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Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936. By Lisbeth Haas. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. 279 pages. \$35.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper.

This is a rare and ambitious book—exceptional in that it looks at the multi-ethnic interplay within a region, and also unusual in the use of the historian's lens through which Haas presents us with an especially perceptive view of the pivotal role played by Indian people within this particular historic context. The book combines new and often hard-to-find data such as the 1860–1910 Federal Manuscript censuses and mission records. These are combined with short personal vignettes that bring out the individual characters and the impact they had in shaping the fluid identity structures of Native peoples, Californios, and Anglos in and around San Juan Capistrano from just before the intrusion of the Franciscan Missions until into the twentieth century. This book is a landmark, and highly recommended to those interested not only in California Indian history, but also in the complex nuances of how racial and ethnic identity are shaped and then come to shape social interaction. It received the 1997 Elliot Rudwick Prize, awarded by the Organization of American Historians, for a book on the history of a racial or ethnic minority in the United States.

This book is also important because it looks at a region, tribal area, and period in time that often have been overlooked by scholars. The Acjachemen (Juaneño), similar to a number of other tribes in California, are emerging once again to broader awareness by the outside world, out from under the shadow of pronouncements of cultural and virtual “extinction” by scholars such as Kroeber and Bancroft in the early part of this century. This book reasserts the tribe publicly and provides some useful historical documentation. This is particularly important today with the reemergence of strong Indian identity and cultural revitalization, as well as efforts among California tribes, such as the Acjachemen which is California state-recognized, to gain federal recognition. The book documents the continuity of Acjachemen presence in the area surrounding Mission San Juan Capistrano from precontact times to the present. As Haas says, “The tension between the destruction of Indian societies and their endurance was repeated in this local history numerous times” (p. 209).

The core of the book is divided into five chapters: (1) Indio and Juaneño, DeRazon and Californio; (2) Rural Society, 1840–1880; (3) Village Society, Ethnic Communities, and Memory; (4) Regional Culture; and (5) Racial and Ethnic Identities and the Politics of Space. There are numerous maps, tables, and thirteen excellent photographs, including the two-page frontispiece of the Mission Indian Federation members in 1924, showing the continuum of expression by those who identify as Indian: from men with long hair and rural clothing to those dressed in suits, sitting next to women wearing Spanish mantillas. The appendices are important in providing insights into the range of sources that Haas utilized in her analysis. The appendices include a discussion of quantitative methods, as well as tables on property values by group, household composition, employment, and barrio formation. The book contains a

full set of notes, as well as an extensive bibliography, that are helpful for those wishing to pursue these topics further. A particular strength of the book is the variety of sources, both qualitative, including oral histories, and quantitative, that are utilized.

Chapters four and five move away from the San Juan Capistrano focus, and in doing so the emphasis on Indian people also falls away. Chapter four examines the role of Spanish-language theater throughout Orange County as an integrative force, and chapter five emphasizes racial and ethnic identity as played out primarily in educational settings in the nearby town of Santa Ana. For those with a primary interest in American Indian studies, these last two chapters are less pertinent than the previous ones and the appended materials.

Haas is intensely aware of issues of racism and the interplay of power relationships, both as historical event and as a still dominant interpretive stance by some scholars. The book moves away from history as derived from a male Anglo stance to one that reflects the many peoples of diverse classes and cultural perspectives, including women. For example, she firmly dismisses the eminent historian Bancroft who set much of the tone of subsequent California history, indicating, "I find it impossible to draw on the history that Bancroft wrote for information about California because he has selected and discussed the material without accounting for Californios, Californias, and Indians as they understood and presented themselves" (p. 174). Throughout the book, as if to correct for the heavy weight of past historians, women's voices speak strongly and clearly. For example, Modesta Avila's is the first voice we hear who, in 1889 during her trial, defended placing an obstruction across the Santa Fe railroad tracks near her home in San Juan Capistrano, saying, "This land belongs to me. And if the railroad wants to run here, they will have to pay me ten thousand dollars" (p. 1).

Although Haas presents data from mission baptismal and death records, as well as other forms of documentation that indicate the social havoc and the many personal agonies that the imposition of mission life and colonization created for the Acjachemen people, she does not enter directly into the polemic regarding the mission system's value or its negative consequences, leaving this to others such as Castillo and Jackson. The focus of the book is another one: to indicate the complexities of social interaction and ethnic and racial identity formation and maintenance in an ethnically complex region.

In many respects, Haas has approached this research within the frame of current historical research, often by Latino and Chicano scholars, that focuses on borderlands communities and peoples, and from the perspective of those essentially Spanish-speaking peoples deriving from Spanish colonial or Spanish/Indian roots. This alternative perspective is both a strength in moving away from the biases of Anglo-dominated historical approaches, but also a weakness as far as not always consistently presenting an Indian perspective. Haas says, "I thus ended up situating this history within a geographical framework that embraces the Spanish colonial world, the culture of Greater Mexico, the U.S. Southwest as a region, and the Borderland" (p. 5). She indicates that "The detailed exploration of the emergence of the regional term *Californio*, and the term's changing social and cultural meaning, accounts for

a significant portion of the study, as does analysis of the meaning of Indian, Mexican, and, to a much lesser extent, white identity” (p. 214). Thus, the Californio social designation has been perceived by some as predominately Indian, and by others as principally Spanish-derived. One weakness of the book is, however, the often subtle failure to distinguish clearly when, to the view of outsiders such as census-takers, Indian identity may have become submerged as Californio identity. This may have been the result of the use of Spanish surnames by Indian people or their fluency in Spanish, markers of the time by the Anglo, Mexican, or Spanish society of non-Indian status. Also, a survival strategy for some Indian people may have been the temporary decision to identify situationally as Californio rather than Indian. The social category of Californio created the option of choice, and many Indian people may have chosen, because of the pervasive racist social environment, to identify themselves or be identified for census purposes not as Indian but as Californio.

While the mission record data utilized in the book is presented effectively, the use of federal census data is handled less critically in regard to the Indian population. A cursory look at some of the census tables gives the impression that the Indian presence is absent or nearly so during certain periods. For example, table 2 (p. 67) shows fifty-three Indian households in 1860 being reduced to two in 1870. As other data indicate, this drastic drop in numbers is evidently the result of error in census methodology, rather than the true absence of Indian people. Even though the paperback edition includes additional notation that one must exercise caution when considering the census-based tables, this is one area that could have, and needs to be, explored more thoroughly so that Indian people are not invisible or do not become subsumed under a Californio label. The critical reader can do this. However, the author could have helped the casual reader with a more pointed discussion of the many mechanisms, including census methodologies, that, as she notes, “made Indian invisibility possible and sustainable” (p. 43). Other problems inherent with the census data with which Haas was working include inconsistency in primarily designating males as heads of households and the question of how “mixed households” are characterized ethnically. Another confusion arising from the census data occurs because the occupations of Indian peoples were usually designated as “servant” or “laborer,” which obscured much of the Indian economic activity including multiple and simultaneous economic pursuits, seasonality of work, and the important role of reciprocal exchange of resources that was and continues to be carried out in the Indian community. All of these census-related issues tend to diminish the clarity of the role of Indians and their vital activities within the community. Another prime example of the exclusion of Indians in documentation of the period is reflected in a map of San Juan Capistrano depicting the community in the late nineteenth century in which certain landed Californio families are given family surnames, but are surrounded by many others simply labeled “Indios.” Haas notes, “Perhaps for many Mission Indian Federation members, the label *indio* on Yorba’s map at least acknowledged their place in history, although it replicated the invisibility of Indian persons in colonial, Mexican, and U.S. documents” (p. 129).

These are issues and problems that still plague both census-taking and the analysis of census data. Haas grapples with them, usually successfully, in attempting to present the complex and often fluid nature of identity. However, when interpretive misjudgment occurs by the author, it unfortunately most often results in strengthening the Spanish-derived presence and diminishing the Indian presence and perspective. Haas has done an admirable job of wresting the historian's lens away from the male Anglo perspective to a more Hispanicized, Indian, and gender-balanced one. It may take yet another pair of hands to move that lens closer still to a fully Indian perspective.

Susan Lobo

Intertribal Friendship House

Crow Indian Photographer: The Work of Richard Throssel. By Peggy Albright. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997. 231 pages. \$75.00 cloth; \$37.95 paper.

Richard Throssel is one of only a handful of Native American photographers whose collections of photographs have been identified and documented. Fewer still are the Native photographers who have been the subjects of serious research. Albright's is a welcome volume of careful scholarship about one Native photographer and the images he made of the Crow between 1905 and 1911. The seventy-four images included in the volume record life on the Crow reservation after the demise of the buffalo, after allotment, and before the Indian Reorganization Act. Among other subjects, they comprise portraits (Throssel photographed about 10 percent of the Crow population), educational photos taken for the Indian Service, portrayals of ancient Crow ceremonies still practiced (the Tobacco Society), as well as new celebrations (the Crow Fair). What makes this book especially interesting and valuable is the author's placement of the photographer and his works into the larger cultural context of Crow and American cultures of the early twentieth century and the commentaries on a number of the images by modern Crow people.

Richard Throssel (1882–1933) was a “Crow Indian Photographer,” but his identity is more complicated than the title leads one to believe. Throssel was of Métis (Cree/Scotch-English) heritage, his family having moved from the Red River region of Manitoba to Washington territory in the early 1840s. When he was twenty, Throssel moved east, seeking relief in Montana's dry climate from the rheumatism he suffered and joining an older brother on the Crow reservation who was employed in the Indian Service. With his brother's help, Richard Throssel also found employment in the Indian Service, and in 1906 he was adopted by the Crow. Albright notes that, while Throssel was highly regarded by the Crow, his adoption was largely driven by the politics of allotment. By 1906 all Crow tribal lands had been allotted to tribal members, and the surplus lands were earmarked, under provisions of the Dawes Act, for public sale. With whites clamoring for these lands, twenty non-Crow Native Americans were adopted by