riverside Officials, Architect to Give Update on Pedestrian Mall,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, July 6, 2007; Doug Haberman, “Riverside Pedestrian Mall Gets Face-Life,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, April 1, 2008; Doug Haberman, “Riverside’s Main Street Renovation Project Gets Compliments,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 9, 2008.

⁵ Kimberly Pierceall and Alicia Robinson, “Riverside Wrestles with Convention Center Expansion,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, March 17, 2010; Alicia Robinson, “Remodeled Convention Center Brings High Hopes,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, February 14, 2014.

⁶ Kimberly Pierceall, “Reviving the Fox: Downtown Riverside a Stage; Its Future at Play,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, January 9, 2010.

⁷ DeArmond and Trone, “An Upscale Vision of Downtown.”

⁸ To build parking and an adjoining entertainment complex for the Fox Theater, the City of Riverside demolished the adjacent Hess Auto Showroom and Garage, leaving only the front façade, and the Press Bindery Building, each eligible for National Register designations and contributing structures to the City of Riverside’s Mission Inn Historic District. Additionally, the city also acquired the Stalder Building across the street from the Fox. The Stalder Building is City of Riverside Cultural Heritage Landmark no. 7 and the site was used as the Glenwood Mission Garage, a stable, and a fire station. The current blended Mission Revival and Moorish architectural façade was designed by G. Stanley Wilson in 1926. See, Riverside Historical Society, “The Most Endangered Buildings of Riverside,” 2008, accessed March 25, 2014, <http://www.riversidehistoricalsociety.org/docs/2008-rivendangeredbldgs.pdf>. In February, the City of Riverside Development Department approved a mixed-use residential/commercial plan for the Stalder Building proposed by the development firm Regional Properties in partnership with Ted Weggeland, current operator of the Riverside Convention Center. The plan will feature condominiums and retail space on the ground floor while maintaining the building’s front architectural façade. The Stalder project hopes to “proactively seek active and quality tenants for the commercial space targeting young professionals working and living downtown.” City of Riverside Office of Economic Development, “Development Committee Approves Selection of Proposal from Regional Properties for Redevelopment of Stalder Building,” 18 March 18, 2014, accessed March 25, 2014, <http://www.riversideca.gov/econdev/category/latest/>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ The two new downtown condominium complexes on Market Street, Msolé and Raincross Promenade, which developers had hoped would entice “empty-nesters, suburbanites and young professionals with a lifestyle offering entertainment and amenities,” failed to sell. Unable to find buyers, the developers moved to renting the units. Leslie Burkman, “Lack of Sales Spurs Developer to Lease,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, September 1, 2010; DeArmond and Trone, “An Upscale Vision of Downtown.”

¹¹ Katie Evarts, “Riverside’s Mission Inn Strives to Bring Business Back to Downtown,” KCET, February 12, 2010, accessed March 24, 2014, http://www.kcet.org/social/dream_interrupted/issues/economy/riversides-mission-inn-strives-to-bring-business-back-to-downtown.html.

¹² Alicia Robinson, “Fox Theater’s Losses Greater Than Expected,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, 25 May 2012; Alicia Robinson and Vanessa Franko, “Fox Theater Deal with Live Nation Resets Expectations,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, 4 October 2013; Alicia Robinson, “City Inks Fox Theater Deal With Live Nation,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, 8 October 2013.

¹³ Alicia Robinson, “Mission Inn Owner Duane Roberts to Head Fox Theater’s Foundation Board,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, January 9, 2010; Examples of the Inn’s marketing campaigns for the Fox Theater include its October 2010 room promotions for the Fox’s showing of *The Color Purple*, which included tickets to the performance, hotel accommodations, and dinner at the Mission Inn before the show. Mission Inn Hotel & Spa e-news, “Enjoy *The Color Purple* and Stay at the Mission Inn,” October 25, 2010; In March 2011 the Mission Inn had a similar package for the Fox’s showing of *Legally Blonde: The Musical*, but also included a complimentary “Legally Blonde” cupcake from its recently opened cupcake shop, Casey’s Cupcakes. Mission Inn Hotel & Spa e-news, “Fine Wines, Sweet Treats and One ‘Elle’ of a Show,” March 1, 2011.

¹⁴ “Convention Center Contract Approved,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, August 29, 2012.

¹⁵ Francis Borton and DeWitt Hutchings, *Handbook of the Glenwood Mission Inn* (Riverside: Cloister Print Shop, 1929), 6.

¹⁶ In her National Historic Landmark nomination form, Carolyn Pitts specifically lists that the Mission Inn is comprised of two buildings – the hotel and the employee quarters. Carolyn Pitts, National Register of Historic Places Inventory – National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, Mission Inn, National Park Service, February 14, 1977, accessed March 31, 2014, <http://image1.nps.gov:9001/StyleServer/calcrn?cat=NHLS&item=Text/71000173.djvu&style=nps/FOCUS-DJview.xml&wid=640&hei=480&oif=jpeg&props=item%28SUMMARY,COPYRIGHT%29,cat%28Name%29&page=0>.

¹⁷ Alicia Robinson, “Mission Inn Annex Could Get Overhaul,” *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, October 7, 2010; Mission Inn Annex report, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, School of Environmental Design, 1980, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum collections; Jennifer Thornton, Mission Inn Annex DPR Form, Historic District Nomination, “Riverside’s Japantown – Labor, Business & Community Building and Immigration and Ethnic Diversity in Riverside,” February 21, 2011, Mission Inn Foundation & Museum Curator Files, 2008-2011.

¹⁸ Cited as endangered by the Riverside Historical Society and the Old Riverside Foundation in “The Most Endangered Buildings of Riverside.”

¹⁹ Alicia Robinson and Kimberly Pierceall, "Riverside Officials Say Bigger Not Better in Expansion of Convention Center," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, June 24, 2010; Alicia Robinson, "City Wants Proposals to Expand Convention Center," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, January 17, 2011.

²⁰ DeArmond and Trone, "An Upscale Vision for Downtown."

²¹ "Holiday Edition," Mission Inn Hotel & Spa e-news, November 2012.

²² "Festival of Lights," City of Riverside, accessed March 25, 2014, <http://riversideca.gov/fol/default.asp>.

²³ Craig Shultz, "'Festival of Lights Attracts Thousands,'" *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, 29 November 2013.

²⁴ "Casey Reinhardt and Kelly Roberts: The Mom/Daughter Duo Take on Success in the Real O.C.," *OK! Magazine*, 2005, accessed March 25, 2014, http://www.caseyreinhart.com/OK_Magazine.pdf.

²⁵ Casey's Cupcakes Press, accessed March 25, 2014, <http://www.caseyscupcake.com/press/>.

²⁶ "Spotted!," *OK! Magazine*, May 17, 2011, accessed March 25, 2014, <http://okmagazine.com/get-scoop/spotted-256/>; "See What Celebrities Did This Week," *US Weekly*, May 29, 2013, accessed March 25, 2014, <http://www.usmagazine.com/celebrity-news/news/newly-single-kristen-stewart-steps-out-with-friends-in-la-2013295>; Casey Reinhardt's brother, Doug, whose shirtless photo appears on the Mission Inn's spa advertisements on the hotel's exterior, has had brushes with reality television stardom as well. Doug is a former boyfriend of socialite and reality TV maven Paris Hilton and also starred from 2008 to 2009 in the *Laguna Beach* spin-off series *The Hills*, playing the love interest for main character Lauren Conrad.

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