UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Return to the Mission:
Gendered Bonds, Women, and Colonization in San Diego, 1769-1930

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

Jessica Christian

Dissertation Committee:
Distinguished Professor Emerita Vicki L. Ruiz, Chair
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DEDICATION

To the women in this study,
who defied the limitations placed on them in diverse ways.
I hope to carry on your legacies of resistance.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I am also thankful for the generous financial support I have received from a number of different fellowships and grants. These include a Summer Dissertation Fellowship, a Humanities Collective Grant, a Women's Studies Research Travel Grant, Humanities Center Grant, and a Regents Fellowship from the University of California, Irvine. I also received a California Studies Consortium Graduate Student Travel Grant and the Arthur J. Quinn Memorial Fellowship from the Bancroft Library.

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FIELD OF STUDY

United States, California, Women's, Gender, and Sexuality History

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Return to the Mission:
Gendered Bonds, Women, and Colonization in San Diego, 1769-1930

By

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Professor Vicki L. Ruiz, Chair

My dissertation explores the interactions, relationships, and bonds among women across race and class in the greater San Diego area, including what is now Riverside County. Under Spanish, Mexican, and American colonization, settler and native women played pivotal roles, especially in the areas of education and labor. Whether church or state sanctioned, through private organizations or personal relationships, new Office of Indian Affairs arrivals deployed strategies of "uplift" in their dealings with indigenous peoples as a way to exert power and control over them. And native people resisted these efforts to "uplift" them in a myriad of ways. While I look at the motivations and actions of both settler and colonized people, particularly women, good intentions do not negate the violent impact of Spanish, Mexican, and American colonization on native communities. Colonizers committed what feminist scholars refer to as gendercide, a sustained attack to destroy gender roles through emotional, physical, psychological, sexual, and spiritual violence. My work interrogates the continuities in colonial

relationships, especially with regards to women. Approaching the subject by focusing on continuity demonstrates how gendered education and labor served as the foundation of colonial settlements across time.

INTRODUCTION

As the mission bells tolled the priest strolled through the courtyard. A beautiful young woman, surrounded by a group of Indian children, explained the importance of separate work tasks for girls and boys. The Church relied heavily on labor such as hers to colonize and populate the California coast.

At first glance the above passage may seem like a scene from a sentimental novel by Helen Hunt Jackson or an excerpt from a promotional piece produced during California's Spanish revival. However, this scene unfolded at Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcala at the dawn of the twentieth century. The inspiration for Indian advocate Father Gaspara in *Ramona*, Father Antonio Ubach created a school for native children at the old mission during the 1880s.[1] Like the Spanish missionaries, this new school provided a gendered colonial education under the auspices of the Catholic Church. Nuns, rather than Spanish/Mexican settler women, provided much of the instruction, but the model remained strikingly similar. Across the centuries, women, as natives and newcomers, played pivotal roles in creating new societies.

My dissertation, "Return to the Mission: Gendered Bonds, Women, and Colonization in San Diego, 1769-1930," explores the interactions, relationships, and bonds among women across race and class in the greater San Diego area, including what is now Riverside County. Under Spanish, Mexican, and American colonization, settler and native women played pivotal roles, especially in the areas of education and labor. Whether church or state sanctioned, through private organizations or personal relationships, new Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) arrivals deployed strategies of "uplift" in their dealings with indigenous peoples as a way to exert power

[1] Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona: A Story*, (New York: Signet Classics, 2002) and Teresa Baksh McNeil, "St. Anthony's Indian School in San Diego, 1886-1907," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (Summer 1988), https://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1988/july/anthony/.

and control over them. And native people resisted these efforts to "uplift" them in a myriad of ways. Colonizers committed what feminist scholars refer to as gendercide, a sustained attack to destroy gender roles through emotional, physical, psychological, sexual, and spiritual violence. My work interrogates the continuities in colonial relationships, especially with regards to women. Approaching the subject by focusing on continuity demonstrates how gendered education and labor served as the foundation of colonial settlements across time.

This dissertation aligns with feminist decolonial goals. Since I focus on a social history approach, my chapters do not engage extensively with cultural theory, but my work is inspired by this important critical engagement. While I interrogate the motivations and actions of both settler and colonized people, particularly women, good intentions do not negate the violent impact of Spanish, Mexican, and American colonization on native communities. As influential borderlands historian Antonia Castañeda explains:

> That colonialism for all its brutal technologies and distorted narratives, could not completely destroy native women's historical autonomy is something native peoples have always known, but scholarly researchers are just beginning to learn. Native oral traditions have preserved the histories, telling and retelling women's identities and remembering across time, space, and generations. Through oral and visual traditions, and other means of communicating counter-histories native women's power, authority, and knowledge have remained part of their peoples' collective memory, historical reality, and daily struggles of 'being in a state of war for five hundred years.'[2]

As a historian, I work with primary sources, but archives can silence the experiences of women and others on the margins of power. The archival record is deeply flawed, especially regarding indigenous people. The idea that voices exist in the archive rests on the assumption that documents capture something unmediated and authentic. Thus subjects who "speak for

[2] Antonia Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," *California History* 76, no. 2/3 (1997): 238.

themselves," either in ethnographies or historical documents, are often interpreted as possessing authentic voices and authority. Yet this emphasis on voices obscures the roles of the scholar and of archival texts in this process. Documents still need a historian to "find" them. Although often unspoken, the interest in allowing subjects to "speak" remains bound to the form of scholarly knowledge that reveals the mediated processes involved in finding and producing those voices. Historians often discuss the limitations of sources. Yet I continue to maintain faith in the words of historical actors who purportedly "speak" for themselves through archival documents. As pioneer in the field of Chicana history, Vicki L. Ruiz, puts it: "Scholars cannot 'give' voice to people, but they can provide the space for them to express their thoughts and feelings."[3] A model study in this regard is María Eugenia Cotera's *Native Speakers: Ella Deloria, Zora Neale Hurston, Jovita González, and the Poetics of Culture*, which seeks not only to compare the lives and works of these three women of color intellectuals but also to demonstrate the power and impact of their work.[4] Each of these women dealt with the dilemma of studying their own "native" community in academic fields that often used native informants but did not respect their authority or allow them to speak unmediated.[5] The struggles they faced were mirrored in the experiences of many of the native women working for the Office of Indian Affairs, particularly in San Diego County. Most of my primary sources derive from official government reports and case files, so reading them against the grain to "find," or more accurately to verify, native resistance. In this endeavor, I benefit from native knowledge traditions as well as recent scholarship, not only in history, but also in gender, sexuality, Chicana, and indigenous studies.

[3] Vicki L. Ruiz, "Introduction," *Las Obreras: Chicano Politics of Work and Family*, ed. Vicki L. Ruiz, (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 2000), 6.
[4] María Eugenia Cotera, *Native Speakers: Ella Deloria, Zora Neale Hurston, Jovita González, and the Poetics of Culture.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).
[5] Cotera, *Native Speakers*.

I argue that in this region the transition to American control, in terms of cultural and social dynamics, occurred much later, and was more complicated, than many previous studies of the region have implied. By looking at gender and women's networks in San Diego, which has a unique trajectory, this becomes clear. Traditions from the native, Spanish, and Mexican eras carried over long after California joined the United States and relationships between Spanish-speakers and native people continued to be influential well into the twentieth century. These pre-1848 elements sometimes even allowed spaces of resistance to increasing white hegemony. Spanish-speaking women continued to serve as godmothers to native children and the Catholic Church created an Indian school with their support. Spanish-speakers became colonial subjects under American rule, yet continued in their roles as colonizers of Indian people. Native nations survived despite experiencing both old and new forms of hostility. And Spanish-speakers likewise weathered their new role as colonized people, taking on Mexican American identities as time went on. While previous studies usually emphasized differences between these regimes, I interrogate their continuities. My study uses the idea of comparative colonialism,[6] by looking at the same location under multiple colonial regimes. A "differential consciousness allows for mobility of identities between and among varying power bases."[7] These activities create spaces of protest that scholars, such as historian Emma Pérez (quoted above), have called the decolonial imaginary.[8] Not only have historical subjects created the decolonial imaginary but we, as scholars and active agents, can create it through our work. Pérez elaborates, "Like differential consciousness, the decolonial imaginary . . . is a theoretical tool for uncovering the hidden voices

[6] Margaret D. Jacobs, "Getting Out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History." *Pacific Historical Review* 79, no.4 (Nov. 2010): 585-604.
[7] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), xvi.
[8] Ibid.

. . . that have been relegated to silences, to passivity."[9] In the words of historian Valerie Matsumoto: "scholars should be reminded that we, no less than those we study, are actors in history, making choices that affect the lives of others."[10]

Within California historiography San Diego has also remained relatively understudied. Most scholarship focuses on either San Francisco or Los Angeles. While San Francisco served as the dominant urban space in nineteenth century California, Los Angeles assumed equal, if not more, prominence during the twentieth. San Diego, a dynamic community in its own right, proves far more than just a nineteenth-century southern outpost.[11] The continued influence of the Catholic Church and Spanish-speakers, who collaborated and competed with American reformers in greater San Diego, makes this area particularly fascinating. Native people took advantage of these competing forces, options that differed from those in the more urban San Francisco Bay Area or commercially developing Los Angeles. San Diego women remained central to these processes across all three colonial regimes.

My interest in the history of San Diego County developed with the help of local native people with whom I have worked over the years. Patti Dixon (Luiseño), member of the Pauma band and Professor of American Indian Studies at Palomar College in San Marcos helped me with my 12th grade senior project on gender in Native American nations. With her guidance, I created and taught a lesson to my high school women's studies class. She encouraged me over the years to research gender and colonization in San Diego. The entire American Indian Studies program at Palomar has influenced my conceptualization of this project, and I earned a

[9] Ibid.
[10] Valerie J. Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 224.
[11] Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land*, [1946] (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1983).

certificate from this program before entering graduate school. That same year I took a Kumeyaay history class, taught by Ral Christman (Kumeyaay), member of the Viejas band, which was offered through Kumeyaay Community College at Cuyamaca College. We used *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook Volume 1: Precontact to 1893* by Michael Connolly Miskwish (Kumeyaay), a member of the Campo band. I met him the following year while working on the Kumeyaay Place Names Project. I am also grateful to Richard Bugbee (Payoomkawichum/Luiseño), Professor of Ethnobotany and Ethnoecology, Kumeyaay Community College, who worked on this project with me. Finally, a number of conversations with my former colleague at the UCI History Project's Native History Conference, Heather Ponchetti Daly (Iipay), member of the Santa Ysabel band, who currently teaches at UC San Diego and whose research focuses on the history of native activism in Southern California in the twentieth century, have proven helpful. I owe a significant debt to these individuals for guiding me beyond what I could learn from texts.

In terms of scholarship, a study that stands out is *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, which author Deborah A. Miranda (Chumash and Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen) approaches from a literary perspective in order to question historical documents and the stories they do and do not tell. Or in her words:

> Culture is lost when we neglect to tell our stories, when we forget the power and craft of storytelling…That's why it's time for the Mission Fantasy Fairy Tale to end. This story has done more damage to California Indians than any conquistador, any priest, any soldado de cuera (leather-jacket soldier), any smallpox, measles, or influenza virus…We have to put an end to it now…I say 'we' because my efforts here are part of a much wider circle of California Indian people and allies talking back to mythology, protesting, making waves.[12]

[12] Deborah A. Miranda, *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* (Berkeley: Heyday, 2013), xiv-xx.

I hope my study can make its own wave in an answer to her call. Miranda's article, "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California," allowed me to frame colonizer attacks on gender roles as gendercide, and to further consider the importance of multiple genders in native societies. Although predominately focusing on women, both white and native, my dissertation relies on documents that assume only two gender options existed. For native Two Spirits, as well as other gender non-conforming individuals, their classification by colonial governments as female or male did not reflect their actual gender identities. More than two gender options existed in many native nations, including those in San Diego County. While Two Spirit represents a modern term used to describe a variety of practices, each nation had their own words for individuals who belonged to these genders. In *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*, co-authors Qwo-Li Driskill (Cherokee), Chris Finlay (Colville Confederated Tribes), Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen explain that "Any decolonial movement must work to dismantle the rigid ways of thinking about gender and sexuality that have been imposed upon us…settler colonialism is the historical, institutional, and discursive root of heteronormative binary sex/gender systems on stolen land."[13] I ask that readers keep in mind that we cannot definitely know the gender identities of most historical subjects, but we can analyze the meaning behind imposed gender categorizes and the impact that categorization had on their lived experiences.

Chicana scholarship also proves essential to my approach. Of particular note are the many essays of Antonia Castañeda. Her pioneering work on native and Spanish-speaking women, especially her award-winning article "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-

[13] Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finlay, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen, "The Revolution is for Everyone: Imagining an Emancipatory Future through Queer Indigenous Critical Theories," *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*, Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finlay, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen, eds., (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2011), 215-217.

1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," brought gender, race, and sexuality into focus in borderlands studies.[14] Furthermore, her essay, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History" demanded that historians studying women in the American West use multiracial lenses in their studies, and critically reflect on their own biases as well.[15] Deena J. González's *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-American Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* provides the ever useful concept and phrase of "refusing the favor," when conquered people acted against colonial plans in various ways, from daily micro measures to large scale resistance.[16] Similar processes happened when native women in the San Diego region interacted with Spanish/Mexican and then Anglo-American colonizers. For example, Erika Perez's *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769-1885* not only builds on these earlier works but also offers an innovative approach by considering the ways in which colonization shaped the most intimate relationships and kinship networks, both blood and fictive. In Pérez's words: "By studying how colonialism intruded on the intimate choices of colonized groups, rather than focusing exclusively on overt acts of violence and the political machinations of the ruling elite… reveal[s] subtler tools of conquest and resistance among the indigenous and Spanish-speaking inhabitants of California."[17] My study also focuses on native women's resistance in the day-to day—as school children, community members, especially as OIA employees.

Some early studies looking at white reformers and native people included work by anthropologist Florence Shipek, and historians Helen Bannon and Lisa Emmerich. Shipek

[14] Castañeda, "Engendering the History."
[15] Castañeda, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History." *Pacific Historical Review* 61, no. 4 (1992).
[16] Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-American Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[17] Erika Perez, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769–1885,* Vol. 5 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 4.

studied and advocated for native people in the San Diego region starting in the 1950s and continuing until her death, publishing important accounts like *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986.*[18] She helped Delfina Cuero (Kumeyaay), born in Xamca (now Jamacha), publish her autobiography in the 1960s.[19] Her work questioned colonization and its perpetual violence on the lives of people like Delfina Cuero, who was trapped in Mexico because she lacked proof of her nativity in the United States because her family crossed the border when it was just a line in the sand. Helen Bannan published "The Idea of Civilization and American Indian Policy Reformers in the 1880s" in 1978, which brought attention to the role white women played in not just supporting but perpetuating colonization.[20] Lisa Emmerich followed with her scholarship on the B.I.A. field matron program.[21] In "'Right in the Midst of My Own People'" she argues that the ties some native field matrons cultivated with their communities led supervisors to question their objectivity and loyalty to the Indian Service's civilization project, especially during intertribal disputes. Since Emmerich focused on comparing experiences within the field matron program, she did not explore in any depth women's networks. By focusing instead on the creation and maintenance of the women's networks behind these appointments my project will cover new ground.

More recent influential scholars of the U.S. West also call for critical questioning of colonization. Margaret Jacobs, whose Bancroft-winning *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler*

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[18] Florence Connolly Shipek, *Pushed Into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).
[19] Delfina Cuero, *Delfina Cuero: Her Autobiography: An Account of Her Last Years and Her Ethnobotanic Contributions*, Florence Connolly Shipek, ed., Rosalie Pinto Robertson, trans. (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1991).
[20] Helen M. Bannan, "The Idea of Civilization and American Indian Policy Reformers in the 1880s." *Journal of American Culture* 1, no. 4 (1978): 787-799.
[21] Lisa Emmerich, "'Civilization' and Transculturation: The Field Matron Program and Cross-Cultural Contact," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15, no. 4 (1991): 33-48; and Lisa Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst of My Own People': Native American Women and the Field Matron Program," *American Indian Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (Spring, 1991): 201-216.

Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940,[22] has been foundational in my thinking about how white women demeaned the femininity of native women in order to gain power and influence for themselves. In Jacobs's book she interrogates the removal of native children from their homes on the ground and as federal policy. My study also explores the practices of infantilization, particularly by the Catholic church, but I also look at how OIA women employees interfered in the lives of adult native people as well. It was literally the job of OIA field matrons to enter the homes of native women and critique their domestic skills. And even native people working for the OIA found their ability to assimilate into appropriate gender roles assessed by their superiors and coworkers alike. Furthermore, Jacobs's essay "Getting Out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History" demands that scholars hold white women settlers accountable for their role in perpetuating violence against native people and Spanish-speakers in the U.S. West, to not get lost in the struggles white women had with white men, but to always remember that these women had overarching privilege relative to men and women of color.[23] Historian Cathleen Cahill's *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* exemplified such an approach by critically examining the way that white and native employees enabled and resisted colonization in their roles as government agents of assimilation.[24] The majority of my records, like Cahill's, come from the OIA. Her national focus has proven invaluable for me to better understand how San Diego both fit with these larger patterns as well as offering unique situations. Another significant work in this vein by native

[22] Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011).
[23] Margaret Jacobs, "Getting Out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History," *Pacific Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (2010): 585-604.
[24] Cathleen Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

scholars is the article "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy" by Maile Arvin (Kanaka Maoli), Eve Tuck (Unangax), and Angie Morrill (Klamath).[25] Their scope is broader than Jacobs' in "Getting Out of a Rut: Decolonizing Western Women's History," examining historic and contemporary feminists as complicit in or even actively promoting colonialism. They argue that we must understand the links between colonialism and gender oppression in the United States, historical legacies, which continue today.

An important clarification must be made in terms of the names of native nations. Richard Bugbee explains that current day San Diego County is the homeland of four native nations: "the Kumeyaay/Diegueño, the Payoomkawichum (Quechnajuichom/Luiseño and Acjachemen/Juaneño), the Kuupiaxchem/Cupeño, and the Cahuilla. The Diegueño are the largest group…They are divided by the San Diego River into the Ipai (the northern dialectical form) and the Tipai (the southern dialectical form)."[26] The native nations of Riverside County, previously part of San Diego County, include the Cahuilla and Payoomkawichum (Quechnajuichom/Luiseño). The Spanish names refer to missions, but some bands use Spanish terms to this day. And individuals have their own preferences for self-identification, which may or may not align with their band's designation. The U.S. government used the blanket term "Mission Indians," sometimes including a band or place name as well, which further adds to the confusion. So, for example, Kumeyaay, Diegueño, Iipai, and Tipai refer to people from the same nation. Wherever possible, I use the term preferred by an individual, with reference to her/his band.

[25] Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy," *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1 (2013): 8-34.
[26] Richard Bugbee, "The Indians of San Diego County," December 1, 2019, https://www.kumeyaay.com/the-indians-of-san-diego-county.html.

Starting with Spanish missionization in chapter one, I consider how native women's healing and other forms of knowledge proved essential for colonial survival, though unacknowledged at the time. Spanish speaking women from nearby pueblos were recruited to educate, convert, and subjugate native women as labor for the missions, but they also learned indigenous knowledge. These patterns continued under Mexican rule and into the early American period. Juana Machado served as an example of such a curandera who started healing in the Mexican era, using native medical knowledge she learned from those she attempted to convert. She then helped American-era priest, Father Antonio Ubach, connect with the Spanish-speaking and native communities in the region. With nuns from the order of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Ubach established St. Anthony's Indian boarding school on the site of Mission San Diego. Using a newsletter that included letters from the San Diego students, I argue that despite significant restraints these schoolchildren revealed their resistance in myriad ways, stories hidden in plain sight in the school-sanctioned publication.

For chapter two I examine the records of government employees working for the Office of Indian Affairs. Federal boarding schools have received much scholarly attention, but the less-studied reservation day schools followed a similar model. All were staffed by a growing bureaucracy of white men and women who thought they could assimilate native people through education. Once they arrived on the ground, they found native people confident in their own ideas and traditions, including some who worked for the OIA as well. Although women, especially native women, in the service were often treated as mere "helpers,"[27] they were, in fact, essential to the operation of the schools and reservations themselves. Salvadora Valenzuela, a native woman who lived at Pala in Northeast San Diego County, carved out a career as an

[27] See Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) for the concept of "native helpers."

assistant teacher, and became so essential to local OIA agents that her divorce, an event that could trigger termination for other women, occurred with no formal mention in her file. Other women in the service were not so lucky. Since they had to model appropriate Victorian gendered behavior, they ended up trapped in the very surveillance system of the colonial apparatus they helped administer. Native people, especially women, working for the OIA usually faced higher levels of scrutiny due to concerns they would return to their native ways.

Concerns about native people's ability to assimilate and then serve as examples to other Indians haunted the OIA and many private reform organizations as well, as seen in my third and final chapter. By looking at the careers of two Kumeyaay women from Mesa Grande, Francis LaChapa and Rosalie Nejo, I study the possibilities and limitations for ostensibly Americanized native women in this era. With the help of white women allies, Constance DuBois and Mary Watkins, LaChapa and Nejo attempted to sustain a living working for "friends" of the Indians and the OIA. But both found themselves hampered by less supportive whites who disliked the idea of native women having authority. Through it all they remained loyal to their native communities, a loyalty that surprised even "understanding" advocates for Indians like DuBois, whose narrow views of acculturation failed to include the nuances of survival strategies indigenous people deployed under colonial pressures to conform.

In 1769 the first mission in Alta California was established in in Kumeyaay territory. Today we call it San Diego, after the mission founded to convert native people into Catholics citizens of Spain. The mission recruited local Spanish-speaking women to force native people into "proper" gender roles, an attempted gendercide of native traditions. But their mission failed, native people survived as did their cultures. A century later, in the American era, a new Catholic priest and a small cohort of nuns would "return to the mission," both physically and in terms of

the goals of forced assimilation and gendercide, with the establishment of St. Anthony's Indian Industrial School. As before, native people, including women and children, thwarted this new missionization.

Confronting Colonization:

Native Resistance to Catholic Indian Education in San Diego County

I stayed home last year to mind my aunt who was very ill,
but now she is well, and I am back to school again.[1]

-Rosalia M. M. Nejo (Kumeyaay)

This chapter focuses on the ways indigenous people, including native children, resisted Catholic reformers in the early American period. Parents "refused the favor"[2] offered by colonizers through accessing Catholic representatives and resources only when it benefited them and taking charge of their children's education options, albeit within significant constraints. Children deployed their own acts of resistance, ranging from pretending a fervent Catholicism to running away from boarding schools. Gender structured the assistance offered to native parents and their children's education. The ideal gender roles demanded by Catholic representatives and educators came from Spanish, Mexican, and American influences. As true across the American West, women often served as educators and liaisons between colonizers and native communities, gaining more power and influence for themselves. I argue that these acts constitute a form of gendercide, what scholar Deborah Miranda defines as "an act of violence committed against a victim's primary gender identity."[3] The violence of Catholic interference and education in this period did include physical violence, mainly in terms of disciplining children in school, but also must be considered in terms of the emotional, psychological, and spiritual damage of imposing

[1] "Uncle Tom's Column," *Mission Indian* II, no. 8 (May 15, 1897): 5.
[2] Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-American Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[3] Deborah A. Miranda, "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 259.

foreign gender roles on native societies. Despite colonizers' goals, native people prevailed, prioritizing their families and communities, as young Rosalia M. M. Nejo indicated in her letter above.

The American conquest of southern California proved slow and uneven, especially compared to the northern areas directly shaped by the Gold Rush. During the 1850s and 1860s white settlers increasingly displaced Indians in the San Diego area, pushing them into less desirable locations inland.[4] In 1870, President Grant issued an executive order, which legal scholar Nancy Carol Carter describes as "creating San Diego's first Indian reservations, the San Pasqual and Pala reserves. A *San Diego Union* newspaper editorial encourage[d] a fight against the reservation, branding it a swindle and as needlessly generous to the Indians."[5] In fact, most reservations were placed in remote areas, leaving indigenous nations with land considered undesirable. Historian Kyle Ciani explains that:

> Life on the reservations further isolated them from wage labor, forcing their dependency on federal sources for food, shelter, and health care. Other Indians attempted to survive on their own. Recollecting her Kumeyaay family's displacement at the turn of the century, Delfina Cuero explained, 'We went farther and farther from San Diego looking for places where nobody chased us away…when the Indians were told to leave a place, they generally just headed farther into the mountains.'[6]

For a variety of reasons, including well-founded distrust, some native people did not move to reservations. According to a 1908 book published by historian William Smythe, by the 1880s most native people:

> …(estimated about 2,500) lived in the remote areas of San Diego County. Some bands live[d] in Old Town's Mission Valley and small pockets of Kumeyaay live[d] in New Town between 13th and 17th around K Street and on the bay at the foot of Fifth Street [Fifth Avenue today]…and there was an encampment in

[4] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*.
[5] Nancy Carol Carter, "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego, Accessed December 1, 2019, https://www.sandiego.edu/native-american/chronology/.
[6] Kyle Ciani, "A 'Growing Evil' or 'Inventive Genius': Anglo Perceptions of Indian Life in San Diego, 1850-1900," *Southern California Quarterly*, 89:3 (Fall 2007): 255.

> Switzer's Canyon [now the Burlingame neighborhood, just north of South Park] for many years.[7]

Many continued their practice of seasonal movement. Smythe continues, "One of the customs of the Mission Indians in early days was to camp on the seashore near Ocean Beach, about the time of Lent, and remain till Easter, drying mussels, clams, and fish"[8] Despite the continued pressure from Anglo-American settlers, native people held on their long standing traditions and practices.

Old Town, as suggested by the current name, was the original Spanish-speaking settlement in the region, and area preceded by the Presidio, a military fort located just up the hill. New Town (now called the Gaslamp Quarter) became the Anglo-American town, in current downtown San Diego. Established in 1850, New Town did not grow until the late 1860s.[9] While Spanish-speakers had long co-existed with native communities, taking advantage of their labor, many white Americans disliked the continued presence of these small native bands near their new settlements. Thus, as Ciani highlights, "the growing presence of Anglos in San Diego dislocated even these groups and forced some families into a constant state of displacement."[10] But even though Anglo-Americans had come to formal power, connections between natives and Spanish-speakers persisted. The Catholic church in the San Diego area linked all three communities.

Catholic parishioners grew in San Diego in the American period with the arrival of American emigrants and European immigrants. After the Mexican-American War, the Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdictions changed with control shifting to the Conferences and Archdioceses of

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[7] William E. Smythe, "The Indians' Relations with the Settlers," in *History of San Diego, 1542-1908,* San Diego History Center, Accessed December 1, 2019, http://www.sandiegohistory.org/archives/books/smythe/part2-7/.
[8] Ibid.
[9] "William Heath Davis (1822-1909)," Biography, San Diego History Center, Accessed December 1, 2019, http://www.sandiegohistory.org/archives/biographysubject/williamhdavis/; and "Gaslamp's History," History, Gaslamp Quarter Association, Accessed December 1, 2019, https://www.gaslamp.org/history/.
[10] Kyle E. Ciani, "A 'Growing Evil' or 'Inventive Genius': Anglo Perceptions of Indian Life in San Diego, 1850 to 1900," *Southern California Quarterly* 89, no. 3 (2007): 269.

the United States. As part of this reorganization, the Catholic hierarchy created dioceses (parishes), appointing priests to serve them. In the case of the San Diego parish, the appointment of Father Antonio Dominic Ubach facilitated connections between the Mexican and American parishioners during this transition. Originally from Catalonia, Spain,[11] he served as a bridge between English and Spanish speaking community members. The appointment of Ubach contrasted with most priests appointed to other locales in California and the Southwest due to his fluency in Spanish; his commitment to serving diverse Catholics; and a strong desire to minister to native communities. Making his mark, Father Ubach served as the San Diego parish priest from 1866 till his death in 1907.[12] He established a new church in the 1860s near the Estudillo house and another in New Town, where many American settlers had relocated away from the original Spanish/Mexican settlement. Edgar W. Hebert, in his *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* biographical article on Ubach, emphasized the priest's vigor, illuminating that "Until 1885, he continued to live in Old Town and serve both churches."[13] This allowed him to operate as a conduit between these increasingly racially and spatially segregated groups.

Father Ubach served the entire San Diego region, making regular trips to visit native villages inland, often accompanied by Juana Machado. He wisely tapped into existing Catholic networks, finding that Machado was already an essential liaison across multiple communities. Machado hailed from one of the long established Spanish-speaking families in San Diego, a Californiana whose grandparents arrived as early settlers.[14] Spanish language scholar Rose

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[11] Smythe, *History of San Diego,* 175-176 and "Father Antonio D. Ubach (-1907)," Biography, San Diego History Center, Accessed December 1, 2019, http://www.sandiegohistory.org/archives/biographysubject/ubach/.
[12] Alexander D. Bevil, "The Sacred and the Profane: The Restoration of Mission San Diego de Alcala 1866-1931," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (Summer 1992).
[13] Edgar W. Hebert, "The Last of the Padres," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (April 1964).
[14] Nicolas Vega, "Exhibit Review: Phase 2: Place of Promise," *Journal of San Diego History* 53, no. 1-2 (Winter/Spring 2007): 71; and Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848, translated with Introduction and Commentary by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz,* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2006), 119.

Marie Beebe and historian Robert M. Senkewicz, wrote the following about her lineage: "All four of her grandparents—Eugenio Valdez and Sebastiana Quintero on her mother's side, and Manual Machado and Maria del Carmen Valenzuela on her father's side—had come to California as members of the 1781 Rivera expedition that brought settlers for the new pueblo of Los Angeles."[15] Born in San Diego in 1814, she was the third child of José Manual Machado and María Serafina Valdez.[16] Beebe and Senkewitz explain that in 1829 she "married Dámaso Alipás, a soldier who was serving at the [San Diego] presidio."[17] They had three daughters before his death in the mid 1830s.[18] She married again a few years later, this time to an American, Thomas Writhington.[19] They had three children, two sons and a daughter.[20] This marriage connected her with the growing Anglo-American community in San Diego. In addition to her family duties Machado looked out for her community. According to the San Diego History Center, "Mrs. Wrightington was a…well remembered character of Old Town. She was a mother to all the unfortunates around the Bay."[21] After her husband died in 1853,[22] Machado continued her good works. The San Diego History Center further acknowledges that "While renting out a room to Dr. [George] McKinstry[, Jr], Juana assisted him as a nurse."[23] Regina Teresa Manocchio, a certified nurse midwife with a master's of science in nursing, published an article on the history of women healers in California that highlighted Juana Machado de

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[15] Beebe and Senkewicz, "Juana Machado," *Testimonios*, 119.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 119-120.
[19] Ibid., 120.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Smythe, *History of San Diego,* 293-294*,* http://www.sandiegohistory.org/archives/biographysubject/wrightington/.
[22] Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: Signet Classic, 1964), 356; and Victor Walsh, "The Machado Sisters: The Californianas of Old Town, San Diego," Living History Presentation, California Parks, March 12, 2002, 4, https://www.parks.ca.gov/pages/663/files/2002_walsh_machado%20sisters%20of%20old%20town.pdf
[23] San Diego History Center, "Juana Machado Alipas de Wrightington is remembered as the Florence Nightingale of Old Town San Diego," Facebook, photograph and text, published October 5, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/sandiegohistorycenter/posts/juana-machado-alipas-de-wrightington-is-remembered-as-the-florence-nightingale-o/10155609937735821/.

Writhington. Manocchio notes that Dr. "McKinstry lived and practiced in a room in the back of the 'Writhington adobe,'…for nearly 30 years. Together they provided health care service to local communities."[24] Rosemary Masterson claimed in her *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* article "The Machado-Silvas Family" that "Her neighbors called Juana the 'Florence Nightingale of Old Town.'"[25] An Anglo-American reference, such praise indicates her high standing. Renting out rooms served as a common source of income for women, particularly widows and those lacking male support. The fact that her tenant was a doctor cemented her connection to the growing Anglo-American community. He likely also benefitted from her local connections as well, and her home's location in the center of Old Town. A respected healer, she served as a conduit across cultures.

FIGURE 1: Dona Juanita Among Cactus, Old Town, c. 1893
(Courtesy of the San Diego History Center)

[24] Regina Teresa Manocchio, "Tending Communities, Crossing Cultures: Midwives in 19th-Century California," *Journal of Midwifery and Women's Health* 53, no.1 (January-February 2008): 76.
[25] Rosemary Masterson, "The Machado-Silvas Family," *The Journal of San Diego History* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1969), http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/1969/january/part4-2/.

It was a natural extension for Machado to also assist Father Ubach on his visits to inland native communities. Masterson illustrated that "Although she was busy with her duties as a…mother, Juana Machado Alipas de Wrightington, often rode with Father Ubach into the back country to visit the Indian rancherías and to check conditions."[26] Working with native people, which included travelling further and further inland represented an essential part of their ministry to Catholic Indians and potential converts. Having served as a healer and godmother to native children during the Mexican era, and then marrying an Anglo-American in the 1830s, Machado was trilingual. According to a later sensationalized account by Winifred Davidson, she spoke English, Spanish, and Indian "patois" fluently.[27] The meaning of Davidson's ill-informed reference to "patois" remains unclear. San Diego County is the homeland of four native nations: the Cahuilla, Kumeyaay (Diegueño), Kuupangaxwichem (Cupeño), and Payómkawichum (Luiseño). The Kumeyaay language consists of two dialects, Ipai and Tipai, which come from the Hokan root language.[28] The other San Diego tribes speak languages that come from Uto-Aztecan roots.[29] But a particular trade/socializing language existed to allow communication members of different tribes.[30] As the Spanish language spread with missionization, this trade and/or socializing language may have added new words and phrases. Since Father Ubach's parish included the whole county, the "patois" Machado spoke fluently may have been this relatively new language. Her talent with multiple languages made her invaluable as a translator.

Machado frequently went ahead of Father Ubach as he finished his work in one area. If he could not arrive quickly enough, she would baptize dying children.[31] She carried a decanter,

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[26] Ibid.
[27] "Winifred Davidson's 1931 Notes," Writhington folder, San Diego History Center, Documents Archive.
[28] "California Indians Language Groups," California Department of Parks and Recreation, Accessed December 1, 2019, https://www.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=23548.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Heather Ponchetti Daly (historian) in discussion with the author, June 2018.
[31] "Winifred Davidson's 1931 Notes," Writhington folder.

filled with holy water, from the Mission San Diego de Alcalá that Ubach had given her.[32] As a lay minister, she performed similar tasks to an ordained priest. This religious and healing work also included attending the sick and acting as a midwife.[33] The San Diego History Center observes that Machado "aided Father Ubach as a 'partara' [sic] (midwife) throughout the county. As a 'partara,' [sic] she not only helped with deliveries, she also served as a godmother, foster mother, trilingual translator, and the role of giving last rites (when needed)."[34] She may have served a witness for marriages as well. This fit with common practices from the Spanish and Mexican eras, which continued after the American conquest. Her work as a midwife, a lay minister,[35] and godmother closely connected her to native women and their children.

What remains elusive from existing sources is the reception of Machado by native people, nor do we have ample understanding of her views toward those she served. Literary scholar Rosaura Sánchez, when writing about a failed Indian insurrection in San Diego in the late 1830s, emphasizes how in Machado's account of the events she only seemed distressed about the souls of captured insurgents. "'Immediately thereafter they were taken to a canyon…and there without even giving them Last Rites he had the five shot.'…Machado's concern, what little is expressed, was for the souls of the Indians, not for their lives."[36] Catholicism focuses on salvation in the afterlife, so to an extent this makes sense and reveals much about Machado's dedication to ministering to native people. But through this work Machado also helped bring life into the world as a midwife and she saved lives as a healer, duties very much related to concerns about living in a world that embodied both physical and spiritual materialities. Women played

[32] Ibid.
[33] "Winifred Davidson's 1931 Notes," Writhington folder.
[34] San Diego History Center, "Juana Machado Alipas de Wrightington is remembered as the Florence Nightingale of Old Town San Diego."
[35] Vicki L. Ruiz (historian) in discussion with the author, August 2019.
[36] Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio testimonios*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 152-153.

essential roles in native and Spanish-speaking societies as creators and sustainers of life. Healing practices used on the California frontier, from the Spanish to the American period, incorporated native medical knowledge. Spanish-speakers learned how to heal from native women. Manocchio points out that:

> Because of the scarcity of doctors and supplies, women in the *presidio* learned to treat themselves and their families with 'curative herbs and home remedies.' These treatments were learned from the indigenous women who were themselves *parteras* and *curanderas* (healers). The *parteras* and *curanderas* were traditional healers of indigenous and/or Mexican descent who usually lived outside of the missions and *presidios*. The women who cared for the soldiers and the converted Indigenous in the missions learned their midwifery and nursing skills from these women.[37]

Unfortunately, the importance of native medicine and knowledge in frontier settings like California often received limited acknowledgement. Native women used plants from their environment to treat their family members, relying on a deep knowledge of their local ecology. Many planted gardens to grow these essential medicinal supplies at a more convenient location close to home.[38] According to historian Annette L. Reed, Kumeyaay elder Delfina Cuero "offers a wealth of information on ethnobotany in her homelands. She presents an in-depth knowledge of plants, foods, and lifeways of the Kumeyaay people."[39] In her autobiography Cuero shared that:

> We had to learn how to use all these plants, what to hunt for and when…My grandmother used to tell me that when the Indians could live in the same place and could come back from gathering acorns and things, they would clear a little place near their house. In it they planted some of the greens and seeds and roots that they liked, just the things that grow wild…But when I was young it was no use to plant like that when we couldn't stay to get it.[40]

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[37] Manocchio, "Tending Communities, Crossing Cultures," 77.
[38] Delfina Cuero, *Delfina Cuero,* 32.
[39] Annette L. Reed, "Delfina Cuero," in *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Vicki L. Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez-Korrol (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 1:186.
[40] Delfina Cuero, *Delfina Cuero,* 32.

In Cuero's lifetime (she was born ca.1900) gardening proved impossible due to encroaching settlers. But her grandmother passed down knowledge of older traditions. Healers likely maintained even more extensive gardens than most women. Medicine women held respected roles in native communities, and it seems no coincidence that some of the major revolts in California involved these medical and spiritual leaders, such as Toypurina, a Tonva healer who co-lead an unsuccessful revolt against Mission San Gabriel in Los Angeles in 1785.[41] In the native spiritual cosmos the ability to heal was considered a divine gift, thus the translation "medicine man or woman" for a religious leader recognizes their healing powers as well.[42] While most women did not possess these gifts, they brought this information into the missions and pueblos during the colonial eras. In fact, the presence of new European diseases that did not respond to native medicines, served as motivation for some indigenous people to convert, thus giving them access to the medical and perceived spiritual power of Spanish-speakers, who did not succumb as easily to smallpox and other plagues.[43] Historian Vicki L. Ruiz theorizes that "Acculturation was not a one-way street. Spanish-speaking women adopted many of the herbal remedies used by indigenous people. One source claimed Eulalia Pérez [the administrator at Mission San Gabriel] had at her disposal every California 'herb…that was known to possess healing qualities' and that she 'had learned of their properties from the Indians.'"[44] Mission records indicate that several native women worked as *enfermeras* (nurses) as well as *curanderas*.[45] In her recently published book, historian Erika Pérez explores this topic, stating

[41] Castañeda, "Engendering the History of Alta California," 235-237.
[42] Michael Connolly Miskwish, *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook Volume 1: Precontact to 1893,* (El Cajon: Sycuan Press 2007).
[43] Francis F. Guest, "Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life," *Southern California Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (Spring 1983).
[44] Vicki L. Ruiz, "Comadres, Cowgirls, and Curanderas, 1540-1900," (Unpublished paper presented at the 14th Annual Américo Paredes, Distinguished Lecture, University of Texas, Austin 2000, paper courtesy of the author), 8.
[45] Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies*, 79.

that "The range of healing services these enfermeras provided to their community is difficult to measure, since deathbed baptisms are often the only indication in mission records of the presence of a healer or midwife (*partera*)."[46] These roles often served as a confirmation of their status prior to colonization. Pérez argues that "Frequently indigenous leaders from the precontact era retained prominence after the institution of the new Catholic regime."[47]

The sharing of healing practices flowed across networks of Spanish/Mexican and indigenous women across the Southwest. Pérez continues, "According to [Kumeyaay elder] Delfina Cuero, Indian women healers melded knowledge learned from indigenous elders with new practices introduced to them by Spanish-Mexicans, which made their knowledge especially useful to Indians who were afflicted with unfamiliar diseases brought by European contact."[48] They wisely used what seemed beneficial to them, providing possible avenues to survive the deadly microbes introduced by Spanish/Mexican colonizers. These traditions of women passing on medicinal knowledge through the tending of their families and communities continued into the American period, incorporating Anglo-Americans into these existing networks. Manocchio offers an excellent example:

> According to the account of a Mrs. Peters, an Anglo woman who was born in 1859 and raised in Santa Ysabel, a small town in San Diego county, she and her mother learned about the medicinal properties of plants and herbs from the Indians [Kumeyaay]: '…There weren't many doctors, and medicines were scarce, so my people learned from the Indians to rely on themselves.' They learned to treat cuts, sores, and infections with an herb called *yerba del mansa*. They packed wounds with the leaves from the *rameria* plant (sagebrush) and found *peonia* (possibly an English daisy) useful in alleviating stomach trouble. Sick babies were bathed in *rameria* and their eyes were washed out with rose water. Mrs. Peters' testimony reveals one example of how women in frontier California were

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., 34.
[48] Ibid., 79.

> resourceful and became accustomed to learning from the indigenous population that had long resided in the region.[49]

Native children also brought expertise of the local plants, used not only for medicine but for many other purposes, with them to their boarding schools. A school newsletter, likely written by the nuns, explained: "Gourds are very plentiful in Southern California, particularly in the fields after harvesting. Our Indian girls understand very well how to use the fruit of these creeping vines, the yellow balls about the size of oranges, as a substitute for soap, and they also make practical use of them when darning stocking."[50] Although couched as part of appropriate American gender roles., the girls relied on their indigenous knowledge, learned from their mothers and native healers. All this knowledge accrued over generations and would be passed down through the intercultural connections among girls and women of different cultures made, in areas of midwifery, healing, and beyond.

These strong women's networks sometimes led to the sharing of information not meant to be disclosed. In two documented cases in the 1830s native women warned Californianas about planned raids.[51] In 1838 Cesárea, a native woman, informed Doña Eustaquia López of an impending attack on Rancho Jamul.[52] Machado described them as conversing in a native language, which indicates a number of Californianas were bilingual: "When they reached a place where they could speak privately, the Indian woman spoke to Doña Eustaquia in a language that she understood well. She told her that the Indians were going to revolt, kill the men, and take the women hostage."[53] Machado narrates how a similar warning took place in spring of 1838 or 1839. "Late one afternoon, at the home of Captain Henry D. Fitch, just as the family was about

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[49] Manocchio, "Tending Communities, Crossing Cultures," 77-78.
[50] *Mission Indian* I, no. 3 (December 15, 1895): 4.
[51] Beebe and Senkewicz, "Juana Machado," *Testimonios*, 121, and Juana Machado, "Juana Machado," *Testimonios*, 121, 128-132.
[52] Machado, "Juana Machado," *Testimonios*, 128-129.
[53] Ibid., 129.

to dine, one of the servants told Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch that she should be on guard. The servant was a little Indian girl named Candelaria. Doña Josefa was the little girl's godmother."[54] Carrillo de Fitch's role as her godmother clearly led to a special connection between the two, though Candelaria also worked as her servant. The intimate bonds forged between women through birth rituals, healing, and the fictive kin networks of comadrazgo also forged loyalties across the fault lines of inequalities. Pérez offers useful background, stressing that

> In traditional Iberian practices, a padrino [godfather] or madrina (godmother) acted as a co-parent and spiritual guide to his or her godchild…Godparents were typically selected from among blood relatives or close family friends to memorialize existing ties through Catholic ritual. Sponsorship solidified bonds between biological parents and new spiritual co-parents, who acknowledged their closeness by referring to each other as 'compadres.' However, relationships of social equality and familiarity present in Iberian compadrazgo did not exist between Spanish-Mexican and indigenous neophytes… Spanish-Mexican godparents undertook new expressions of obligation toward neophyte godchildren who, in exchange for material incentives and spiritual knowledge, offered their social deference, acquiescence, and labor.[55]

The relationship between Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch and Candelaria fits within this California version of Catholic godparenting. But some affection beyond gratitude for "material incentives" must have existed in this case since Candelaria chose to warn her godmother about the pending attack. And indigenous people had their own motivations for participating in Catholic practices like *compadrazgo*. Necessities like food, might be channeled from godparents to their godchildren, with native survival contingent, both literally and figuratively, within the guise of the new Catholic order.[56] Pérez adds that, "Native peoples severed and forged affective ties by relying on flexible kinship practices to regenerate and reconstitute families and communities during times of stress."[57] But their negotiations often prove difficult to uncover, in part because

[54] Ibid., 131.
[55] Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies*, 18-19.
[56] Ibid., 24, 31-33.
[57] Ibid., 22.

at the time Spanish-speakers often dismissed, ignored, and underestimated native people, especially women. This proved to case in the attack on Rancho Jamul. Beebe and Senkewitz argue that "In her [Machado's] rendition of the Indian attack on the Pico ranch at Jamul, it occurred as it did because the male overseer refused to give credence to the warnings…Another attack in San Diego itself was forestalled because the men decided to listen to what the women were saying."[58] The overseer not only dismissed the information because it came from women, but because the original informant was a *native* woman. Machado emphasized women's networks in her account, and described how a Californio ignored them based on gender only, leaving out the significance of indigeneity. But Machado's detailed secondhand knowledge of these events proved her central location within this web of ongoing gendered acculturation in the Mexican era. Machado continued to play a critical role bridging cultures in the American period. On her visits with Father Ubach, she likely taught catechism as part of her duties. If she had been younger, she probably would have worked as a teacher in the schools he established in the 1880s.

Formal schooling proved an essential component of the Catholic American "new missionization" of native people. In the Spanish and Mexican eras education mostly came through the church and family, not in classrooms. In areas more populated than the California frontier, the elite sent their children to parochial schools. Richard Griswold del Castillo, a historian who studies Chicano family dynamics, opines that "Parents who failed to set proper examples, exercise vigilance, and instill discipline were blamed for errant children…'Discipline' was that which was enforced from without and obeyed because of superior moral authority.'"[59]

[58] Machado, *Testimonios*, 121.
[59] Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present*, (Chicago: University of Notre Dame, 1984), 73.

Indigenous communities viewed childrearing completely differently. Miranda states in her book *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* that one of the priests at Mission San Diego described their devotion thusly: "'Parents love their children extremely. They seek every kind of way to feed them. They would rather suffer want themselves than to see their children in need.'"[60] A priest at Mission San Gabriel saw Indian mothers and fathers in a more negative light. Miranda quotes him as saying "'When it concerns the children…their parents love them to such an extent that we might say they are their little idols.'"[61] The worship of idols in Christian tradition was considered blasphemous, so such language demonstrates how priests believed indigenous people incapable of appropriate parenting. Native parents were marginalized since the Spanish mission period, with children and adults kept under lock and key at the mission until marriage.[62] The church "Fathers" supervised all Catholics, but parental and adult rights for native people, like their lands, continued to be held "in trust" by the missions, decades after the land was supposed to have been returned to neophytes.[63] Miranda underlines that "Priests regarded themselves as *in loco parentis*, fatherly overseers with the responsibility to instruct and guide in both temporal and spiritual matters. This state of childlike existence continued for the life of the *neofita* [native convert], who, even should she live to be one hundred years old and have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, was never legally an adult."[64] Unlike other Spanish-speakers, native people experienced life-long infantilization under the missions. While secularization occurred in the 1830s under the new Mexican government, these views of native people did not just disappear. Informal teaching through the church continued after Mexican

[60] Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 33 and 211.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Castañeda, "Sexual Violence Against Amerindian Women," *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies,* eds. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera, (Berkeley: University of California, 1993).
[63] Miranda, *Bad Indians*.
[64] Ibid., 17.

independence, there were no formal parochial schools in Mexican era California. The undermining of native parental authority continued with the establishment of educational institutions after the Mexican-American War ended in 1848.

Early in the American period the Daughters of Charity had established a school in Los Angeles in the 1850s at the request of the new Bishop.[65] This bilingual school would not have survived without the support of the Spanish-speaking community in Los Angeles.[66] Similar developments in San Diego occurred a bit later. While Mexican Americans received legal classification as white after the Mexican-American War ended, that did not mean that they never faced racism. Public school segregation under the guise of "teaching English," was used to justify separate classrooms for Anglo and Hispanic students, although this often only happened decades after American takeover, as seen in Castillo's book *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present:*

> Discipline in the American schools was at least as strict as in the Mexican schools [which existed in other regions, but not California,] prior to 1848, with beatings being a common means of punishment. But even this did not always intimidate willful students. In the 1860s Juan Bandini remembered that a whole school of Mexican-American children had 'bothered, frightened, and generally worsted' a new school teacher [sic] in San Diego and that as a result a special committee of parents had to be set up to monitor the students' possession of knives and other weapons.[67]

In this case the students apparently resisted the new authorities in a dramatic fashion. After the Mexican American War Spanish speakers found themselves in the position of colonized in relation to Anglo-Americans. Having long exerted power over native people, they gradually found themselves in a similar position. However, they were not forced onto reservations, with

[65] Kristine Gunnell, *Daughters of Charity: Women, Religious Mission, and Hospital Care in Los Angeles, 1856-1927*. (Chicago: DePaul University Vincentian Studies Institute, 2013).
[66] Ibid., 52-53.
[67] Castillo, *La Familia*, 78.

their children coercively sent to boarding schools, thus, they had more options for resistance to American takeover. But many also continued in their attempts to exert control over indigenous peoples, as seen in the case of Juana Machado.

Those "helping" native people often replicated earlier abuses, albeit in a different form. And women played essential roles in this new colonization. Like his reliance on Juana Machado, Father Ubach again turned to women for the solution. After a group of nuns passed through San Diego on their way to Arizona, Ubach decided to convince their Reverent Mother to send members of their order to establish a school in San Diego. Sister Mary Jean Fields, in her *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* article "Reminiscences of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet and the Academy of Our Lady of Peace, 1882-1982," describes their brief stop in the region:

> IN THE [sic] spring of 1870, seven Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet stepped upon the soil of San Diego…They were busy arranging for a covered wagon and a driver for their final trek to Tucson where they were to open a school at St. Augustine's Cathedral. Their courage, however, must have impressed the zealous 'padre' of Old Town, Father Antonio Ubach, for time and again he requested that Sisters of St. Joseph be sent to the little community in the far corner of California. He even made the long trip himself to Carondelet, Missouri, to plead with Reverent Mother Agatha Guthrie, who felt that San Diego was too far away.[68]

Despite the many orders in the United States by the 1870s. Father Ubach remained focused on the nuns from Carondelet. Interestingly, although they made a very strong impression on him, he did not even receive a mention in Sister Monica's diary of their journey from Carondelet.[69] Ubach dreamed of starting a school for native children. In order to remove them from the bad influences of the white (read: non-Catholic) community. Ciani remarks that "In an 1873 letter to

[68] Sister Mary Jean Fields, "Reminiscences of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet and the Academy of Our Lady of Peace, 1882-1982," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (Summer 1982).
[69] Monica Corrigan, *Trek of the Seven Sisters: Diary of Sister Monica Corrigan*, (St. Louis: Carondelet Health Network, 1997).

Catholic Bishop Amat, Father Ubach wrote, 'It affects my very heart to see their great wants, their rights so often violated…by unscrupulous white settlers…taking every advantage over them on account of their social and financial condition, without giving them any chance for redress.'"[70] Father Ubach recognized that many Anglo-American colonizers abused native people and communities, and he worked to protect children and adults from these abuses. Of course, his protection represented another form of colonization. And his solution of separate schools actually aligned with the goals of most new settlers.

Segregated schooling became a major concern in this period for Anglo-Americans. Many whites objected to the presence of native children in schools. They did not want their children exposed to those they deemed inferior. Ciani makes clear that many "San Diegans registered complaints in the 1870s that their children had to attend school with 'natives.' Consequently, residents built a separate school that segregated 'white' from 'native' children."[71] White women across the United States, including the Southwest, proved essential to organizing and maintaining educational segregation for Native Americans. Some did this under the guise, genuine or feigned, of helping native people. Carter notes in her legislative chronology that the U.S. Government's "Special Commissioner on Mission Indians…[met in 1874] with San Diego community leaders, winning increased support for plans to 'solve the Indian problem' by establishing Indian land claims and building churches and schools to 'civilize' and 'uplift' the Indians."[72] Anglo-Americans in San Diego turned to women, seen as the traditional bearers of civilization, to head the educational efforts. Historian Teresa Baksh McNeil's *San Diego*

[70] Ciani, "Perceptions of Indian Life in San Diego," 271.
[71] Ibid., 266.
[72] Carter, "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County."

Historical Society Quarterly article, "St. Anthony's Indian School in San Diego, 1886-1907," provides one of the few studies of the school. She gives details of earlier efforts, stating that in:

> 1881, an Indian school was established under the supervision of Mrs. Crothers. Unfortunately, government aid was withdrawn from her school one year later. Another educational effort was made by the Indian Aid Association in 1884, which commissioned a group of Presbyterian women to teach in an Industrial Home for Indian children. Nevertheless, due to erratic federal funding the Presbyterians soon admitted defeat and offered to urge the Department of the Interior to put the school under the charge of Father Ubach.[73]

These women entered the public sphere as an extension of their roles as mothers. What proved unusual in San Diego was that Protestants supported Catholic Indian education. Such cooperation ran counter to the general pattern of Protestant resistance to Catholic efforts in education, including teaching native children.[74]

Although many education reformers and organizations in this time period claimed that they wanted public schools to be secular, in reality the curriculum had a strong Protestant bent. Prayers and lessons came from Protestant traditions and the King James version of the Bible.[75] Behind this tension and anti-Catholic sentiment was a shift in immigration patterns. The Catholic Black and Indian Mission Office website provides the following historical sketch:

> The arrival of immigrants from the non-English speaking, largely Catholic parts of Europe gave rise to…[many anti-Catholic] groups…Their argument might have been summed up like this: The more people are like each other, the more peaceful society will be. America has had an identity, one that is white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. That identity should be passed on to future generations, whether descendants of early settlers, new immigrants, or American Indians.[76]

Of course, these reformers ignored that the United States had taken over territory previously colonized by Catholic Mexicans. Catholics, increasing in number due to immigration in the

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[73] McNeil, "St, Anthony's Indian School."
[74] Francis Paul Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1979).*
[75] Ibid.
[76] "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," Black and Indian Mission Office, Accessed December 1, 2019, https://blackandindianmission.org/aboutus/bcim.

nineteenth century, underscored the importance of parochial education to counter the Protestant messages infused in American public education. Castillo underscores that:

> In the American era, particularly after the 1880s when states began to pass compulsory school attendance laws, public schools began to encroach on the prerogative of the family and the church. This tended to fragment authority. Increasingly Mexican Americans were presented with models of behavior which conflicted with their traditional culture. Mexican-American families sometimes reacted to this dilemma by withdrawing their children from the schools or protesting the curriculum and methods of instruction.[77]

Mexican American and Anglo Catholics preferred parochial schools, with nuns often serving as the teachers. Anti-Catholic prejudices applied in an interesting way to Catholic women, especially nuns whose donning of the habit made them highly visible. Historian Mary Ewens, in her book *The Role of the Nun in Nineteenth Century America*, writes "Though institutions are often judged by their leaders, the nun has been connected with the Catholic Church, through her highly conspicuous garb, even more closely than her priests and bishops have…she [the nun] symbolized all that was foreign, threatening, and evil in the Catholic Church and in the civilization of the [European] Continent."[78] While the local protestants in San Diego supported Father Ubach, anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States more broadly still shaped projects like St. Anthony's School. His struggles to get financial support from the federal government fit with the pattern of anti-Catholicism. By 1886, the year St. Anthony's opened, the Catholic church also ran seventeen day schools.[79] That year the federal government paid almost $400,000 to support parochial schools.[80] The Catholic Black and Indian Mission Office website explains that "This remarkable success had unfortunate results for them. Other denominations, jealous of

[77] Castillo, *La Familia*, 79.
[78] Mary Ewens, *The Role of the Nun in Nineteenth Century America: Variations on the International Theme*, (Pennsauken: BookBaby, 2014), 3.
[79] "Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission," Black and Indian Mission Office.
[80] Ibid.

Catholic successes, began to lobby for an end to the payouts for all religious Indian schools, with the result that Congress voted in 1896 to end funding for 'education in any sectarian school.'"[81] The funding gradually declined over four years, with all support ending in 1900.

Catholic schooling in San Diego actually started with an academy for the children of settlers. After repeated requests to the Reverend Mother of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Father Ubach finally got his wish as she agreed to send a group of sisters to San Diego. The small size of this first group meant that his favored project, the native school, would have to wait. Four sisters, Coletta Dumbach, Amelia León, Ambrosia O'Neill, and Eutichiana Piccini, established Our Lady of Peace in 1882. This day school served the children of settlers in New Town.[82] Mother Ambrosia O'Neill had been nicknamed "El Capitán" (the captain) by the Yuma Indians she served previously,[83] a sign of her leadership. The other sisters likewise proved carefully chosen for their experience and abilities. Amelia León was one of the first set of noviates at Tucson,[84] and in San Diego she likely reached out to fellow Spanish-speaking Catholics. Castillo found that "It appears from scattered evidence gathered in New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Texas that Mexican Americans thought that special discipline was necessary for girls in order to mold them into proper mothers."[85] Sister León's upbringing meant she probably brought these beliefs to her approach to teaching, and her presence at the school may have convinced Mexican American parents that their daughters would receive an appropriate education. Other sisters also had Tucson connections and experience working in the

[81] Ibid.
[82] Mary Lucida Savage, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of its Work in the United States (1650-1922)*, (London: B. Herder Book Company, 1923), 263.
[83] Melinda Blade, "The Sisters of St. Joseph and the Early Years of the Academy," Historical Corner, Academy of Our Lady Peace, December 1, 2016, https://www.aolp.org/december-2016-enewsletter-historical-corner-early-years/.
[84] Mary Williams, *All Things New: The story of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in the Los Angeles Province*, (St. Paul: Good Ground Press, 2014), 23.
[85] Castillo, *La Familia*, 81.

Southwest. Before arriving in San Diego Eutichiana Piccini had gone from Carondelet to Tucson in 1876.[86] She likely learned Spanish during her time there. By 1884 several more nuns arrived in San Diego.

After the success of Our Lady of Peace, Father Ubach's pet project finally received attention. Sister Dolorosa Mannix, in a manuscript on the history of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in the order's archive, stresses that "In 1886…three sisters [of St. Joseph of Carondolet were sent] to open a school for Indians at Old Town…Mother Hyacinth Blanc was appointed superior, and her [helpers were] Sister Teresa Ortiz and Sister Nazarene Dean."[87] The timing then proved perfect, since by the end of the 1885 school year the various women-led Protestant groups in San Diego had tried and given up on their Indian schooling efforts, so they threw their support to Father Ubach, strengthening his case for federal government funding. McNeil provides this background:

> Father Ubach then made a tour of the rancherias in his jurisdiction to recruit students, and St. Anthony's Industrial School for Indians, named after the priest's patron saint, opened in the fall of 1886. The Sisters commuted [four miles each way] daily by a horse-drawn buggy from their residence at the Academy of Our Lady of Peace, located at Third and A Streets.[88]

The remodeled Casa de Aguirre, on the corner of Twiggs Street and San Diego Avenue, served as the school building.[89] Since St. Anthony is the patron saint of lost things, the name might have been selected for a school for "lost" native souls. Catholic children, including native students in Southern California in this time period, were taught to pray to him for help finding lost items.[90] Fittingly, Mother Superior Hyacinth Blanc was one of the seven nuns who had so

[86] Williams, *All Things New*, 21.
[87] Sister Dolorosa Mannix, Manuscript on the History of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, Carondelet Consolidated Archive, Los Angeles Province collection, Los Angeles.
[88] McNeil, "St Anthony's Indian School."
[89] Ibid.
[90] "Letter from Virginia Flores to Uncle Tom," *Mission Indian* I, no. 2 (November 15, 1895): 5.

impressed Father Ubach as they passed through San Diego years earlier on their way to Tucson.[91] Sister Teresa Ortiz, like Amelia León, belonged to the first group to take their vows in Tucson.[92] Originally located in Old Town, near the Immaculate Conception Church, Ubach relocated the school in the early 1890s to Mission San Diego de Alcalá.[93] "In 1891, using assistance from the U.S. government and the BCIM (Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions), Father Ubach had two new buildings constructed beside Mission San Diego, one on either side.[94] One was a dormitory for boys and the other for girls.[95] Catholics considered co-ed classes immoral, so gender segregation pervaded all aspects of school life.[96] Ruiz explains that in the 1870s:

> Catholic priests in New Mexico voiced intense opposition and the Archbishop Lamy of Santa Fe 'threatened to withhold the sacraments from children who attended these coeducational secular schools.' Father Gasparri, editor of *La Revista Católica* and an ardent foe of women's suffrage, articulated his concerns that coeducational classrooms would 'remove any brakes to contain the passions of the human heart.'[97]

Their opposition to the idea of children sharing the same space with those of the opposite gender also served as a way to maintain control, particularly over girls. The complete gender divide proved extremely disruptive to native understandings of social interactions and their own bodies. Miranda delineates that:

> …in the case of American Indians, the strict separation of boys and girls during long stints at Indian boarding school (such distances not only changed Native courtship and coming-of-age experiences, but also inscribed a European, Christianized dogma regarding the 'dirtiness' of Native bodies and sexuality in general).[98]

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[91] Williams, *All Things New,* 11.
[92] Ibid., 23.
[93] Bevil, "The Sacred and the Profane."
[94] Savage, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*, 289.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Vicki Ruiz, "Tapestries of Resistance: Episodes of School Segregation and Desegregation in the Western United States," *From the Grassroots to the Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education and American Democracy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004): 47-48.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Deborah Miranda, "Dildos, Hummingbirds, and Driving Her Crazy: Searching for American Indian Women's Love Poetry and Erotics," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no.2 (2002): 140.

The Catholic church wanted to change native approaches to courtship and sex, since acceptable Indian traditions, like pre-marital sex, fit under the church's definition of "sin." Furthermore, this spatial gendered separation also symbolized the purpose of the institution: to train children in proper Catholic gender-appropriate behavior. And nuns kept order. *The Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*, a 1966 book by women of the order, claims that "The two sisters [Hyacinth Blanc and Teresa Ortiz], with Mother Octavia Beaudeut as superior, occupied part of the crumbling adobe buildings."[99]

FIGURE 2: Indian Girls and Nuns, Mission San Diego de Alcalá, c. 1890
(Courtesy of the San Diego History Center)

[99] Sister Dolorita Marie Dougherty et al., *Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*, (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1966), 340-341.

The above image serves as perfect demonstration of the goals of Catholic colonizers. The girls are covered head to toe by their clothing, with only head, neck, and hands exposed. They thus exhibited proper femininity and modesty, and would not serve as a sexual "temptation."

The focus of the school was industrial education, the boys learned farming, cobbling and other trades like stock raising, while the girls learned domestic skills such as baking and sewing.[100] Attendance averaged 90-100 in the 1890s.[101] Mannix notes that "'After discouraging trips to Washington and appeals to the Indian Bureau he [Ubach] obtained a small appropriation to which he added what small support he could.'"[102] This funding came with strings attached, the federal government sent officials to observe and report on schools receiving funding. Despite their different approaches, familial metaphors pervade both Catholic and American education traditions. The "sisters" ran things day to day, but the superintendent of such schools was always the male "Father," the head of the school "family." A federal government official, visiting the Indian school in 1890, described the education facilities favorably. McNeil quotes them as saying "'I found two separate schools, one for girls, with 47 pupils present, and one for boys with 36 in attendance…The sisters I should judge were more than usually well qualified for their work. The pupils are under good discipline and I think well instructed. They read clearly and distinctly and sang unusually well. The girls have good advantages in the way of industrial training.'"[103] As in the original Spanish missions, women played central roles in this new missionization. Even with such favorable reports, Father Ubach's boarding school lost government funding.

[100] McNeil, "St Anthony's Indian School."
[101] Williams, *All Things New*, 35.
[102] Sister Dolorosa Mannix, Manuscript.
[103] McNeil, "St. Anthony's Indian School."

Keeping Catholic Indian schools running served as a priority not only for a small group of dedicated Catholics in San Diego, but also for a number of devoted individuals at the national level. The major source of financial support came from Katharine Drexel, who inherited a fortune after the death of her father. Born Catherine Mary Drexel in 1858 to a wealthy Philadelphia banking family, her parents practiced philanthropy and they did more than just give money.[104] Her devoutly Catholic stepmother, Emma Bouvier Drexel, did not just donate to charities, but actually invited the poor into their home three days a week, where they could make one-on-one appeals for her financial assistance.[105] Cordelia Frances Biddle's biography of Katharine Drexel asserts that Emma Drexel played an essential role in raising her to dedicate herself to charity. "'Never let the poor have cold feet,' she told Katie and Lizzie when they were old enough to aid her charity work…[Drexel and her sisters] delivered bundles of clean, folded clothes, or blankets, or coats or mittens when it was cold."[106] The girls also ran Catholic Sunday schools for working class children at old St. Joseph's Church in Philadelphia and on their country estate, St. Michel, about fourteen miles away in Torresdale, PA.[107] The Drexel girls welcomed children of all races into their country school, while the one in Philadelphia served exclusively black students.[108] This proves especially remarkable due to the fact that they grew up in the era of Jim Crow, and most wealthy whites in the region only interacted with African Americans as domestics, chauffeurs, and gardeners.

By chance, Drexel also learned about the struggles faced by Native Americans in the United States. While sightseeing in Rome in 1883 the family met Father Peter Hylebos, a

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[104] Cordelia Frances Biddle, *Saint Katharine: The Life of Katharine Drexel*, (Yardley: Westholme Publishing, 2014), 18 and 23.
[105] Cheryl C. D. Hughes, *Katharine Drexel: The Riches-to-Rags Story of an American Catholic Saint,* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2014); and Biddle, *Saint Katharine*, 42-43.
[106] Biddle, *Saint Katharine*, 43.
[107] Hughes, *Katharine Drexel,* 30; and Biddle, *Saint Katharine,* 43.
[108] Hughes, *Katharine Drexel,* 31-32.

Belgian missionary working with native nations in the Pacific Northwest.[109] They ran into him again on a trip to Northwest, when they stopped in Tacoma for Mass on the way to Seattle.[110] He showed them his mission church nearby, where he served the Puyallup people.[111] Deeply moved by the simple church, Drexel chose to spend her allowance to donate a statue of their patron saint to the mission.[112] When they were older Drexel's spiritual advisor, Bishop O'Connor, again showed her and her sisters first-hand the sometimes terrible conditions faced by native people.[113] Msgr. Joseph Stephan took them to the Bishop's new post in Nebraska Territory.[114] There, according to the website of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (SBS), the order that Drexel founded, "…the young women visited several remote reservations in 1887 and 1888. They met with tribal leaders and witnessed the dire poverty endured by the people."[115] Katharine Drexel proved especially moved by what she saw. She "…began building schools on the reservations, providing food, clothing and financial support...During her lifetime, through the Bureau of Colored and Indian Missions [later called the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions or BCIM] she supported churches and schools throughout the United States and abroad."[116] Drexel devoted both her wealth and her life to the church.[117] In her thirties, after years of consulting with Bishop O'Connor, and even after an audience with the pope, she founded SBS as a missionary order dedicated to serving the African American and Indian populations.[118] The new congregation, with Mary Katharine (her new religious name) as Mother Superior, worked as

[109] Ibid., 43.
[110] Ibid., 44.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid., 35; and "Lay Apostolate," Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Accessed December 1, 2019, http://www.katharinedrexel.org/st-katharine-drexel-overview/lay-apostolate/.
[115] "Lay Apostolate," Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Hughes, *Katharine Drexel;* and Biddle, *Saint Katharine*.
[118] Hughes, *Katharine Drexel;* and Biddle, *Saint Katharine*, 114-118.

teachers in black and Native American schools across the nation.[119] Throughout her life the order faced challenges from those in and out of the church who opposed equal education, including the Ku Klux Klan, who once even burned a cross at the motherhouse.[120] The SBS continues their mission of service to African American and native communities today and the Catholic church canonized Mother Katharine as a saint in 2000.[121] Not only an advocate of education across color lines, she proved ahead of her time in terms of gender equality as well. Biddle declares that:

> Having made Xavier [University in New Orleans] co-educational from its founding days [in 1915], in 1929 [when the school needed to expand and relocate] Katharine found herself publicly challenging Pope Pius XI's papal encyclical on Christian education, *Divini Illius Magistri*—'The Divine Teacher': 'False also and harmful to Christian education is the so-called method of 'coeducation.'…The creator has ordained and disposed perfect union of the sexes only in matrimony, and, with varying degrees of contact, in the family and in society.'…She wasn't about to change her belief in educational equality for all.[122]

After suffering a serious heart attack in 1935, Mother Katharine limited her missionary travels but continued her emotional and financial support of these enterprises until her death in 1955.[123] When she first decided to become a nun, Drexel set up the BCIM as the financial administrator of her personal wealth so it could use her money to support Catholic missionary efforts in the United States.[124]

As stated by the Catholic Black and Indian Mission Office website, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William A. Jones, asked Msgr. Joseph Stephan, Director of the

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[119] Hughes, *Katharine Drexel;* and Biddle, *Saint Katharine*, 23.
[120] Hughes, *Katharine Drexel,* 11; and Biddle, *Saint Katharine*, 18, 42, 54-55, 195-197, 213-216, 218, and 228.
[121] "Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament," Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Accessed December 1, 2019, http://www.katharinedrexel.org/sisters-of-the-blessed-sacrament/?doing_wp_cron=1527792566.6823720932006835937500.
[122] Biddle, *Saint Katharine*, 216-217.
[123] "Founding of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament," Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Accessed December 1, 2019, http://www.katharinedrexel.org/st-katharine-drexel-overview/founding-of-the-sisters-of-the-blessed-sacrament/.
[124] Hughes, *Katharine Drexel* and Biddle, *Saint Katharine*

BCIM, which Catholic schools would be closing Stephan replied "'…none of them. He was determined that none of his more than 2,000 students should be deprived of a Catholic education, even though it would cost the Bureau about $150,000 a year. It was a bold decision, very characteristic of the immigrant priest who devoted his life to serving the well-being of Native Americans.'"[125] His boldness also came from the knowledge that Mother Katharine would provide the majority of these funds for the Catholic Indian schools. Without her patronage the BCIM would have folded. St. Anthony's in San Diego, and many other schools like it, would have closed if not for Mother Katharine's support.[126] By 1908, however, the number of students dwindled, so the remaining students transferred to St. Boniface Indian School at Banning.[127] Father Ubach died in 1907 and some attribute the drop in attendance to the loss of his leadership.[128]

Another group of nuns from the order of Saint Joseph of Carondelet established St. Boniface in 1890.[129] *All Things New: The Story of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in the Los Angeles Province*, another, more recent publication by the order, notes that "With the support of the Sr. Katharine Drexel Foundation, Monsignor Joseph Stephan, director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, purchased eighty acres of land in Banning and built a school which included a three-story building, other small buildings, an outdoor shrine, and a small church."[130] At this time San Diego County included Banning, [131] which is approximately 115 miles northeast of San Diego and 90 miles east of Los Angeles. The *Sisters of Saint Joseph of*

[125] "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," Black and Indian Mission Office.
[126] McNeil, "St, Anthony's Indian School."
[127] Dougherty et al., *Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*, 341.
[128] Williams, *All Things New*, 35.
[129] Dougherty et al., *Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*, 341.
[130] Williams, *All Things New*, 38.
[131] Owen C. Coy, *California County Boundaries*, (Berkeley: California Historical Commission, 1923) and "The Creation of Our 58 Counties," California State Association of Counties, Accessed December 14, 2019, http://www.counties.org/general-information/creation-our-58-counties/.

Carondelet sets the stage by narrating that "Six sisters—Mother Celestia Reilly, superior, Sisters Anna Francis Stack, Alphonse Lamb, Gonzaga Covey, Virginia Joseph Byrne and Lydia Bulger—opened the school."[132] The schools assisted one another to some degree, and Sister Alphonse (or Alphonsa) seems to have later moved to St. Anthony's.[133] "The Office of Indian Affairs provided for 100 students, but the school took 120 in the first class of 1890, turning away another 50 50 applicants," according to *All Things New: The Story of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in the Los Angeles Province*.[134] The school accepted more pupils in later years. In the words of Sister Mary Anne Bahner, quoted in the same book:

> 'We had 150 Indian children who lived there twelve months a year. **They ate mostly beans** donated by Oxnard farmers, **also fruit**—apricots which we picked, dried and canned. After Mother Katharine Drexel withdrew her support [since she had so many other missions to finance] we existed on the proceeds of a barbeque festival held every year…The sisters worked very hard. With the children we did all the laundry. The boys under a male director…tended the pigs and milked the cows.'[135] (Emphasis mine).

The school profited off this compulsory student labor, and feeding them shockingly substandard food, all while having them raise more valuable livestock, probably butchered for the barbeque festival fundraiser. The sister's account did not give a second thought to this exploitation. She emphasized that the sisters worked hard, not acknowledging that they chose that path as adults, while the children had little power over their conditions. Church histories continue to gloss over this mistreatment.[136] St. Anthony's likely followed a similar pattern in terms of having students work and only providing a marginal diet. "By 1893, the [St. Anthony's students] had cultivated 120 acres of its land."[137] An impressive feat for only 90-100 students, and one accomplished less

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[132] Dougherty et al., *Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet,* 341.
[133] "Letter from Catherine to Uncle Tom," *Mission Indian* I, no. 2 (November 15, 1895): 5.
[134] Williams, *All Things New*, 38.
[135] Ibid., 39.
[136] Dougherty et al., *Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*; Savage, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*; Corrigan, *Trek of the Seven Sisters*; and Williams, *All Things New*.
[137] McNeil, "St Anthony's Indian School."

than two years after the school had moved to the site of the old mission. The Banning school benefitted from student labor all year, since most students did not go home for the summer.

The ideology of native girls and women as domestic workers structured all native schools and their curriculum in this era, as they attempted to indoctrinate the students with "American" values. For girls, Americanization translated to domestic service. While some academic studies have emphasized the gendered nature of native education, others have focused on labor exploitation. Actually, the two prove inseparable. Historian Evelyn Nakano Glen offers this analysis in her book, *Forced to Care: Coercion and Caregiving in America*: "Importantly…[the U.S. government's] assimilation policy was intended to instill a sense of gender-appropriate duties and obligations: Indian men would learn to fulfill their responsibilities as heads of households by engaging in productive economic activity, and Indian women would learn to fulfill their duties as wives by engaging in caring activities within the home."[138] This same obsession with gender roles occurred inside the Catholic Indian schools, with an emphasis on vocational training for a gendered, racially stratified workforce. This idea, at least for government schools, started at Carlisle, founded by Captain Richard Henry Pratt in 1879.[139] Ruiz in her article in *From the Grassroots to the Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education and American Democracy* offers a shrewd analysis:

> Given that the federal government funded the boarders' education at $167 per student per year, it is not surprising that American Indian children, some as young as six years of age, should have put in long hours providing items for school use and for the market.[140]

[138] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Forced to Care: Coercion and Caregiving in America*, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2012), 45.
[139] Ruiz, "Tapestries of Resistance," 49.
[140] Ibid., 50.

Catholic schools for native students faced even greater financial pressure when the U.S. Congress cut off government funding. Publications from St. Boniface hinted at the work students performed.

St. Boniface produced a newsletter called *The Mission Indian*. The July 1906 edition described how the girls learned to play the organ, made dresses, produced fancy needle work, baked and cooked, took care of the younger pupils, and did the cleaning.[141] The school likely exploited these sewing and needlework skills to raise money. Using native children to cook, clean, and watch younger pupils also saved school funds. The boys worked for half the day and attended school the other half.[142] The very first newsletter, from 1890, included this description: "The course of instruction is varied and useful, comprising reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, United States history, etc., besides a technical knowledge of printing, carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, horticulture and farming for the boys, while the girls are trained in laundry, kitchen, sewing and fancy work, etc."[143] The subjects, opportunities, and training for the girls gave them stratified opportunities for employment after graduation.

The goals of colonization pervade the newsletters. Ensuring proper gendered tasks and behaviors appeared a priority. Historian K. Tsianina Lomawaima argues in *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* that in that school as well "An ideological rationale more fully accounts for domesticity training: it was training in dispossession under the guise of domesticity, developing a habitus shaped by the messages of subservience and one's proper place."[144] *The Mission Indian* also reported on purported changes in the native

[141] *Mission Indian* VIII, no. 1 (July 15, 1906): 5.
[142] *Mission Indian* VIII, no. 1 (July 15, 1906): 5.
[143] *Mission Indian* I, no. 1 (October 15, 1895): 7.
[144] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 86.

community more broadly. The July 1906 edition claimed "The Indians in general have made progress. Their homes have improved; they do more work, even in the desert you will find cultivation and improvement. An encouragement to home life and improving the home should be given them and any money given to help them on in this line, is well spent."[145] Here the newsletter takes credit for native "improvement," and made recommendations for further Americanization. The newsletter configured extensive praise of Catholic influences in contrast to federal apathy. One section, called "Sick and Indigent Indians," stated in that same edition that "The Indians of the United States are under the care and control of the Federal Government."[146] Yet this "care" did not always happen in practice, something Catholic missionaries bemoaned. The newsletter continued:

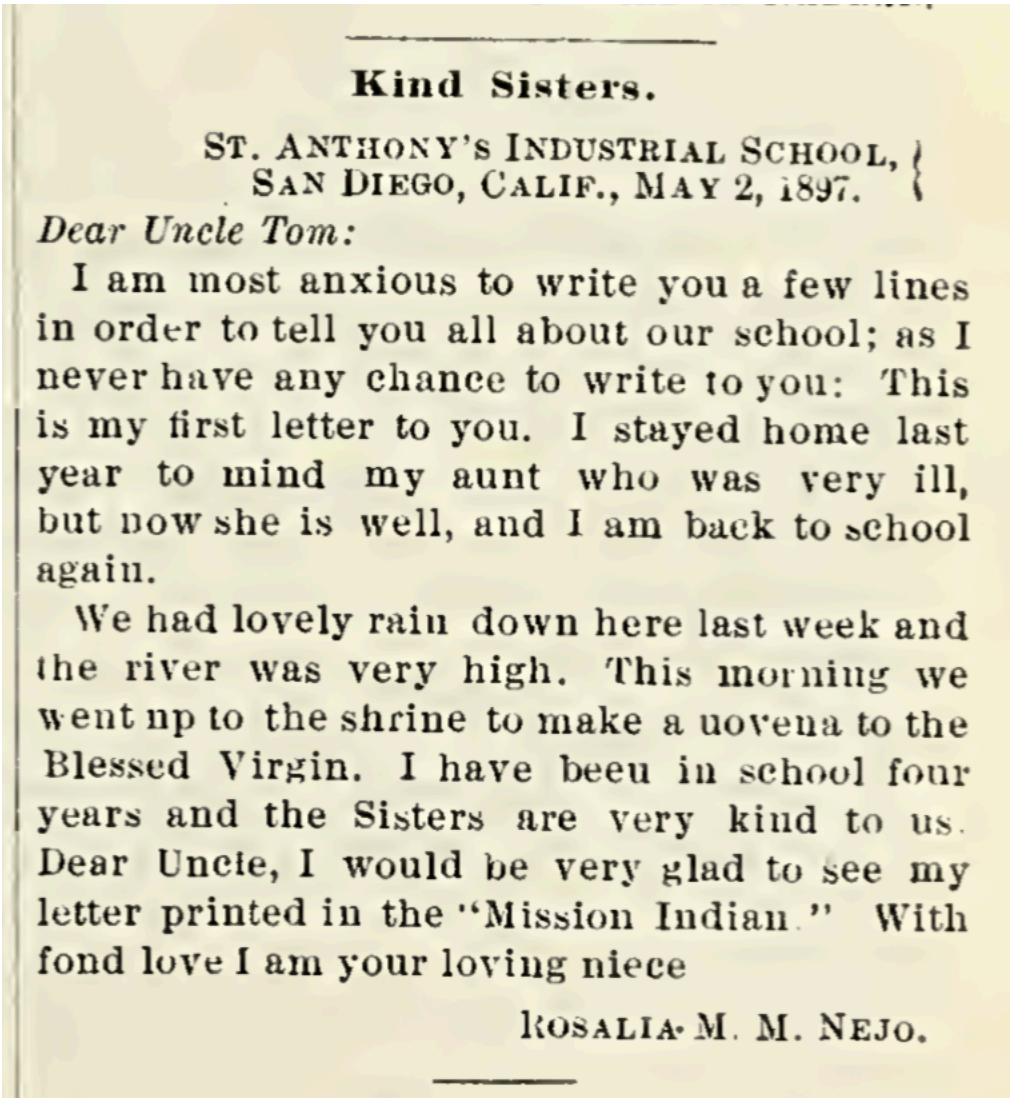
> An Indian woman suffering from cancer came to Banning for help. Efforts were made to induce the Indian Agent, Dr. Wright, to assist the family. He said he could not, as there is no money…There is also an Indian boy suffering of a similar disease at Martinez and an Indian having only one leg at Alimo Bonito. As long as the Federal Government controls and has charge of the Indians, expending more than twelve millions [sic] annually, such pitiful cases ought to be alleviated without grumbling and delay.[147]

These tragic stories likely tugged at the heart strings of readers. Some federal officials did take advantage of native people. But other OIA employees simply did not have access to enough resources. Private donations and aid attempted to fill in these gaps. In fairness, the newsletters did not malign all government employees. The August 1897 publication highlighted that "Mrs. Watkins, the teacher of the Government's Day School, is a staunch friend of the Indians and helps them in every way she can."[148] This recognition serves as an example of looking past religion to acknowledge good work. But of course, deciding the type of help Indians needed still

[145] *Mission Indian* VIII, no. 1 (July 15, 1906): 6.
[146] *Mission Indian* VIII, no. 1 (July 15, 1906): 6.
[147] Ibid., 9.
[148] *Mission Indian* II, no. 11 (August 15, 1897): 6.

lay in the hands of white colonizers, regardless of religion. Reformers defined what was "right" for them. Such "guidance" permeated the newsletters, including student letters.

The "Uncle Tom" column offered advice and stories for native children. Children in Catholic schools would write letters to him and the newsletter would print selected missives. Most described a desire to be good Catholics and learn their lessons. Providing a child's insight into colonization in the day to day, Rosalia Nejo wrote:



Kind Sisters.

ST. ANTHONY'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,
SAN DIEGO, CALIF., MAY 2, 1897.

Dear Uncle Tom:

I am most anxious to write you a few lines in order to tell you all about our school; as I never have any chance to write to you: This is my first letter to you. I stayed home last year to mind my aunt who was very ill, but now she is well, and I am back to school again.

We had lovely rain down here last week and the river was very high. This morning we went up to the shrine to make a novena to the Blessed Virgin. I have been in school four years and the Sisters are very kind to us. Dear Uncle, I would be very glad to see my letter printed in the "Mission Indian." With fond love I am your loving niece

ROSALIA M. M. NEJO.

FIGURE 3: Student Rosalia M. M. Nejo Writes to Uncle Tom, St. Anthony's, 1897
(Courtesy of the Smithsonian; *Mission Indian* II, no. 8 (May 15, 1897): 5)

The background information about staying with a sick relative provides interesting context on the native community, something not usually included in the letters selected for publication. She prioritizes family and kinship ties over American schooling. Caring for her aunt came first. This pattern of loyalty to her native roots would continue throughout her life. Nejo's praise of the sisters fit well with ideas about children's and native people's proper deference to authority. Descriptions of mission Indians well into the twentieth century commonly referred to them as docile. Both of the official, church sanctioned histories *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet* and *The Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet* employ this type of language. Written in 1923 and 1966 respectively, by sisters of the order, they glorified past missionary endeavors.

No explicitly negative letters were ever published, although some included young ones posing questions about church doctrine. In another student letter, Salvadora Machada described herself and her fellow students at St. Anthony's as good girls.[149] "My studies are Catechism, reading, spelling, Bible History, Arithmetic, Geography"[150] She also mentioned her work in the sisters' dining room.[151] Similarly, in another letter from San Diego, Scholastica Quisquis offered a rosy report. "All the Sisters are well and they are kind to the children. I like to be with the Sisters. I wish to be with them all the time."[152] This certainly fit well with the newsletter's message. Given that schools used physical punishment in this era it seems especially unlikely that the sisters were "kind" all the time. Physical punishment of children was commonly accepted in U.S. society at this time, but most native nations did not condone these practices before European arrival, and many held onto this philosophy despite colonization. The use of corporal correction did not mean that the sisters did not care about the children. Certainly most

[149] *Mission Indian* II, no. 6 (March 15, 1897): 6.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

women religious felt deeply about their work and thought they were saving these children's souls. Yet, they relied on corporal punishment, imposing it on people from societies without these traditions, causing physical and psychological damage. Miranda calls attention to the fact that "Recent work by Eduardo and Bonnie Duran (*Native American Postcolonial Psychology*) suggests that the survivors of genocide manifest symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder many generations past the original violence.'"[153] California Indians have endured multiple waves of colonial genocide, from physical attacks and murders, the spiritual violence of forced conversion, and the emotional and psychological violence of cultural genocide.

The surveillance and control over students in these boarding schools is reflected in letters to Uncle Tom. Camelita Nadran told Uncle Tom that "Our teacher gave us permission to write to you."[154] And Andrea B. Gaucheña included an unattributed quote, which seems like directions given by a sister. "'Certianly [sic] your Uncle is old but he likes to hear good news.'" Thus two filtering processes existed, one on the sending end and another on the publishing end. Only letters that praised Catholic practices and schools made the cut. This process of control mirrored that of the Carlisle Indian Industrial newspaper. Scholar Jacqueline Fear-Segal in her article, "The Man on the Bandstand at Carlisle Indian Industrial School: What He Reveals About the Children's Experiences," shows that "In the guise of a school magazine, the *Indian Helper* reported events, handed out admonishments and advice, printed letters, and documented the activities of staff and students."[155] *The Indian Helper: For Our Indian Boys and Girls* was published weekly and aimed at a student and alumni audience, unlike the Carlisle's monthly

[153] Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 77.
[154] *Mission Indian* II, no. 8 (May 15, 1897): 5.
[155] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, "The Man-on-the-band-stand at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School: What He Reveals about the Children's Experiences," *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, eds. Clifford E. Trafzer and Jean A. Keller, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 100.

publication, which desired a general U.S. readership.[156] In contrast, St. Boniface o had only one publication, aimed at both a general Catholic audience and students, with Uncle Tom's column directly written for schoolchildren. Direct and indirect hints of the surveillance structure of the school exist in *The Indian Helper*, as Fear-Segal expertly demonstrates. She highlights that the constant. Constant references to "the-man-on-the-bandstand" left children with the impression there was always a secret presence watching them. "This anonymous, invisible, white, male persona brazenly located him-self on the school bandstand, claiming it as both home and editorial site. From here he watched the children and commented on their activities [in the newspaper]."[157] The parallel to this at St. Boniface and St. Anthony's was the Catholic God, all-seeing and all-knowing. Priests, and particularly the sisters, watched over the students and their behaviors, coercing them into appropriate actions. Although the publications controlled content, native children and their parents resisted school assimilation plans in a myriad of ways. Tracking disobedience proves difficult, for example how many students faked compliance but never truly converted. Other forms of rebellion appear in the school records or direct accounts themselves. McNeil's article mentions this case:

> Two little girls, aged nine and ten years, secretly packed pilfered food in a box, and at an opportune moment quietly left the school. Missing them about an hour later, Mother Octavia with a companion harnessed a horse to the buggy, and overtook the wanderers on the Valley Road…After listening to their story but not moved by their sobs Mother took from her pocket the weapon of punishment, and with four snips of the scissors their straight black hair was cut short.[158]

Despite knowing the risks, students like these girls chose to rebel against the school authorities. Their punishment was intended to serve as an ongoing humiliation and warning to other students, a visual reminder of the power of the Mother Superior. But perhaps the students thought of it as

[156] Ibid., 101.
[157] Ibid.
[158] McNeil, "St. Anthony's Indian School."

a badge of honor in some ways. Their interpretations and responses do not appear in the existing records.

More subtle forms of resistance come through in some of the children's letters. Although heavily supervised when writing them, hints of their own agency and interests appear.

> *Dear Uncle Tom:*
> One day last week our little donkey got tired of the barn-yard and thought he would take a walk. So he followed the cows up into the canyon and was not missed by your little nieces and nephews until the evening recreation. O dear uncle, you never saw such sad faces! We thought Bonita was lost. We asked dear St. Anthony to help us, and in an hour, thanks to dear St. Anthony, the boys returned with our pet. Last Sunday all your nieces and nephews took a walk, and that Bonita might now be lonely we took him with us. As we passed the bees they flew about us, but did not sting. Our gentle little donkey was frightened: he danced and jumped, and almost threw off his ride. I don't think he likes bees…
>
> Your niece,
> VIRGINIA FLORES[159]

The joy and amusement the students derived from Bonita comes across vividly in Flores' stories. Besides the mention of St. Anthony, Catholic teachings are absent. Indeed, a peaceful and respectful relationship with fellow living beings, more in line with native spiritual understandings, emerges. A debate about gender roles also emerged in a series of letters. "Uncle Tom" titled this student's letter "Well Done, Mary":

> *Dear Uncle Tom:*
> I was surprised that you published Callistro Antonio's letter, because to me it seemed to lack the commendable kindness and courtesy due to ladies. Perhaps, Uncle Tom, you might tell the boys that the girls do the cooking, ironing, mending of clothes, washing dishes, making shirts, pantaloons, and do other things for the boys.
> We are very well satisfied with the bread the boys bake, and hope that some of them may be professional bakers when they leave school.
> However, if the boys think we have nothing to do than eat their bread, please tell them to study the old proverb that says:
>
> Man may work from sun to sun
> But women's work is never done.
>
> And it is still true.

[159] *Mission Indian* I, no. 2, (November 15, 1895): 5.

Your loving niece,
MARY BANKS[160]

Banks make interesting use of American gender conventions, demanding kindness and courtesy for "ladies," but also pointing out the physical labor involved in the work that she and the other girls perform at school. Reminiscent of working class immigrant women in New York City who also claimed the term ladies for themselves in this same time period, Banks demands respect from her male peers.[161] As a native woman her call also challenges the racial order as well. The letter that upset her appeared in the previous month's edition of *The Mission Indian*. Interestingly, the newsletter titled the letter "Very Clever; Will Answer Next Issue."

> *Dear Uncle Tom:*
> I write you these few lines to ask you some questions…Uncle Tom, why is it the girls can't knead the flour to make bread? I want to get a better answer from you because I presume you know why. One of the boys said it was because the girls had not enough strength, and what strength they had they needed in their jaws to chew the bread we make…
>
> Your loving nephew,
> CALLISTRO ANTONIO[162]

Antonio seemed genuinely confused about the gendered labor divides imposed at St. Boniface. Why are the girls not also bakers? His friend's answer that girls were too weak fit with certain American stereotypes of women, but the answer left Antonio unsatisfied. So he turned to a greater authority, the all-knowing Uncle Tom. But the newsletter allowed Mary Banks to offer the final word on the subject, a proverb that offers another assessment, and perhaps stereotype, that of women never being done with their domestic work.

Other topics explored in the letters prove heavier, even menacing. The following letter also proves intriguing due to its more morbid content.

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[160] *Mission Indian* I, no. 3, (December 15, 1895): 5.
[161] Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
[162] *Mission Indian* I, no. 2 (November 15, 1895): 5.

Dear Uncle Tom:
I am most anxious to tell you how delighted we are to get the 'Mission Indian.' It is a fine thing, and such a good title! The sisters gave it to us to read. I want to say that our little school is just beneath the ruins of the first church built by Father Junipero Serra. Near the old well is a monument erected to the memory of one of the fathers who was massacred by the savage Indians, who came by night and killed the poor priest. I read that the priest was found in the morning all hacked and torn. Our school for three years was in the old town, and we are four years at the old mission. There are 112 boys and girls.

Your niece,
ROSALIA[163]

The letter starts out much like the usual format, discussing a current issue, in this case the newsletter itself. Rosalia, who notably does not include her last name, unlike all the other students who wrote, transitions from the title of *The Mission Indian* to the fact that their school is located right on the site of the old San Diego Mission. But the next section proves surprising. Of all the tales that she could recite about the history of the mission she chose to tell about the death of Father Luis Jayme. Her account appears not overly sentimental, although she does refer to her own ancestors as "savage" and calls him "the poor priest." But she chose to describe the condition of the body in as much detail, and then awkwardly moved rather abruptly to details of the current school. Although she may not have known, the original mission in San Diego was on the hill above "old town" and also moved to its later site just a few years after its founding. Not long after that the Kumeyaay rose up in a revolt ; they not only killed the priest, but also pillaged the mission and burned it to the ground.[164] Their grievances included forced conversions, labor conscription, and violence, including rapes perpetrated by the presidio soldiers.[165] The insurrection was memorialized in both Spanish documents and through native oral history traditions. So she may have known about it from her family or nation, although she only

[163] Ibid.
[164] Richard L. Carrico, "Sociopolitical Aspects of the 1775 Revolt," *Journal of San Diego History* 43, no. 3 (Summer 1997).
[165] Ibid.

mentions seeing the monument near the old well. It seems no accident that she chose to tell this story of violent native resistance to conversion. Interestingly, in the following newsletter they published a similar letter, this one written by a "Rosa" and dated the same day as the one by "Rosalia:"

> *Dear Uncle Tom:*
>
> I will introduce myself as a pupil of St. Anthony's School at the old mission. Near the old well is a monument that was put up for one of the fathers who was killed one night by the savages. The priest was found in the morning all chopped up, except a hand. I think our school is nice and a holy spot. It is so beautiful here, and I like to stay with the sisters, they are so good with us, and Rev. Father Ubach has charge. Our school was three years in old town, and we are four years at the old mission. I am in the third reader.
>
> Very truly, your niece,
> ROSA[166]

Formatted very similarly, the two letters contain the same details in parts, such as the fact that the school has been at the current location for four years. The use of the term "savage" in both also seems contrived. Their class probably learned this history of the San Diego mission together, perhaps walking over to view the well as part of the lesson. This letter proves even colder and more disturbing in its description of the priest's death. She described the school as a holy spot, something that the nuns would have interpreted as relating to the martyrdom of the priest. But we could interpret the honor of holiness as belonging to the wronged native community that rebelled against the colonizers. Given the strikingly similar names, one student could have written both letters, a way of ensuring the story of native revolt would make it to print. Including ambiguous versions of this narrative in these letters served as an act of subtle resistance.

Refusing to sign up for or attend school served as more direct acts of defiance. In "The Educational Impact of the Sisters of St. Joseph on San Diego's Indian Population," Teresa Baksh

[166] *Mission Indian* I, no. 3, (December 15, 1895): 5.

McNeil's unpublished manuscript from the San Diego History Center's archive, she quotes Father Ubach as stating this about the challenges of recruiting students for his school in 1887:

> These difficulties are not so much the fruits of ignorance or neglect on the part of the parents, as the malice and depravity on the part of a good many white settlers, who for years and years have been carrying on a certain kind of commerce in human flesh…These miserable and degraded white men are the ones that talk to and persuade the poor ignorant parents not to send their children to the Sisters [sic] school. These wretches know fully well that if the Indian girls go to the Sisters [sic] school, they will be taught the merits and beauties of virtue and morality…[167]

Ubach denied the agency of native parents as he painted them as hapless victims, easily swayed by the white settlers around them. Of course these parents actually had many reasons to mistrust the padres, going back a century. Spanish-speakers, including church officials, had long engaged in the labor and sexual exploitation that Ubach accused Anglo-American of perpetrating. Many of the parents may have intentionally resisted sending their children to Catholic schools. Moreover, the quote suggested white settlers had been "'carrying on a certain kind of commerce in human flesh.'" In the aftermath of the Gold Rush and statehood the California legislature passed a number of laws that attacked and enslaved native people. Indigenous people at the time and since, including native scholars like Ruperto Costo and Deborah Miranda (among others), have long decried this state-sponsored genocide.[168] But most scholarly attention to Spanish colonization as *genocide* did not appear until the 1990s.[169] The state of California paid for the murder of Indians, reimbursing those who brought in the scalps and genitalia of their victims

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[167] Teresa Baksh McNeil, "The Educational Impact of the Sisters of St. Joseph on San Diego County's Indian Population," San Diego History Center, Documents Archive, Institute of History Collection, 1987/1/2, 7.
[168] Miranda, *Bad Indians* and "Extermination of the *Joyas*"; Ruperto Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*, (Indian Historian Press, 1987).
[169] Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); See Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

with men commanding a higher price than women.[170] Additionally, California legalized the binging of minors for "apprenticeship," which meant that native orphan children, sometimes were "adopted" by their parents' murderer.[171] Adult Indians found to be "vagrant" (not employed in a white rancho or home) could be indentured to pay off their fines.[172] Public auctions sold them to the highest bidder, despite California being a free state.[173] Although the cashing in of scalps proved much more of an issue in Northern California, especially in mining areas, Ubach's concerns were founded in some reality, and his school offered some protection to native families.

Mexican Americans found themselves in a complicated position regarding these new laws. They sometimes used them to legalize compadrazgo relationships, which could protect native godchildren.[174] But others took advantage of these as an opportunity to obtain laborers for their ranchos and households.[175] Pérez's book informs readers that by:

> Relying on these new state laws, in 1858, Ysidora Bandini de Couts…the [San Diego born] Californiana wife of American Cave J. Couts…submitted a petition through her husband to retrieve a runaway godson named Francisco…Couts was introduced to Catholic godparenting practices by his wife and he vigorously defended to the local justice of the peace Ysidora's claim of spiritual kinship and rights of custody to the boy…[Her petition] cited preexisting godparenting ties while parroting the language of American indenture agreements…[claiming] she held 'care and control of said Indian Boy [sic], and that said child had been provided with suitable food and clothing.'[176]

Made infamous as the model for the cruel Señora Moreno in Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona*,[177] Bandini de Couts benefitted from the labor of Francisco and many other indentured

[170] Miranda, *Bad Indians* and Medley, *An American Genocide.*
[171] Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies*, 187-210.
[172] Ibid., 201.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., 187-210.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., 201.
[177] Vicki L. Ruiz (historian) in discussion with the author, September 2019.

Indian children. Native parents resisted these practices, Pérez claims that Bandini de Couts complained to a visitor, "she has tried to get a little Indian girl to be bound to my sister; it appears to be impossible; the Indians are averse to letting their children go away do far.'"[178] Clearly parents tried to keep their children close so they could offer some protection. Other indigenous people pretended to be Mexican in order to survive this period.[179] Ubach's concern, however, focused on non-Catholic white settlers, fitting within the larger crusade against human trafficking of the era. But the majority of those crusaders focused on "white slavery"[180] rather than women and children of color, who actually experienced this exploitation at far higher rates. Father Ubach also claimed that these white men wanted native girls ignorant of "'virtue and morality,'" things they could apparently only learn at his school. Although he condemns the settlers, he also blamed the victims of sexual assault by suggesting that if they had "virtue and morality" they could avoid rape. Father Ubach assumed that education would protect children and women. But attacks on native girls and women proved sadly common, regardless of their education.

Native parents also played Catholic and government schools off each other. They could choose between schools and remove their children if they disliked the conditions. But the school officials usually interpreted these actions as the recruiters "stealing" their students. Understandably, Catholics working with native people worried about competition from government schools. In the July 1906 newsletter they complained that:

> Many of our former pupils went to the Government's schools, especially because both at Sherman Institute, Riverside, and at the Phoenix school, the Catholic pupils are more or less under the care of a chaplain. We have no comment to make, the means are not such as to allow any extravagance in attendance, still we

[178] Pérez, *Colonial Intimacies*, 203.
[179] Heather Ponchetti Daly (historian) in discussion with the author, June 2018.
[180] Brian Donovan, *White Slavery Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism 1887-1917,* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

> were dismayed to find out how an emissary of the Phoenix school began to canvas among the boys attending our school.[181]

The Mission Indian blamed these government agents for the loss of students who had previously attended St. Boniface. Although not mentioned in the newsletter, many government schools in this period opened on the reservations, so the students just attended during the day and did not have to attend boarding school further from home. This solution appealed to parents who desired to keep their families and communities intact. Indeed, St. Boniface preferred parents not contact their children at all, let alone visit them. The newsletter warned:

> We do not like to mention, but must mention it, that many of the visits made to the pupils by their folks, do not benefit the school…What we have said of visitors, is equally true of letters. A foolish letter will do more harm than good can be done in a week. Let us conclude: The pupils were well taken care of, they had a better chance to learn than many a white boy and girls had, and the result is as good as in any other school, secular or Catholic.[182]

The newsletter did not expand on the consequences for such contact, but they could censor or prohibit correspondence. An "Education of Indians" column published over ten years earlier, echoed the rhetoric of the original missions by claiming that teachers, not parents, raised the children properly:

> To educate the Indian children means to draw forth the faculties both of their body and of their mind…Whites are trained in their homes to be mannerly, to be industrious, to be good to their parents…Indian children do not receive this education at home. How to address others and how to answer has to be taught them by the teacher. How to act when at table, how to go to sleep, how to behave in school or when at play—all this belongs to the charitable educator of the Indians. We sometimes have to give hints to and advise even the adults and parents; how can they be expected to teach others?[183]

Perhaps the most outlandish claim in this section was that apparently Indian children never even learned how to go to sleep! "How…to go to sleep…belongs to the charitable educator of the

[181] *Mission Indian* VIII, no. 1 (July 15, 1906): 1.
[182] *Mission Indian* VIII, no. 1 (July 15, 1906): 1-2.
[183] *Mission Indian* I, no. 2 (November 15, 1895): 7.

Indians." Despite the newsletter's claims that native children were not taught "to be good to their parents" before they reached the Catholic nuns, it seems clear by their attempts at correspondence between family members indicated the strength of familial bonds. Catholic schools attempted to control these relationships, placing of native children. Even when contact with parents occurred, the schools attempted to control the relationship. Every spring Father Hahn took the students on a pilgrimage around Southern California, visiting all their families, a trip heralded in the newsletter. "When the children arrived at their villages, the caravan was welcomed with enthusiasm and a little feast. Before leaving Fr. Hahn would always say Mass and hear confessions."[184] Once San Diego County students switched from St. Anthony's to St. Boniface's this trek grew even longer. Although a less structured setting than the school, the priest likely thought that through this pilgrimage he could manage the interactions between students and their families. But these treks home may have actually allowed unhappy students the opportunity to run away or warn others about school conditions. Of course, the newsletter only portrayed the students as very attached to their school. "Many of the pupils on their return to their homes wept. They loved their Alma Mater."[185] Yet, if parents and children were all so happy, as *The Mission Indian* liked to claim, why did so many go to government boarding and day schools when those opened?

The federal government used incentives, such as access to rations, as bargaining chips to coerce parents into sending their children to their schools Like the Catholic schools, the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) also relied heavily on women as teachers. In competing with St. Boniface and St. Anthony's for native pupils, many OIA employees complained that the Catholic

[184] Williams, *All Things New,* 39.
[185] *Mission Indian* VIII, No. 1 (July 15, 1906): 4.

Church stole "their" students.[186] F. E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote the following about St. Boniface in a 1906 to D. D. McArthur, Pala Superintendent of Indian Schools:

[186] Folder 1: Rincon Indian School Correspondence (Folder 1), Box 342, Miscellaneous Records and Correspondence, 1909-1911 (MRC, 1909-1911), Rincon Superintendency (RS), Record Group 75 (RG 75), National Archives and Records Administration, Riverside, Calif. (NARA R); Folder 2: Rincon Indian School-Annual Reports (Folder 2), Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3: Teacher's Program Day Book, 1910 (Folder 3), Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4: Rincon Reservation-Reply to Departmental Letter #97324, 13 by John Wettenhall, 1913 (Folder 4), Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R, Folder 1: Letters Received, 1910 (Folder 1), Letters Received, 1909-1911 (LR, 1909-1911), La Jolla Superintendency (LJS), RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2: Letters Received, 1911 (Folder 2), LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5: La Jolla School-Cash and Property Accounts Correspondence, 1912 (Folder 5), LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6: Letters Received, 1906-1909 (Folder 6), LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1: Letters Sent, 1909-1911 (LS, 1909-1911), LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Book 2, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 1: Potrero School (Folder 1), Box 345, La Jolla Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports, 1910-1911 (LJ ANSR, 1910-1911), La Jolla Reports to the Office of Indian Affairs, 1909-1911 (LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911), LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 2: Court of Indian Offenses (Folder 2), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 3: Births, Deaths and Marriages (Folder 3), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 4: Report on Homes Visited (Folder 4), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 5: Medical (Sanitary) Reports (Folder 5), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 6: Annual Reports Folder 6, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 7: Changes in Employees (Folder 7), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 8: Census Enrollment Notebooks (Folder 8), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R. Folder 9: Monthly Reports on Forest Officers (Folder 9), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 10: Fire Reports, Annual, 1910 (Folder 10), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 11: Quarterly Day School Reports, 1908-12 (Folder 11), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 12: School Reports, Monthly, 1908-13 (Folder 12), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 13: Agency Report, Monthly, 1909 (Folder 13), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 15: Expenditures, 1909 (Folder 15), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 16: Meteorological Information (Folder 16), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 17: Children Eligible for Transfer, 1911 (Folder 17), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 18: Statistics, 1907 (Folder 18), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 19: Misc. Corres., Will and Land Matters, 1901-02 (Folder 19), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 20: Personnel Records (Folder 20), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 21: Census, Stats. Accomp. Annual Report, La Jolla-1909 (Folder 21), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 22: Statements of Disbursing Account, 1909-11 (Folder 22), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 23: Census La Jolla, 1909 (Folder 23), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 24: Census-La Jolla Agency, 1911 (Folder 24), Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1: Nov. 1 1902-Dec. 1903 (Folder 1), Box 367: Supt. Chas. E. Shell (Box 367), Letters Received, 1903-1921 (LR, 1903-1921), Pala Superintendency (PS), RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2: Letter Received Jan.-Feb 1904 (Folder 2), Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3: Letter Received March-June 1904 (Folder 3), Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4: Letters Received July-Dec. 1904 (Folder 4), Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5: Letters Received, Supt Chas. E. Shell (Folder 5), Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1: Letters Received Jan-April 1905 (Folder 1), Box 368, Letters Received, 1903-1921 (LR, 1903-1921), PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2: Letters Received May-December 1905 (Folder 2), Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3: Letters Received (Shell) 1906 (Folder 3), Box

> Mr. Games says that the Catholic priest of the Banning Catholic School has been canvassing the Volcan Reservation for pupils in his absence and he considers this act on the part of the priest presumptuous as well as discourteous; that the priest at the Catholic Mission School at San Diego has been guilty of the same offense; that ever since the Volcan school was founded he has been saying that their children belong to him and that they should not listen to anyone else, but should send them to the Mission. Mr. Games says that…he has not antagonized the Catholics in the least, nor does he propose to do so, but that he shall most assuredly demure if they persist in proselytizing.[187]

Especially interesting in this quote is Games claims that Father Ubach presumptively attempted to control native children "belonging" to him. By his tone Games seemed ready to intervene, although he declares he will "demure." Other teachers in the region made similar complaints. In the same letter Leupp noted that:

> It seems that Mr. Frank, teacher at the Mesa Grande Day School, addressed a letter to Supervisor Holland…inquiring into the methods by which Indian pupils are transferred to boarding schools, and said he thought "the term 'raids' [sic] is a better term than 'transfers'; & that the schools which have practiced these methods are Sherman Institute at Riverside, California, and the Catholic Schools at Banning and San Diego, California.[188]

While Mr. Frank, and many school officials, blamed the school superintendents, Indian parents played pivotal roles in the education of their children.

As a shifting strategy, Indian parents could demand better treatment for their families and children in exchange for school attendance, playing competing groups off one another to their benefit. School officials frequently misinterpreted these actions, blaming others rather than recognizing the decision by native students and their parents. However, OIA officials in the San

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368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4: Letters Received 1906 (Folder 4), Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5: Letters Received, Duncan McArthur, 1906 1/2 (Folder 5), Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6: Letters Received, Duncan McArthur 1906 2/2 (Folder 6), Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1: Record of Employees & Official Visitors (Book 1), Box 388, Records of Employees, 1903-1912 (RE, 1903-1912), Pala Agency (PA), RG 75, NARA R; Book 2: Record of Employees (Book 2), Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Miscellaneous Ledger 12, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Box 362, Misc. Letters Sent, Dec 1903-Jan 1915, PA, RG 75, NARA R.

[187] F. E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Duncan D. McArthur, Pala Superintendent of Indian Schools, August 21, 1906, Folder 5, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R and Folder 6, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R.

[188] Ibid.

Diego region often discussed how native parents interfered with their children's education by transferring them between schools and/or not allowing them to attend school. Leupp elaborated further:

> Speaking generally on the matter of transfer of pupils, you are informed that the Office [of Indian Affairs] accords great latitude to Indian parents in the selection of the school to which their children shall be sent, but not permission to a whimsical or capricious person to defeat the education of his children by frequent and unwarranted changes. The request of the parent must be made freely and voluntarily; and in every case where a parent desires, after the enrollment in one school of his children, to change to another, he must appear in person before the [reservation] Agent and make a voluntary statement of his wishes, which statement shall be reduced to writing and filed with the records of the agency office. An Indian parent may select the school which his children shall attend, except when the choice is for the purpose of avoiding sending them to any school.[189]

The OIA claimed that parents had complete freedom of choice, yet the statement above indicates an intrusive, laborious process. The father had to track down the agent to make the request. The OIA also reserved the right to refuse any "whimsical or capricious" choice. Leupp directly acknowledged in this letter that parents sometimes used transfers to interfere with the education (e.g. forced assimilation and labor) of their children. Beyond rejecting the colonial education system itself, parents also objected specifically to the lessons, teachers, or the treatment their children received.

Ultimately this is a story about native people, particularly women and children, surviving and maintaining their families, communities, and cultural networks. Native women's healing knowledge protected them, their families, and their communities before and after European arrival. These traditions were passed down through women's networks that came to include Spanish-speakers like Juana Machado. When Father Ubach arrived in San Diego he wisely tapped into these existing gendered networks by recruiting Machado, who had already begun to

[189] Ibid.

incorporate Anglo-Americans into her neighborly duties. The Catholic Church tied many of these communities together as well. With the creation of St. Anthony's and St. Boniface's, native schoolchildren found themselves returning to the mission, and like their ancestors they faced attempts by priests (and now nuns) to control and change their behavior and thoughts. But they and their parents continued to fight colonization. Surviving itself was an act of resistance. Their actions of defiance sometimes appear in the historical record, their psychological refusals prove elusive, but evidence lives on in contemporary native activism. Qwo-Li Driskell, a contemporary Two-Spirit poet, puts it best:

> Through over 500 years of colonization's efforts to kill our startling beauty, our roots have proven too deep and complicated to pull out of the soil of our origin, the soil where we are nurtured by the sacrifices that were made by our ancestors' commitment to love us.
>
> And we are fighters in this long war
> To bring us all back home[190]

[190] Qwo-Li Driskell, "Stolen From Our Bodies," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 16, no.2 (Summer 2004): 61.

CHAPTER 2

Reservations, Restrictions, and Refusals:

Women and the Office of Indian Affairs

The girls were on this side.
The boys entered on the far side…
We weren't allowed to even try to look over
at your little brother or your big brother, or anybody on
the other side. They didn't allow us…
And if they saw us or somebody else on this side (looking at
a friend or relative) they would scold us by giving us more work.[52]

-Villiana Calac Hyde, "Going to Sherman"

The Catholic church held no monopoly on attempting to control native people in nineteenth and early twentieth century California. As Villiana Calac Hyde, a Luiseño woman from the Rincón band revealed, strict gender segregation was enforced in government-run schools as well. After the U.S.- Mexico War, federal policy expanded the pattern of establishing reservations and restricting the movement of Indian peoples within the newly-conquered territory. In our current era a smaller total percentage of native people live on these reservations in the greater San Diego area. Carter provides the following contemporary data:

> 'San Diego County has more Indian reservations than any other county in the United States. However, the reservations are very small, with total land holdings of just over 124,000 acres, or about 193 square miles of the 4,205 square miles in San Diego County…Of the 20,000 Native Americans who make up the 4 tribal groups that…[are the original nations of what is now] San Diego County, only a small percentage live on reservation land.'[53]

[52] Villiana Calac Hyde, "Going to Sherman," *Yumáyk yumáyk=Long ago*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 9-10.
[53] "Indian Reservations in San Diego County," San Diego Native American, University of San Diego, Accessed December 1, 2019, https://www.sandiego.edu/native-american/reservations.php.

Indigenous people refused to acquiesce, deploying tactics developed and honed under Spanish and Mexican colonization. As reservations were established and agents from the Office of Indian Affairs arrived, native residents developed new strategies for survival. Similar to Catholic priests, OIA officials wanted to change the gendered behavior of tribal members, focusing their efforts on socializing children and adults into Victorian norms. On the ground, the OIA depended on women employees to carry out this critical mandate. As historian Cathleen Cahill explains:

> Policy makers sought to transform Native peoples' intimate, familial ties by creating a new set of relationships between the nation's Indian 'wards' and government employees—the 'federal fathers and mothers'…who would guide them by offering examples of 'civilized' behavior…In the United States, assimilation policy centered on severing affective bonds Native children and their families, transmogrifying Indigenous marriage relations, and restructuring Native households according to white middle-class gender norms.[54]

In some cases native people worked for the OIA, facing the challenge of indoctrinating others as they had been, or at least appearing to carry out this mission of acculturation so they could keep their jobs. By examining the agency on the local level, this chapter will reveal the complicated dynamics of gender and sexuality in reservation politics and the ways in which native peoples navigated these new vectors of acculturation.

First of all, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the U.S. promised citizenship to all Mexican citizens who chose to stay. "The treaty stipulated that their property rights would be respected and affirmed by title…Inasmuch as Mexican law considered settled Mission Indians as citizens, technically they were entitled to all the rights and immunities of the citizens of the United States."[55] In addition, according to Carter, the treaty specifically stated that it would "respect

[54] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 6.
[55] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 28.

Indian land rights and not to place Indians 'under the necessity of seeking new homes.'"[56] However, the statements in the treaty directly contradicted U.S. Indian policy. Before the Civil War the government focused on removal, forcing tribes onto reservations to free up their land for white settlers.[57] Kishan Lara-Cooper in her chapter in *On Indian Ground: A Return to Indigenous Knowledge: Generating Hope, Leadership, and Sovereignty Through Education* notes that "An Indigenous [sic] California elder states, 'We were fortunate in that we were not exposed to non-natives until much later than the rest of the country, however [sic] we were less fortunate in that the government was very good in their tactics by the time they reached us.'"[58] During the 1850s federal agents negotiated a series of treaties with some California nations, including the Treaty of Temecula[59] and the Treaty of Santa Ysabel that specifically pertained to the Kumeyaay.[60] However, the U.S. Congress never ratified these treaties, unbeknownst to indigenous peoples.[61]

Even before these first treaties native communities faced disruptions. An immigrant trail developed in the late 1840s, coming West from the Colorado River into San Diego.

[56] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," San Diego Native American, University of San Diego, Accessed December 1, 2019, https://www.sandiego.edu/native-american/chronology/.
[57] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 3.
[58] Kishan Lara-Cooper, "Protecting the Treasure: a History of Indigenous Education in California," *On Indian Ground* 30, no. 2 (Winter 2018): 3.
[59] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego.
[60] Miskwish, *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook*, 93.
[61] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 28.

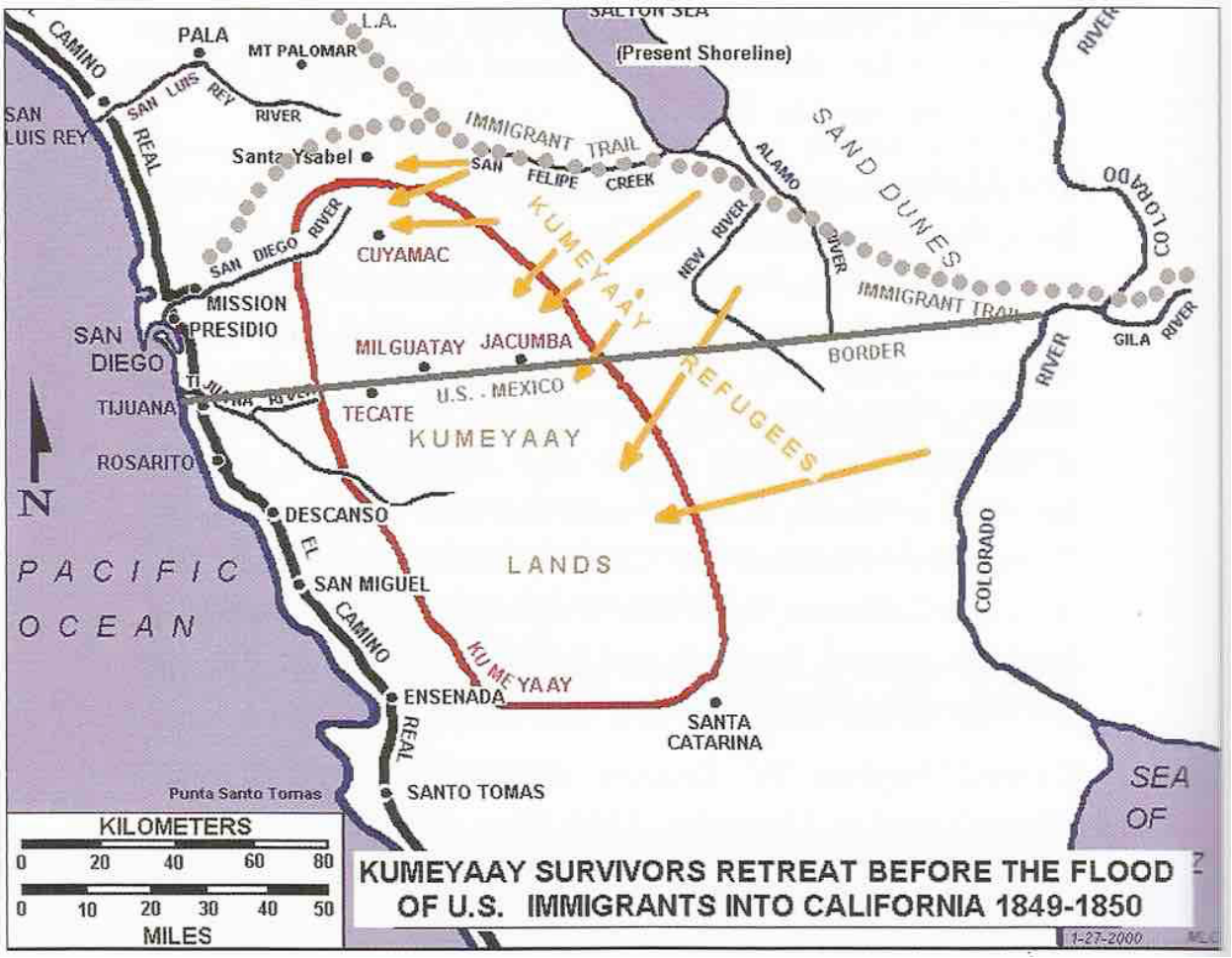

FIGURE 4: Kumeyaay Survivors Retreat before the Flood of U.S. Immigrants into California, 1849-1850
(Courtesy of Michael Connolly Miskwish; *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook*, 82)

Michael Connolly Miskwish, who studies Kumeyaay history, states that "The flood of Americans through the overland route drove out most of the Kumeyaay from the San Felipe Valley, the New River and Alamo Rivers. The *Sh'mulqs* [family groups] fled to the Mohave, Quechan [Yuma], and to other *Sh'mulqs* of the Kumeyaay both north and south of the border. Only a few managed to hold out in some places."[62] Native people responded with strategies of accommodation and resistance. Raiding cattle, a practice common in the Mexican era, continued but became more challenging as more white settlers arrived.[63] Native leaders at times punished

[62] Miskwish, *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook,* 83.
[63] Ibid., 96-100.

their own people to prevent conflicts, a technique that did not always work when Americans targeted whole native communities for the crimes of a few.[64] Whites used the legal system, as well as extralegal vigilante attacks, to inflict violence, including widespread sexual assault.[65] In 1852-1853, Carter highlights that the "San Diego Herald report[ed] and editorialize[d] on a series of brutal rapes of Indian women."[66]

During the 1850s, with rising sectional tensions, the Office of Indian Affairs became an ignored orphan of the federal government.[67] However, with the end of the Civil War, Carter points out that the first large federal contribution "…to the welfare of San Diego Indians [was]…in the form of farming tools and melon, pumpkin, corn, and bean seeds."[68] Despite this seeming beneficence, Cahill argues that "The goal that drove the federal government…[after the Civil War] was to take land from Native nations and place it in the hands of white settlers. Achieving this goal involved an attempt to destroy Native cultural identities, thus severing their emotional ties and legal claims to the land."[69] However, the actual practice of forcing native nations onto reservations took several more decades in Southern California. The OIA exploded during the later decades of the nineteenth century. In 1869 just over 500 Indian Service employees were on the ground, but by 1897 almost 4,000, and by 1912 the number had climbed to 6,000.[70] In 1870 President Grant created the San Pasqual and Pala reservations by executive order, with the idea of relocating all native people to these two reservations along with two future sites.[71] The land, however, could only support the current inhabitants, which included not

[64] Ibid., 98-99.
[65] Ibid., 96-100.
[66] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego.
[67] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 9.
[68] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego.
[69] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 3.
[70] Ibid., 2.
[71] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego.

only the bands at Pala and San Pasqual but also parts of the Mesa Grande and Rincon villages.[72] Florence Shipek, a twentieth century anthropologist and Indian rights advocate explained:

> Many Southern California Indians opposed this reservation scheme because they did not want to leave their own homes…Those at San Pasqual and Pala objected to being overwhelmed by the large numbers of other Indians who would be pushed into their small farming villages and valleys.[73]

According to Shipek, some whites supported the scheme while others objected, including advocates for fair treatment of native people, and due to this pressure, the order was cancelled just a year later.[74] President Grant tried again in 1875, with an executive order that led to a survey of the lands held by "Mission Indians," a term the federal government used to describe the diverse nations in Southern California,[75] a diversity agents ignored. After the survey, Grant signed a new order creating many of the reservations that still exist in San Diego County. Shipek offers this background:

> The executive order of January 7, 1876, set aside the following surveyed tracts for the use and occupancy of Mission Indians: Potrero (including Rincon, Gapiche [also called Ya Pech, Ya Peche, or Ya Piche], and La Joya [La Jolla])…Coahuila (Cahuilla)…Capitan Grande…Santa Ysabel (including Mesa Grande)…Pala…Agua Caliente…Sycuan…Minaja (Iñaja)…[and] Cosmit.[76]

In the trust patenting, conducted by the Smiley Commission in 1891, Rincon received its own reservation while the Gapiche band remained combined with the La Joya at the La Jolla reservation.[77] Although the survey and a subsequent one ordered by the Smiley Commission in 1891, intended to include all native peoples of Southern California, the surveyors did not

[72] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 35.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., 163.
[76] Ibid., 163-164.
[77] Ibid., 164.

accurately collect this data, and many bands found themselves excluded.[78] These surveys continue to limit some nations from gaining federal recognition to this day.

Almost immediately changes occurred to the newly created reservations. Carter records that on May 3, 1877 "Part of the land set aside for San Diego County Indians by President Grant in 1875 is withdrawn from Indian use and restored to general settlement. Reservations consist of approximately 60,000 acres."[79] Carter's chronology chronicles that President Chester A. Arthur established the "Mesa Grande Reservation of 120 acres by Executive Order" on June 19, 1883.[80] Los Coyotes became a reservation in 1889.[81] These constant changes understandably led native people to further distrust the government. Some native people chose to apply for their own individual or family plots under the Indian Homestead Act of 1883 and the Public Domain Allotment Act of 1887 instead.[82] Shipek illustrates that:

> For some Indians, one impediment to filing for a homestead was the requirement to separate from a tribal group…When some bands lost all their farmlands, and others lost portions of theirs, the dispossessed families had scattered. Some taking refuge with more isolated bands where they had close relatives, others finding scattered small holdings where they built shelters and continued to subsist. Whichever life they chose, they continued to follow long-established patterns of individual family subsistence. Each family had always provided the major part of their own subsistence from its own lands, and when the repeated extensive droughts of this region had brought disaster, the families, and sometimes the Indians as individuals…had scattered far and wide, seeking to survive. Thus, taking a homestead was merely validating title to their places of refuge.[83]

Delfina Cuero's family for example, were not assigned to a reservation and thus moved around periodically, eventually finding they could avoid harassment from Anglo-Americans in Baja California.[84] These varied strategies for survival sometimes led to

[78] Ibid.
[79] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Miskwish, *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook*, 96-100.
[82] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 37.
[83] Ibid., 37.
[84] Cuero, *Delfina Cuero.*

disagreements among band members, as well as white advocates for native rights. Shipek continues: "Friends of Indians were aware that it would be difficult to protect the individual Indian homestead lands…[And] some Indian leaders were aware that individual homestead titles would destroy the economic and political control they had."[85] Moreover, the privileging of male heads of households for homesteads further undermined gender dynamics in native societies.

The continued controversies over homesteading and reservations led to the passing of the Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians in 1891.[86] The newly created Smiley Commission[87] made a good faith effort to do a thorough job, despite limited funding, time, and unsympathetic or incompetent government officials, and many new reservations resulted from this survey in the years and decades ahead.[88] In 1891-1893 "Campo, Cuyapaipe [Ewiiaapaayp], La Posta, Manzanita, Rincon, Pauma and Yuima" were established.[89] The San Pasqual Reservation was established in 1910.[90] Shipek makes the important observation that

> Some of the scattered, small southern Kumeyaay groups did not have lands reserved for them specifically. Smiley's intention was that they would move onto nearby large reservations, and some effort was apparently made to convince them to do so, but it was unsuccessful…In this category were Indian people near Mission San Diego, in Jamul, El Cajon Valley, Spring Valley, and in many small valleys of southern San Diego County.[91]

Despite intense pressure, native people often "refused the favor"[92] of going along with government plans to move them from their homes. In other cases, this resistance proved unsuccessful. One of the most dramatic cases in the region involved the forced removal of the

[85] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 37-38.
[86] Ibid., 38.
[87] Ibid., 39.
[88] Ibid,, 39-40.
[89] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 40.
[92] González, *Refusing the Favor*.

Cupeño in 1903.[93] After a protracted legal battle they were involuntarily relocated from their homes in Pal-a-tingval (Agua Caliente, also called Warner's Hot Springs) and, as Shipek illustrates, "transported to the Pala reservation by Indian agents in a three-day 'Trail of Tears' and settled among the distinctly different Luiseño people with whom they eventually become integrated."[94] Although distinct tribes, Luiseño historian Villiana Calac Hyde and her transcriber Eric Elliott stress in the introduction to *Yumáyk Yumáyk=Long Ago* that Cupeño and Luiseño are the two languages most closely related of those on "the Cupan branch of the Takic subfamily of the Uto-Aztecan family of languages…According to Mrs. [Villiana Calac] Hyde, Rincón Luiseño [her language] and Cupeño were sufficiently mutually intelligible to render it 'risky business' to gossip in Luiseño when Cupeño speakers were present."[95] This recollection of gossiping offers a hint of how these communities dealt with this forced marriage of two distinct groups. The closeness between the groups also lent itself to actual intermarriages, like her own. Hyde's mother-in-law was a fluent speaker of Cupeño,[96] an indication of the close family ties that could and did develop across communities.

The case of the Cupeño actually rested on questions related to native villages on rancho grants. Spanish-speaking owners and then Anglo-Americans who acquired land from them took advantage of the mistakes made by the federal land commission as it confirmed rancho titles. "Under Spanish and Mexican land laws, grants of rancho lands always had a clause that excluded the land in the use and occupancy of the Indians."[97] But the U.S. Land Commission apparently did not have this information, and therefore, did not include these types of provisions when

[93] "Chronology of the Indigenous Peoples of San Diego County," University of San Diego.
[94] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 42; "Our History," Agua Caliente Tribe of Cupeño Indians, 2015, http://cupenotribe.com/history/; and Ibid.
[95] Villiana Calac Hyde and Eric Elliott, *Yumáyk Yumáyk=Long Ago*, xvii.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks*, 41-42.

confirming titles.[98] In addition to Cupa, other villages that were evicted included Mataguay, Puerta de San Felipe, Puerta Ignoria (Noria), Puerto La Cruz, San Felipe, San Jose, and Tawhee.[99]

The OIA followed a specific structure when managing native people through the reservations. Different regions were divided into agencies, each headed by an agent.[100]

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., 44.
[100] Folder 1, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Letters Received, 1909-1911, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, LS, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 7, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 8, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 9, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 10, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 11, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 12, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 13, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 15, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 16, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 17, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 18, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 19, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 20, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 21, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 22, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 23, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 24, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Miscellaneous Ledger 12, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Box 362, Misc. Letters Sent, Dec 1903-Jan 1915, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Alice Anderson, Personnel Folder, National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Mo. (PF NPRC); Gladys Barnd, PF NPRC; Mamie F. Brown, PF NPRC; Terracina Calac, PF NPRC; Bertha Calhoun, PF NPRC; Agnes M. Chambers, PF NPRC; M. Blanche Davis, PF NPRC; Leonidas Swaim, PF NPRC; Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC; Mary E. Swain, PF NPRC; Fermina Chaqua, PF NPRC; Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC; Belle Dean, PF NPRC; Georgia (Georgie) Dean, PF NPRC; May Frank, PF NPRC; Mary F. Games, PF NPRC; Orrington Jewett, PF NPRC; Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC; Mollie L. Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Ida Lewis, PF NPRC; Mary Noyes, PF NPRC; Edla C. Osterberg, PF NPRC; Rose B. Park, PF NPRC; Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC; Kate Noyes, PF NPRC; May Bessie Stanley, PF NPRC; Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC; Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC; Mamie Robinson, PF NPRC; May Johnson, PF NPRC; Ora M. Salmons, PF NPRC; Will H. Stanley, PF NPRC; Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC; Gertrude Spalsbury, PF NPRC; Ida A. Shell, PF

Sometimes an agency had one reservation, other times it contained multiple, depending on the size of the native population and how the OIA chose to organize its operations.[101] If a reservation had a day school, or multiple schools, they generally came under the control of a superintendent.[102] All school employees would report to the agent, or superintendent, or both.[103] Boarding schools, mostly off-reservation, followed a similar pattern. They had a superintendent, but also sometimes fell under the jurisdiction of the region's.[104] The head of the OIA was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the Superintendent of Indian Schools as the second highest.[105]

Anglo-American women stood at the forefront of the OIA's gendered missions. Cahill illuminated that "Administrators imagined these women offering maternal guidance and nurturance to the government's wards…But maternalist [sic] theories about how white women would change Indians soon collided with the reality of these women's own agendas and their experiences on the job."[106] Women held a variety of different positions in Southern California in the post-Civil War period including assistant field matron, assistant laundress, assistant matron, assistant teacher, cook, field matron, financial clerk, housekeeper, industrial assistants, lace teacher, laundress, matron, nurse, outing matron, teacher, and stenographer. The positions available to women fit within ideal gender roles of the time. Of this list only financial clerk and

NPRC; Cordelia S. Sterling, PF NPRC; Esther Stowell, PF NPRC; Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC; Clara Warren, PF NPRC; Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Mystica (or Mistica) Amago, PF NPRC; Autta Parrett, PF NPRC; Christina Hutcheson, PF NPRC; Pearl Tenijieth, PF NPRC; Dr. Carl A. Anderson, PF NPRC; Jean O. Barnd, PF NPRC; John F. Chambers, PF NPRC; Amos Frank, PF NPRC; John Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Autta Q. Nevitt, PF NPRC; Ray R. Parrett, PF NPRC; Alonzo P. Edmondson, PF NPRC; Melvin B. Swain, PF NPRC; J.W. Lewis, PF NPRC; Michael Morrin Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Thomas Games, PF NPRC; Thomas McCormick, PF NPRC; Philip T. Lonergan, PF NPRC; and Frank Mead, PF NPRC.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 65.

[106] Ibid., 7.

teacher were positions that could also be held by men.[107] But women occasionally held higher positions. Cahill offers this case study:

> Alice Fletcher…was appointed as special allotment agent in 1882 and served in that capacity for over a decade. In 1883 Helen Hunt Jackson…was named special

[107] Folder 1, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Letters Received, 1909-1911, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, LS, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 7, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 8, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 9, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 10, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 11, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 12, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 13, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 15, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 16, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 17, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 18, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 19, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 20, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 21, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 22, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 23, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 24, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Miscellaneous Ledger 12, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Box 362, Misc. Letters Sent, Dec 1903-Jan 1915, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Alice Anderson, PF NPRC, Gladys Barnd, PF NPRC; Mamie F. Brown, PF NPRC; Terracina Calac, PF NPRC; Bertha Calhoun, PF NPRC; Agnes M. Chambers, PF NPRC; M. Blanche Davis, PF NPRC; Leonidas Swaim, PF NPRC; Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC; Mary E. Swain, PF NPRC; Fermina Chaqua, PF NPRC; Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC; Belle Dean, PF NPRC; Georgia (Georgie) Dean, PF NPRC; May Frank, PF NPRC; Mary F. Games, PF NPRC; Orrington Jewett, PF NPRC; Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC; Mollie L. Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Ida Lewis, PF NPRC; Mary Noyes, PF NPRC; Edla C. Osterberg, PF NPRC; Rose B. Park, PF NPRC; Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC; Kate Noyes, PF NPRC; May Bessie Stanley, PF NPRC; Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC; Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC; Mamie Robinson, PF NPRC; May Johnson, PF NPRC; Ora M. Salmons, PF NPRC; Will H. Stanley, PF NPRC; Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC; Gertrude Spalsbury, PF NPRC; Ida A. Shell, PF NPRC; Cordelia S. Sterling, PF NPRC; Esther Stowell, PF NPRC; Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC; Clara Warren, PF NPRC; Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Mystica (or Mistica) Amago, PF NPRC; Autta Parrett, PF NPRC; Christina Hutcheson, PF NPRC; Pearl Tenijieth, PF NPRC; Dr. Carl A. Anderson, PF NPRC; Jean O. Barnd, PF NPRC; John F. Chambers, PF NPRC; Amos Frank, PF NPRC; John Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Autta Q. Nevitt, PF NPRC; Ray R. Parrett, PF NPRC; Alonzo P. Edmondson, PF NPRC; Melvin B. Swain, PF NPRC; J.W. Lewis, PF NPRC; Michael Morrin Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Thomas Games, PF NPRC; Thomas McCormick, PF NPRC; Philip T. Lonergan, PF NPRC; and Frank Mead, PF NPRC.

> investigator and sent to investigate the condition of the Mission Indians in California. In 1889 Commissioner Morgan appointed Merial A. Dorchester as special agent in the Indian School Service. During the 1890s and into the twentieth century, many well-educated women came to occupy high-ranking positions in the School Service…In 1898 a woman became the second-highest-ranking official in the Indian Office when Estelle Reel was appointed as the superintendent of Indian schools.[108]

Note that most of these high ranking women received promotion on the schools side, likely due to the prevailing view that education was a more appropriate field for women.

Marital status also at times determined women's eligibility and perceived ability to hold a position. As the number of employees in the service rose, so did the number of women, most of them single according to Cahill:

> In 1869 women made up slightly more than 5 percent of the Indian service (only 28 women out of a total of 625 employees). By 1881 the service had more than doubled to 1,310 employees, while the percentage of women had tripled to 15 percent. And these numbers kept rising: in 1898 women made up 42 percent of all regular Indian Service employees and, remarkably, a full 62 percent of Indian School Service employees. The available evidence indicates that most of these women were single. In 1885, just as the school system was beginning to hire women intensively and the only year for which the Indian service kept statistics on sex and marital status, 65.5 percent of white female employees were single.[109]

Many OIA officials, both men and women, believed that single women were more suited to this work than married ones.[110] Georgie Robinson wrote about this issue to Miss M.S. Cook on January 16, 1910, in an attempt to keep her position. The OIA wanted to give her post to a married woman whose husband would work as an OIA farmer training Indian men. Robinson, a single woman who worked as a field matron at Rincon (Pala Agency), explained:

> But I do not think a woman with a family can give enough of herself to her work to make much of an impression. We had such an example here on the reservation. Miss Keith was an excellent worker--there was none better----until she was married. Her work after that was ruined as she was unable to give the proper time to both her work and her family had she been so inclined. One had to be

[108] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 65.
[109] Ibid., 64.
[110] Georgie Robinson to Miss M.S. Cook, Jan 16, 1910, Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC.

> neglected. Mrs. Stauffer did not neglect her family. For two years before she resigned she went on the mesa so infrequently that she had no use for the horse the Government provided for her…[111]

Robinson thought that since the field matron would be stationed at a remote post, a man with family would stay only long enough to collect the funds to leave.[112] She suggests Miss Cook contact Miss Abbott about her concerns as well, claiming Abbott had previously said a married field matron would prove inadequate given her family obligations. Interestingly Cook, clearly single herself, held a position of authority in the OIA hierarchy; still Robinson's entreaties proved unconvincing, and she was transferred.[113]

Clearly tension existed between single and married women over jobs. Competence, established by competitive exam, served as a requirement to hold most OIA positions, with exemptions granted to spouses.[114] So wives could take a non-competitive exam, and often served in positions ranking below their husbands. Indeed, the non-competitive exams only allowed for an appointment at same place as the spouse.[115] When Mrs. Mary Swain applied to

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[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC.
[114] Alice Anderson, PF NPRC; Gladys Barnd, PF NPRC; Mamie F. Brown, PF NPRC; Terracina Calac, PF NPRC; Bertha Calhoun, PF NPRC; Agnes M. Chambers, PF NPRC; M. Blanche Davis, PF NPRC; Leonidas Swaim, PF NPRC; Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC; Mary E. Swain, PF NPRC; Fermina Chaqua, PF NPRC; Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC; Belle Dean, PF NPRC; Georgia (Georgie) Dean, PF NPRC; May Frank, PF NPRC; Mary F. Games, PF NPRC; Orrington Jewett, PF NPRC; Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC; Mollie L. Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Ida Lewis, PF NPRC; Mary Noyes, PF NPRC; Edla C. Osterberg, PF NPRC; Rose B. Park, PF NPRC; Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC; Kate Noyes, PF NPRC; May Bessie Stanley, PF NPRC; Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC; Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC; Mamie Robinson, PF NPRC; May Johnson, PF NPRC; Ora M. Salmons, PF NPRC; Will H. Stanley, PF NPRC; Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC; Gertrude Spalsbury, PF NPRC; Ida A. Shell, PF NPRC; Cordelia S. Sterling, PF NPRC; Esther Stowell, PF NPRC; Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC; Clara Warren, PF NPRC; Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Mystica (or Mistica) Amago, PF NPRC; Autta Parrett, PF NPRC; Christina Hutcheson, PF NPRC; Pearl Tenijieth, PF NPRC; Dr. Carl A. Anderson, PF NPRC; Jean O. Barnd, PF NPRC; John F. Chambers, PF NPRC; Amos Frank, PF NPRC; John Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Autta Q. Nevitt, PF NPRC; Ray R. Parrett, PF NPRC; Alonzo P. Edmondson, PF NPRC; Melvin B. Swain, PF NPRC; J.W. Lewis, PF NPRC; Michael Morrin Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Thomas Games, PF NPRC; Thomas McCormick, PF NPRC; Philip T. Lonergan, PF NPRC; and Frank Mead, PF NPRC.
[115] E.B. Meritt to Mr. Melvin B. Swain, August 15, 1917, Mary E. Swain, PF NPRC.

replace her husband as teacher while he served in World War I, she was denied a non-competitive exam because he no longer worked at the reservation.[116]

FIGURE 5: Melvin and Mary Swain, c. 1914
(Courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri; Melvin Swain personnel file)

[116] Ibid.

Or as this letter to Mrs. Alice Anderson explained:

> You were employed in the Indian Service on a non-competitive status as the wife of a classified employee. When your husband left the Service you lost your Civil Service standing under the Indian Bureau, but if at any time your husband should be reinstated, you could be considered for a clerkship under the civil service rule, which is applicable only to the Indian Service…Should you wish to attain a civil service standing in your own right, you should tale a competitive examination.[117]

Ideas of female dependence and presumed inadequacy pervade such policies. The less difficult non-competitive exams gave an advantage to married women, which may have further fueled resentments. These non-competitive exams point to the federal government's investment in supporting men and their families with the underlying assumption that a male breadwinner made a more stable employee. Alice Anderson's personnel file again proves illuminating. In 1918 she wrote to the Secretary of the Interior requesting a raise denied previously because her husband also worked in the Service. "Formerly when Superintendents have requested an increase of my salary for me they have been informed that because my husband is employed by the Government my salary could not be increased. However since it is not considered quite patriotic for a married woman to be employed I do not think that should interfere with my advancement."[118] Anderson cleverly used wartime patriotism as a way to criticize government policies. She also pointed out that she entered the service eight years prior and now earned less then when first hired[119] given her single status when she began her tenure.[120] Though she made a good case, her bid proved unsuccessful and she did not receive a promotion (or raise) until 1921.[121] Married women also sometimes experienced jealousy that single women received higher salaries, so the resentment went both ways. Ironically, white women, single and married, used racist maternalism to justify

[117] E.B. Meritt to Alice Anderson, May 24, 1923, Alice Anderson, PF NPRC.
[118] Alice Anderson to Franklin K. Lane, August 8, 1918, Alice Anderson, PF NPRC.
[119] Ibid.
[120] T.T. McCormick to Cato Sells, December 17, 1917, Alice Anderson, PF NPRC.
[121] Service Record Card, Alice Anderson, PF NPRC.

taking native children from their own mothers.[122] Miss Estelle Reel, who historian Margaret Jacobs quotes writing about herself in the third person, claimed, "'So fond of her are some of the Indians that they are willing she should take their children away…She doesn't have to bribe the Indians with promises and presents to send their children to school now.'"[123] Of course, she embellished parental willingness in her self-aggrandizing statements. Even if actual bribes were offered, many native parents refused to send their children to school. Terri E. Jacques in "Serving San Diego County's Southern Indians?: Campo Indian Agency Schools," from the *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*, writes:

> Conducting school for Indian children of five reservations [Campo, La Posta, Manzanita, Cuyapaipe and La Laguna in southern San Diego County] proved unsuccessful in many cases. Lack of funds from the government not only caused a limitation of educational materials, but also of food rations. Daily lunches for the students were discontinued and Indians often would not send their children to school if they were not to be supplied with three meals a day. As incentive to send their children to school, the government paid a family three dollars per month for each child attending school. However, Indian families who had sent their children to Phoenix Indian School (before the establishment of Sherman Institute of Riverside) were warned by other members of the reservations that they would never see their children again and that the white man would take their children forever, thus causing the Indians to be reluctant about sending their children to any school at all.[124]

White women in the service often found conditions on the ground to be very different than they expected, expressing dismay that indigenous people rejected their "mothering."

The expectations that women must care for their own family worked for and against them when seeking employment. Gladys Barnd, for example, did not receive a teaching post due to family responsibilities. E.H. Hammond, the District Superintendent, told the Commissioner of

[122] Margaret Jacobs, "Maternal Colonialism: White Women and Indigenous Child Removal in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940," *Western Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2005): 456.
[123] Ibid., 453.
[124] Terri E. Jacques, "Serving San Diego County's Southern Indians? Campo Indian Agency Schools," *San Diego History Journal* 29, no. 3 (Summer 1983).

Indian Affairs that he could not recommend Barnd for a position because she had to care for her incapacitated husband and thus could not devote her full attention to the students.[125] Women's expected duty to care thus could work against their chances for employment. In other cases, the government officers found themselves compelled to provide for women without male financial support. Mrs. May Bessie Stanley served as an intriguing case. She started working in the service in 1900 as the housekeeper at the La Jolla Day School.[126] A couple years later she transferred to the same position at the Soboba Day School, about three miles from San Jacinto.[127] In the ten years following she received a promotion to financial clerk, which included a salary boost.[128] Her husband worked as the Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent for the Soboba, Santa Ynes, Cahuilla, Ramona and Santa Rosa reservations and in this position would be away for long periods of time.[129] But everything changed quickly for her and their two children on May 3, 1912, when he was murdered by local native people at Cahuilla.[130] He had received orders to brand the government bulls there and while doing so he and a native policeman were killed.[131] The aftermath proved revealing in terms of gendered expectations. As the wife of an employee in the Indian Service, she understood that her position was exempt from the competitive examinations. But upon his death, this exemption was no longer valid, So, in addition to the loss of her husband and his salary she now risked losing her job.

[125] E.H. Hammond (District Supt) to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 24, 1926, Gladys Barnd, PF NPRC.
[126] Personal Statement of Employee, May Stanley, PF NPRC.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Harwood Hall to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 9, 1913 and May Stanley to Secretary of the Interior, October 19, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[130] Ibid.
[131] May Stanley to Secretary of the Interior, October 19, 1912 and Samuel Adams, Acting Secretary, to May Stanley, Oct, 30, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.

FIGURE 6: May Stanley, date unknown
(Courtesy of the National Personnel Record Center, St. Louis, Missouri)

Fortunately, she had many allies who rushed to her aid, as she strategically played up her position as a widow and mother. Just three days after her husband died, she received a message from Washington about her options. R. G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, told Mr. H.A. Meyer, Private Secretary to the Secretary, Interior Department, that she was currently eligible for position of housekeeper at $300, but he suggested making a direct appeal to President Taft in her case.[132] That same day, F.M.R. (full name and position unknown) wrote to Valentine that E.B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner, had already considered going to Congress for Mrs. Stanley.[133] According to that same letter, he and some other officials remained unconvinced of her immediate financial need since Mrs. Stanley earned $600 per year.[134] F.M.R. did admit she did more than her job description, acting as "clerk, teacher, field matron, and general advisor for the Indian women, fully sharing in her husband's responsibilities for the welfare of the Indians."[135] In the meantime he suggested she take the necessary exams.[136] While her allies sprung into action right away, the callous discussion of taking exams and of calculating the new widow's finances indicates that the OIA bureaucracy did not always live up to its own paternalistic claims. But Stanley herself attempted to hold the government accountable. Just under two weeks after her husband's death, she wrote to Valentine asking to stay at Soboba.[137] Making no mention of any exams even as she praised her advocates, she instead tied her request to notions of home and the family. She wanted to stay given her familiarity with the surroundings and local native peoples, her comfort with her family's living quarters, and her desire to avoid sending her children to boarding school.[138] Other advocates emphasized the

[132] R.G. Valentine to H.A. Meyer, May 6, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[133] F.M.R. to R.G. Valentine, May 6, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] May Stanley to R.G. Valentine, May 16, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[138] Ibid.

importance of the government stepping up to protect a widow. Samuel Adams, First Assistant Secretary, explained to the Civil Service Commission that Mr. Stanley's "failure to provide for the support of his widow and two children cannot be attributed to negligence or improvidence on his part, and it is believed to be both reasonable and just that some preference be accorded his widow."[139] Thus Mr. Stanley's character and previous ability to provide for his family also factored in the case. Although it took over a month and a half to process, she received the teacher position and an increase in salary to $900 per year.[140] An executive order exempted her from taking an exam for civil service positions.[141] The OIA also moved the current teacher, Mrs. Emily K. Shawk, to Cahuilla to accommodate Stanley.[142]

Stanley received excellent reviews in her new position. The Efficiency Report from Oct 1, 1912, just five months into her widowhood, described her as a "woman of great energy, good judgement and appearance."[143] But just a few weeks later Stanley emphasized feminine weakness when writing to the Secretary of the Interior to request further financial assistance:

> I am left alone, Mr. Fisher, with two little children and I have no means at all, no income, no home and no relativesupon [sic] whom I can depend. I am a small woman weighing less than 100 pounds and I have always been frail and delicate and this tragedy has put me into a complete state of collapse. I am not physically able to hold a position and I do not know what to do. I appeal to you – a gentleman in the highest position of authority and power – to help me…I most earnestly and prayerfully ask you to assist me to secure a pension of $100 a month and $3000 cash for my children's education and care and protection…His life was sacrificed for his duty and surely I deserve a pension just as much as any widow of an Officer in the army.[144]

[139] Samuel Adams to The Civil Service Commission, May 28, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[140] Frederick H. Abbott to May Stanley, Jun 28, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[141] Samuel Adams to Civil Service Commission, May Johnson file and Service Record Cards, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[142] Frederick H. Abbott to Mrs. Emily K. Shawk, Jun 25, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[143] Efficiency Report, Oct 1, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[144] May Stanley to Sec of Interior Fisher, Oct 19, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.

Stanley carefully positions herself as a small, frail woman, a mother in need of help. She uses gendered expectations in an attempt to receive more assistance, and strategically compared her position to that of an army widow. Her request was not immediately granted, but plans were made to bring it before Congress.[145] The original plan included granting her $2500 and $1000 for the expenses related to the death of the native policeman, Selso Serrano.[146] A dramatic difference in monetary compensation, with the white family clearly considered more deserving. When the school year ended, she requested a transfer to Sherman in Riverside. Again, in contrast to how her reviewer portrayed her in October, she described herself as "frail" and "not physically able to stand the constant strain of teaching or steady clerical work."[147] Stanley seems cleverly strategic in her claims as she again invoked motherly priorities, indicating that her daughter needed the climate at Riverside for her health, also apparently frail, while her son needed to attend high school.[148] The part about her daughter served as pure gendered performance for the Washington-based commissioner. Southern Californians know that the weather in Riverside and San Jacinto does not differ significantly. Appealing on behalf of her daughter and her own health, however, turned out to be a wise ploy. For such a "frail" woman she certainly proved more than capable of wielding the pen as an effective weapon. She complained that Congress had done nothing for her, despite everyone who knows her case believes she merited a large pension.[149] A transfer to Sherman proved impossible, in part, due to her demands for a significant raise and more spacious living quarters for her family,[150] so she

[145] Samuel Adams, Acting Secretary, to May Stanley, Oct, 30, 1912, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[146] Ibid.
[147] May Stanley to Mr. H.B. Peairs, Chief Superintendent of Indian Schools, Lawrence, Kansas, May 10, 1913, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[148] May Stanley to Commissioner, May 9, 1913, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[149] Ibid.
[150] F. M. Conser to Commissioner, Jun 3, 1913, May Johnson, PF NPRC.

next requested a move to a clerkship position at no less than $1100/year at Haskell in Kansas.[151] She claimed she required that much "to support herself and educate her children."[152] While arguable that the climate in Kansas was more salubrious than Southern California, she may have requested the move to Haskell because her parents lived in Lawrence, less than three miles from Haskell.[153]

Once again allies sprung to her defense as they looked into creating new position especially for her.[154] The Superintendent at Haskell opposed her hire, but he did not prevail.[155] Ironically, his claims were denied due to his alleged attitudes toward women. The Aug 4, 1913 Memorandum to an OIA functionary contended that Supt. Wise "spends a lot of money on boys, [while] not doing same for girls."[156] Stanley thus transferred to Haskell in Kansas in 1913. And on August 22, 1914, in Private No. 126, the 63rd Congress of the United States granted "$3000 to May Stanley, widow of Will H. Stanley…who lost his life in the discharge of his duty; also to pay for medical and other necessary expenses, including funeral and administration expenses, incurred in connection with the death of said Will H. Stanley and the shooting of Selso Serrano, Indian policeman, or so much thereof as may be necessary."[157] This final appropriation gave more money to Stanley and less for Serrano than originally planned, thus further indicating the literal value of whites over natives. In 1923 the OIA attempted to transfer her back to California.[158] She wrote to the Commissioner that "I cannot accept the offered appointment of matron in Los Angeles because this work will take me back to the scene of my life's sorrow and

[151] May Stanley to Commissioner, June 7, 1913, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Memorandum to Mr. Francis, Aug 4, 1913, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[154] Frederick H. Abbott to J.R. Wise, Jul 22, 1913 and Acting Commissioner to May Stanley, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[155] Telegram, J.R. Wise (Supt, Haskell) to Indian Office, Jul 24, 1913, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[156] Memorandum to Mr. Francis, Aug 4, 1913, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[157] Private No. 126, the 63rd Congress, August 22, 1914, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[158] Personal Statement of Employee, May Stanley, PF NPRC.

throw me at times in immediate contact with the tribe that murdered my husband. Although eleven years have lapsed since the tragedy I feel it as keenly as if it were but yesterday."[159] Her letters indicate either a misunderstanding of geography of Southern California given the distance between Los Angeles and Riverside County where she had worked for over a decade, a strategy to avoid the transfer, or both. In her letter she also highlighted that in spite of her financial difficulties, her son earned a Masters' degree from Columbia and her daughter was a senior with a scholarship at Eastern College.[160] She again drew on her role of mother, pleading that she wanted to stay near her (now adult) children.[161] The next letter in the file, dated just a few weeks later, indicated that she suffered a nervous breakdown "due to heavy work and strain over loss of husband."[162] Perhaps the thought of having to return to California really was too much for her. She instead transferred to Washington D.C. to work as a clerk in Indian Affairs there.[163] She decided to retire due to disability just a few years later, in 1928.[164] One of her doctor's described her condition in 1927 thusly:

> For the past few years she has been the victim of an aggravated condition of the nervous system with a tendency to exhaustion and loss of control. Within the last year she has been bothered much with Insomnia and Neuritis. I am sure she is at the point of a complete collapse, mentally and physically. This has been brought about by the shock from the tragic death of her husband and the double worry and burden of supporting and educating her fatherless children and of trying to render full service to her employers.[165]

[159] May Stanley to Charles H. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mar 25, 1923, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] June 19, 1923 letter, pasted to May 1, 1923 Efficiency Report, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[163] T.P. Chapman, Asst. Secretary to the Secretary of the Interior, July 9, 1923, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[164] Application for Retirement due to Total Disability, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[165] Jno. J. Light, M.D. to To Whom it May Concern, December 15, 1927, May Johnson, PF NPRC.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century women were frequently diagnosed with nervous conditions.[166] Her retirement was granted in March of 1928, along with an annuity of $750.84.[167] In June of that year she married William E. "Pussyfoot" Johnson, a prominent prohibitionist.[168] "The dry campaigner and his bride were said to have met many years ago when he was an Indian commissioner under appointment of the late President Theodore Roosevelt…Mrs. Stanley's first husband was killed about 20 years ago while engaged in work of suppressing the liquor traffic among Indians. She formerly lived here [D.C.], but left the city about a month ago." This newspaper article gets a number of details wrong, such as her late husband's name and the reason for his murder. A fascinating woman, Stanley's perseverance over the years demonstrated her strength, despite her claims to the contrary.

Many OIA women employees were single or widowed, and thus presumably self-supporting. Of the forty-one women I verified in the personnel records as working for the OIA in Southern California between 1886 and 1933, seventeen were identified as single or a widow, and twenty-two were married for at least part of their service.[169] Their lives mirrored those of women schoolteachers throughout the American West.[170] During a time when marriage often

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[166] Catherine Beecher, "On Female Health in America," Nancy F. Cott, and Jeanne Boydson, eds. *Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women,* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2016), 293-298; and Mary Putnam Jacobi, "Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi on Female Invalidism," *Roots of Bitterness,* 334-337.
[167] Mrs. May Johnson Service Record Card, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[168] "'Pussyfoot' Johnson Marries Capital Widow," Washington Post, June 17, 1928, May Johnson, PF NPRC.
[169] Alice Anderson, Personnel Folder, PF NPRC; Gladys Barnd, PF NPRC; Mamie F. Brown, PF NPRC; Terracina Calac, PF NPRC; Bertha Calhoun, PF NPRC; Agnes M. Chambers, PF NPRC; M. Blanche Davis, PF NPRC; Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC; Mary E. Swain, PF NPRC; Fermina Chaqua, PF NPRC; Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC; Belle Dean, PF NPRC; Georgia (Georgie) Dean, PF NPRC; May Frank, PF NPRC; Mary F. Games, PF NPRC; Orrington Jewett, PF NPRC; Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC; Mollie L. Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Ida Lewis, PF NPRC; Mary Noyes, PF NPRC; Edla C. Osterberg, PF NPRC; Rose B. Park, PF NPRC; Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC; Kate Noyes, PF NPRC; May Bessie Stanley, PF NPRC; Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC; Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC; Mamie Robinson, PF NPRC; May Johnson, PF NPRC; Ora M. Salmons, PF NPRC; Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC; Gertrude Spalsbury, PF NPRC; Ida A. Shell, PF NPRC; Cordelia S. Sterling, PF NPRC; Esther Stowell, PF NPRC; Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC; Clara Warren, PF NPRC; Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Mystica (or Mistica) Amago, PF NPRC; Autta Parrett, PF NPRC; Christina Hutcheson, PF NPRC; Pearl Tenijieth, PF NPRC; PF NPRC; and Autta Q. Nevitt, PF NPRC.
[170] Kathleen Underwood, "Education on the Great Plains," *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); "Schoolmarms on the Upper Missouri," *Great Plains Quarterly* 4 (1991): 225-233; and "The

provided the surest form of economic security, many made it on their own. Marriage often meant the end of their OIA service. However, some women like Mabel A. McCormick worked on and off depending on family obligations. McCormick worked as the Financial Clerk at Pala/Pechanga for roughly five years, resigning when she got married, then again each time she had a child.[171] Indeed, married women were not even permitted to hold certain OIA positions. For a time, as historian Valerie Sherer Mathes indicates, "Government rules dictated that only single women or widows could teach."[172] Yet many of these women did not find financial security through marriage as many remained in the service, or returned to it.

Although scholars often define the ideology of uplift as solidly middle or upper class, the women who upheld these ideals on a local level were often marginally middle class, at best. Understanding the differences between the class status of these women seems relevant. The structuring of the OIA reflected notions about providing appropriate role models for native people. Victorian standards, supposedly exhibited by OIA employees, would "uplift" native peoples. Glenn underlines that "One particular subset of elite women's 'public caring' activities was to remake non-elite women to fit concepts of women as keeper of the home."[173] Although OIA positions required literacy and the passing of extensive exams for most positions, the women charged with remaking indigenous women actually held precarious economic positions themselves. OIA positions, especially that of field matron, did not appeal to upper middle class or elite women, given the expectations of domestic labor. For comparison, in this same era, historian Tera W. Hunter finds that "A middle-class home [in the South] employed a general

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Pace of Her Own Life: Teacher Education and the Life Course for Women in the West," *Pacific Historical Review* 55, (1986): 513-530.

[171] Mabel A. McCormick, PF NPRC.

[172] Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Divinely Guided: The California Work of the Women's National Indian Association, (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012)*, 201.

[173] Glenn, *Forced to Care*, 43.

domestic in addition or perhaps a cook."[174] And as in the South, even female OIA employees in "specialty" non-housekeeper positions were expected to perform general domestic work duties. While available records do not directly mention the class background, OIA women employees worked because they needed to do so, albeit attaining a much a higher standard of living than most of their native charges. They were educated, but not elite.

Unequal wages plagued both native and white women, the only races listed for the employees in Southern California. Native people held proportionally fewer positions in the OIA in the nineteenth century,[175] but when they did work in the service, they tended to hold the worst

[174] Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1998), 52.

[175] Folder 1, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Letters Received, 1909-1911, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, LS, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 7, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 8, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 9, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 10, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 11, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 12, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 13, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 15, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 16, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 17, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 18, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 19, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 20, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 21, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 22, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 23, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 24, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Miscellaneous Ledger 12, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Box 362, Misc. Letters Sent, Dec 1903-Jan 1915, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*.

paid, lowest status positions, ones highly segregated by sex. They also were appointed to more temporary positions than whites. The number of native employees rose in the early twentieth century. Cahill chronicles that "At a high point in 1912…the Indian Service employed more than 2,000 Indians as regular appointees—over a third of the total—as well as six times that number in temporary positions."[176] Indian men served as reservation policemen or laborers, while women worked primarily as domestics.[177] Southern California OIA housekeepers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries earned $30 per month ($300 for the ten month school year).[178] With regard to domestic work, black women in the U.S. South earned far less

[176] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 2.

[177] Folder 1, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 342, MRC, 1909-1911, RS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Letters Received, 1909-1911, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, LS, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 7, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 8, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 9, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 10, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 11, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 12, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 13, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 15, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 16, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 17, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 18, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 19, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 20, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 21, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 22, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 23, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 24, Box 345, LJ ANSR, 1910-1911, LJ R to OIA, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 1, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 2, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 3, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 4, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 5, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Folder 6, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R; Book 1, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Book 2, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Miscellaneous Ledger 12, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R; Box 362, Misc. Letters Sent, Dec 1903-Jan 1915, PA, RG 75, NARA R.

[178] Alice Anderson, PF NPRC; Gladys Barnd, PF NPRC; Mamie F. Brown, PF NPRC; Terracina Calac, PF NPRC; Bertha Calhoun, PF NPRC; Agnes M. Chambers, PF NPRC; M. Blanche Davis, PF NPRC; Leonidas Swaim, PF

for comparable work. Hunter's book *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* shows that "Their wages averaged from $4 to $8 a month [$48-96 annually]; though in a few cases, some women earned as much as $10 to $12 [$120-144 annually]. The remarkable characteristic of these rates was that they changed so little over time and across occupations."[179] However, Indian women often did not even receive wages for their work, getting paid in poor quality clothes and food instead.[180] Native women's earnings in the OIA were low in comparison to men's, but high in reference to comparable non-governmental work. Male native laborers received significantly more compensation, with rates of $480 per year.[181] The salaries for male teachers ranged from $72-$76 per month ($720 to $760 for the ten month school year), while female teachers earned as little as $60 per month and only as much as the lowest rate for male teachers.[182] These monthly rates were actually comparable to those paid

NPRC; Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC; Mary E. Swain, PF NPRC; Fermina Chaqua, PF NPRC; Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC; Belle Dean, PF NPRC; Georgia (Georgie) Dean, PF NPRC; May Frank, PF NPRC; Mary F. Games, PF NPRC; Orrington Jewett, PF NPRC; Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC; Mollie L. Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Ida Lewis, PF NPRC; Mary Noyes, PF NPRC; Edla C. Osterberg, PF NPRC; Rose B. Park, PF NPRC; Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC; Kate Noyes, PF NPRC; May Bessie Stanley, PF NPRC; Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC; Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC; Mamie Robinson, PF NPRC; May Johnson, PF NPRC; Ora M. Salmons, PF NPRC; Will H. Stanley, PF NPRC; Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC; Gertrude Spalsbury, PF NPRC; Ida A. Shell, PF NPRC; Cordelia S. Sterling, PF NPRC; Esther Stowell, PF NPRC; Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC; Clara Warren, PF NPRC; Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Mystica (or Mistica) Amago, PF NPRC; Autta Parrett, PF NPRC; Christina Hutcheson, PF NPRC; Pearl Tenijieth, PF NPRC; Dr. Carl A. Anderson, PF NPRC; Jean O. Barnd, PF NPRC; John F. Chambers, PF NPRC; Amos Frank, PF NPRC; John Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Autta Q. Nevitt, PF NPRC; Ray R. Parrett, PF NPRC; Alonzo P. Edmondson, PF NPRC; Melvin B. Swain, PF NPRC; J.W. Lewis, PF NPRC; Michael Morrin Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Thomas Games, PF NPRC; Thomas McCormick, PF NPRC; Philip T. Lonergan, PF NPRC; and Frank Mead, PF NPRC.

[179] Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom,* 52-53.

[180] Cuero, *Delfina Cuero.*

[181] Payable 1911 for La Jolla Indian School, Folder 1, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R.

[182] Alice Anderson, PF NPRC; Gladys Barnd, PF NPRC; Mamie F. Brown, PF NPRC; Terracina Calac, PF NPRC; Bertha Calhoun, PF NPRC; Agnes M. Chambers, PF NPRC; M. Blanche Davis, PF NPRC; Leonidas Swaim, PF NPRC; Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC; Mary E. Swain, PF NPRC; Fermina Chaqua, PF NPRC; Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC; Belle Dean, PF NPRC; Georgia (Georgie) Dean, PF NPRC; May Frank, PF NPRC; Mary F. Games, PF NPRC; Orrington Jewett, PF NPRC; Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC; Mollie L. Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Ida Lewis, PF NPRC; Mary Noyes, PF NPRC; Edla C. Osterberg, PF NPRC; Rose B. Park, PF NPRC; Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC; Kate Noyes, PF NPRC; May Bessie Stanley, PF NPRC; Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC; Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC; Mamie Robinson, PF NPRC; May Johnson, PF NPRC; Ora M. Salmons, PF NPRC; Will H. Stanley, PF NPRC; Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC; Gertrude Spalsbury, PF NPRC; Ida A. Shell, PF NPRC; Cordelia S. Sterling, PF NPRC; Esther Stowell, PF NPRC; Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC; Clara Warren, PF NPRC; Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Mystica (or Mistica) Amago, PF NPRC; Autta Parrett, PF NPRC; Christina Hutcheson, PF NPRC; Pearl

in the San Diego City School District at the time, but county schoolteachers were on an eight month schedule. Maude Watkins, who taught elementary school from 1892-1894, earned $60 a month, while male teachers earned $72.[183] According to historian Lisa Emmerich, "the wages for a field matron, $600-$720 per year, and a $300 per year salary for assistant field matrons, were quite high by Indian Office standards."[184]

While tasks varied depending on the post, the housekeeper, always a woman, maintained the cleanliness on the agency or school where she worked. At times she taught homemaking skills to native girls and women as well, thus crossing into field matron territory. The wife or a relative of the teacher or superintendent usually held this position. Yet women in this and other OIA posts also had charge of the domestic labor in their own households. Indeed, allowances for these women to outsource their own household work appeared in the records. In 1916, Agent McCormick wrote to request an increase in salary for Alice Anderson:

> She is willing to accept the position at $720, but is of the opinion that it will not pay her any more than $20 per month, as it will be necessary for her to hire a girl to do her housework and the girl's wages and board will amount to $40 per month…The Soboba jurisdiction, which is hardly as large as the Pala jurisdiction pays the Financial Clerk a salary of $1000…In view of these facts I recommend that Mrs. Anderson be given a salary of at least $840.[185]

Although denied,[186] this request reveals the labor expectations for female OIA employees. They still needed to meet their domestic obligations at home. The estimate of $40 per month in the letter seems unusually high given the rate for OIA housekeepers, let alone the rate domestics in

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Tenijieth, PF NPRC; Dr. Carl A. Anderson, PF NPRC; Jean O. Barnd, PF NPRC; John F. Chambers, PF NPRC; Amos Frank, PF NPRC; John Wetenhall, PF NPRC; Autta Q. Nevitt, PF NPRC; Ray R. Parrett, PF NPRC; Alonzo P. Edmondson, PF NPRC; Melvin B. Swain, PF NPRC; J.W. Lewis, PF NPRC; Michael Morrin Le Mieux, PF NPRC; Thomas Games, PF NPRC; Thomas McCormick, PF NPRC; Philip T. Lonergan, PF NPRC; and Frank Mead, PF NPRC.

[183] Rudolph T. Shappee, "Serving the City's Children: San Diego City Schools, The First Fifty Years," *Journal of San Diego History* 37, no. 2 (Spring 1991).

[184] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst,'" 204.

[185] McCormick to Cato Sells, Oct. 4, 1916 (photos 19-20), Alice Anderson, PF NPRC..

[186] Service Record Card, Alice Anderson, PF NPRC.

the south earned. Perhaps they thought that figure would make a more compelling case for at least a small raise. The OIA, and white employees like Anderson, relied on a colonized workforce. Cahill writes that "Policy makers argued that employing people who had been educated in federal Indian schools would offer living examples of the 'civilized' path they hoped all tribal members would take while also serving as a defense against backsliding."[187] These lofty claims hid the ways that the office saved money by using a racialized gendered pay rate scale to save money. And whites outside the OIA hired native workers by paying less than they would to whites, and much less than the OIA offered. When given the choice native people often preferred the higher salaries the Indian Service paid.

Some native women chose to make a career in the Office of Indian Affairs. Salvadora Valenzuela, who worked as housekeeper and assistant teacher at Pala serves as one example. Born in Warner Springs in 1874, she received her education at the Agua Caliente Day School.[188] She apparently left after the fifth grade, but her personnel file did not indicate her reasons.[189] She started working as housekeeper at Pala on January 18, 1904. Her file does not mention her specific nation, merely calling her a Mission Indian or noting that she belonged to the Pala band, but most native people from Agua Caliente were Cupeño. "This Indian lady, a member of the Pala band performs the duties of housekeeper in the most satisfactory manner. She also assists the teacher and financial clerk in caring for the sick. Her example to the Indians is excellent. I class her a good employee."[190] The records make no mention of the relocation, or any resulting tensions. Many described her as an accepted and influential member of her community and the OIA. An unnamed evaluator reported that "Mrs. Valenzuela takes a kindly interest in the Indian

[187] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 7.
[188] Indian School Service Form, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[189] Efficiency Report, April 1, 1929, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[190] Report of Harwood Hall, January 25, 1910, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.

children and knows the technique of cooking for children. She is well respected in the community."[191]

Although she started as housekeeper, her work soon included other tasks, including those that normally fell under the description of cook, field matron, or teacher. This 1910 report describes her as "An Indian, very neat in personal appearance, capable housekeeper, good cook, and gives entire time toward instructing girls in home making; visits their homes and is an unusually good employee."[192] Educating children usually remained the purview of teachers, while instructing adult women in their own homes fit the duties of a field matron. Yet Valenzuela combined both duties, in addition to working as housekeeper and cook. Indeed, the next year her position's title was changed to Assistant Teacher, at the same pay.[193] She described her own job as follows: "I like my work, the children obey me, each day we have a detail the children assist with the work. I am teaching them to cook Do [sic] house work [sic] sewing cutting and fitting the children [sic] clothes."[194] Her version highlights that the children worked for the day school, helping with cleaning and cooking their own lunches. Like Catholic schools, OIA boarding and day schools benefitted from unpaid child labor. But the federal government justified this labor as in their interests, and praised women like Valenzuela who helped train them. T.T. McCormick, Superintendent of the Pala School, reflected that

> Not only has has [sic] her interest been centered at the school, but she has a great influence for good among her people by her example and service. She goes about them advising and helping wherever and whenever needed, especially when they are sick and she can be spared from her other duties.
>
> Each year seems to have brought additional duties to her. She assists in the classroom and teaches the girls laundry work and plain sewing. Besides these duties she cares for the schoolbuilding,office [sic] and guest room. Since the

[191] Efficiency Report, April 1, 1931, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[192] Report of Harwood Hall, March 23, 1910, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[193] Service Record Card, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[194] Indian School Service Form, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.

> establishment of the lace school she has assisted there and at present has full charge of it while the regular lace teacher is taking a vacation.
>
> Mrs. Valenzuela has added five rooms to her two room house so that now she has a neat cottage of seven rooms in which she lives. This is kept wonderfully neat and clean.[195]

Valenzuela's work in her community represented a continuation of native healing traditions, as well as the type of work Spanish-speaking women fulfilled as *curanderas* and *parteras*. The OIA reports consider this community service as exceptional and novel, perhaps unconsciously taking credit for their acculturation of Mrs. Valenzuela, when actually her sense of service derived from native, communal roots.

Despite the report's emphasis on the size of her home and her earnings, acquiring wealth did not come before community and family for Valenzuela. She turned down higher paying posts due to this commitment.

> In relation to the proposed noncompetitive examination of Mrs. Salvadora Valenzuela to test her fitness for appointment as assistant matron at the Colorado River School, the Commission has the honor to state that it is in receipt of a letter from Frank Mead, Superintendent, Pala, California, that she is perfectly satisfied with her present position and does not want to leave her family and home life at Pala.[196]

Moreover, Valenzuela clung to communal values of mutual assistance. A 1922 evaluation indicated that "Mrs. Valenzuela is…kind hearted [sic] and generous, having cared for several unfortunate relatives and orphan children."[197] Native Southern California traditions emphasized helping those struggling in the community, a spirit Valenzuela embodied. She had two children of her own, born around 1893 and 1895.[198] Yet after years without children, on a form submitted

[195] T.T. McCormick, Superintendent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 9, 1914, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[196] [Illegible] to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1911, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[197] Efficiency Report, Nov. 1, 1922, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[198] Personal History, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.

in 1931 she listed a twelve year old dependent.[199] Perhaps an orphan she adopted? The extra rooms added to her home may have housed additional relatives or needy community members, since her own children were now adults. Her real and fictive family remained an essential priority for Valenzuela, whether she had a romantic partner or not. She first entered the service at 29 years of age. A 1906 form listed her as married with two children, ages 11 and 13.[200] But by 1922 an Efficiency Report listed her as single.[201] The Personal History Form she filled out in 1927 placed an x by the box for divorced. During the 1920s divorce carried a stigma in mainstream U.S. society, but not necessarily in native communities, which traditionally did not look down on couples that separated. But interestingly no criticism about her marital status appears in her personnel file. She seems to have remarried a few years later, as a 1929 Efficiency Report listed her as married, and she marked herself as a widow by 1931.[202] Although her file ended with her retirement a few years later, she likely continued her dedication to her Pala community and family.

Despite the glowing reviews Valenzuela did not receive promotions or raises during much of her thirty years of service. Her pay did not change, except for an increase during her brief, temporary appointments as a teacher.[203] In 1914 Superintendent McCormick requested a raise for her:

> I have an employee at the Pala School to whose services I wish to respectfully invite the attention of the Office…She has served here faithfully for ten years…I do not think such progress, industry and faithfulness should do unrewarded. I, therefore, respectfully recommend that these qualities be recognized in the form of a substantial increase in salary. Mrs. Valenzuela is deserving worthy of $540.00 per year.[204]

[199] Efficiency Report, April 1, 1931, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[200] Indian School Service Form, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[201] Efficiency Report, Nov. 1, 1922, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[202] Ibid. and Personal History, January 14, 1931, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[203] Service Record Card, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[204] T.T. McCormick, Superintendent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 9, 1914, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.

In reply, E.B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed McCormick that "Before Mrs. Valenzuela could be considered for a teacher position paying a salary of more than $300 a year, it will be necessary for her to pass a non-competitive teacher examination."[205] This may have caused McCormick to drop the matter. Three years later, he tried a different approach, attempting to increase her pay by having her work twelve months instead of just the school year:

> Outside of the work in the school room she attends to the cleaning of the office, dispensary and the guest room. She goes off duty on June 30th and does not report for duty until September 1st. [sic] thus leaving two months that I have no one available to take care of the guest room, office, dispensary and the school room. Mrs. Valenzuela is a full-blood Indian and an excellent employee and has been in the service here for a number of years.
>
> I recommend that the salary of the Assistant Teacher at Pala, beginning July 1st. 1917 be increased from $30 per month for ten months to $420 per annum. She has really merited this increase and her services during these two additional months is really necessary.[206]

But this attempt again met with resistance. So he tried another tact when he replied, "I beg to report that Mrs. Valenzuela would not be qualified to pass the Teacher's examination and accordingly I would request that the salary be made $360 per year, which would give her the two months additional pay at $30 per month, instead of $30 for ten months under the present arrangement."[207] But even this modest change did not receive approval. Assistant Commissioner Meritt responded: "Answering your letter of May 21, you are advised that were the salary of the position of assistant teacher increased…it would come within the competitive classified positions, and before Mrs. Salvadora Valenzuela could be appointed permanently thereto, it would be necessary for her to pass the regular teacher examination."[208] These letters

[205] E.B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs to T.T. McCormick, May 22, 1914, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[206] T.T. McCormick, Superintendent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 27, 1917, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[207] T.T. McCormick, Superintendent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 21, 1917, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[208] E.B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner, to T.T. McCormick, Jun 7, 1917, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.

indicate the esteem she had earned among local OIA agents. The policy allowing Indians to take non-competitive exams may have changed, or Meritt did not believe an Indian woman deserved such a salary, since as late at 1916 the policy stated: "Non-competitive examinations may be granted only to Indians, regular classified employees in the competitive grades, and the wives of such employees."[209] A 1922 Efficiency report brought up the issue again, noting that "She has been a faithful co-worker of Miss Ora Salmons for many years and deserves more salary."[210] But Valenzuela would have to wait years for a salary increase. Even a white advocate in a direct supervisory role could not break the racial glass ceiling.

In the meantime, she temporarily filled in as teacher to replace Miss Salmons, which raised her pay for a limited period. C. Lewis, Special Supervisor in Charge, explained to the commissioner that:

> In compliance with instructions…Miss Ora M. Salmons has been separated from the Service at the close of business November 12th, 1922…To continue the school it has been necessary to have Mrs. Salvadora Valenzuela, Asst Teacher, act as teacher and Assistant Teacher (Housekeeper). Information is requested as to whether it will be permissible to temporarily appoint Mrs. Valenzuela to the Teacher's position at $900.00 plus bonus pending appointment of a permanent teacher.[211]

This temporary appointment only lasted about a month, but still allowed her to earn three times her usual pay.[212] She returned to her original position when a new teacher arrived, without any subsequent raise. Her salary did increase to $480 per year in 1924, with no explanation provided in her file, beyond noting her reclassification.[213] In 1928 she received two wage increases to $690 per year and then $720 per year.[214] Her final salary augmentation occurred in 1930, ending

[209] E.B. Meritt to Peter Paquette, Supt Navajo School, Sep 29, 1916, Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[210] Efficiency Report, Nov. 1, 1922, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[211] C. Lewis, Special Supervisor in Change, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 15, 1922. Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[212] Service Record Card, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid.

her time in the service earning $780 per year and[215] in 1934 she was discharged after 30 years of service .[216] The OIA needed women like Valenzuela. Federal officials overlooked her divorce, despite the fact that other personnel files indicate that white women faced termination for such "scandals." She, and other native employees, legitimized the OIA's work in native communities, while also sometimes subverting it. Even something as seemingly insignificant as how employers described her daily routines, and how she herself characterized herself, can be illustrative. Then Superintendent Lewis highlighted that "For many years Mrs. Valenzuela has served as assistant to the teacher at the Pala Day School. She prepared the pupils' noon-day meals, and at times assists the teacher in the class room [sic]. She is a Mission Indian herself, and has the interests of her pupils at heart."[217] In contrast, she herself wrote: "Specialties…Housekeeping, sewing, lace making, Indian basketry, gardening."[218] Her inclusion of basketry in the native tradition proves telling, a subtle form of resistance and tribal pride. While not all native women who worked in the service had such long careers, or such detailed personnel files, their work and lives proved essential as they engaged in subtle forms of accommodation and resistance to colonization that the records often did not capture.

[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] C. Lewis, Superintendent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 8, 1931, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.
[218] Efficiency Report, April 1, 1929, Salvadora Valenzuela, PF NPRC.

FIGURE 7: Salvadora Valenzuela, c. 1920
(Courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri)

The federal schooling system that Valenzuela and other native people attended, and then at times worked for after graduation, was designed to create a colonized labor force. In the government schools, like the Catholic ones, children's labor proved essential to the daily operations of the school. This labor exploitation usually continued after graduation, with a student's return to their reservation. Glenn argues that "Regarding the usefulness of boarding school education, it appears that women who went back to their tribal homes found that the housekeeping and domestic skills they had acquired were not appropriate to reservation life…Those who left the reservation found their training, combined with prevailing racial

discrimination, left them with few options other than domestic service."[219] A popular native school slogan that Glenn includes suggests a thinly disguised plan for creating a trained domestic labor force: "'Learn the dignity of serving, rather than being served.'"[220] Native women, from girlhood to adulthood, on and off the reservation, certainly learned the lesson from colonizers that they would only be "helpers," at best. Cahill opines that "From an administrative point of view [in the OIA], hiring Indians served both ideological and practical ends: ideologically, administrators believed that Indian wage labor could be used to teach Native people the crucial lessons of working in a capitalist marketplace; and practically they could hire Indian workers for less money."[221] But in actual practice, the OIA needed women like Valenzuela, and often found themselves forced to make at least modest concessions to keep them. And native people had their own motivations for working for the OIA, ones, which often ran counter to assimilationist goals.

While entering the service was competitive, the OIA struggled to place employees and then retain them.[222] For native employees, many did not use cash to provide for their needs as many families could sustain themselves with only one member working for wages, often seasonally.[223] Despite the OIA's idea that hiring Indians would encourage them to embrace capitalism and individualism, many of their indigenous workers entered the OIA to support their extended families and communities rather than keeping the money for themselves or their nuclear family as administrators had hoped.[224] "Anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz notes that [among] the families of San Juan Pueblo in New Mexico…'There was no need for cash on a

[219] Glenn, *Forced to Care*, 56,
[220] Ibid., 52. In her work she points out the ways that native schooling really just created a colonized workforce.
[221] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 105.
[222] Ibid., 89.
[223] Ibid., 116.
[224] Ibid.

day-to-day basis…each family needed only to have one member working seasonally to have enough cash for the whole year.'"[225] Perhaps Valenzuela was the designated wage worker in her extended family. Many other native Southern Californians who worked for the OIA may have followed the pattern Ortiz identified in New Mexico. Fermina Chaqua, for example, filled in for Valenzuela's housekeeper post at the Pala school in May 1908.[226] That temporary job was both the beginning and the end of her OIA career, perhaps indicating that she worked for wages elsewhere. Moreover, the highest paying jobs in the OIA were reserved for men. According to Cahill "Firefighting and law enforcement were two of the first positions in which the government used a deliberate, large-scale policy of paying Indians [notably men] as an incentive to work."[227] As the bureaucracy grew so did the number of native employees. A mere 253 indigenous people worked for the OIA between 1834 and 1861.[228] But by 1912 Cahill found that "Native employees made up almost 30% of the 6000 regular employees of the total Indian Service, encompassing both school and agency personnel."[229]

In my research I identified 46 women and 16 men from employee personnel files who worked for the OIA in Southern California between 1886 and 1933. 8 of these women were identified as Indian, 16 had no race listed, with the rest white, making the total percentage of known native women reaching 17.4%. For the men, 2 were identified as mixed-blood Indians, 2 had no race listed, and the rest were white, thus making the native men's percentage lower, at just 12.5%. Because of my regional focus, finding the personnel records proved more difficult since they are organized by name and by posts. San Diego and Riverside appear to have had a

[225] Ibid.
[226] Fermina Chaqua, PF NPRC.
[227] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 106.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.

lower number of native employees than the national average. Furthermore, the OIA did not account for informal labor within local agencies, as will be explored in the next chapter.

Many of the native people in the service did not come from the region. For example, Autta Nevitt Parrett was Delaware born in Kansas.[230] She and her white husband Ray Parrett worked at Sherman and La Jolla.[231] Cahill in her chapter on native people in the service states that:

> Administrators preferred to have Indian employees unmoored from their tribal identities so that they could avoid having a group of educated tribal bureaucrats who might challenge superiors…By 1912 the School Service's 'Indian Application for Appointment' form specified that 'it is not considered to be in the interest of the service or the applicants to assign him [the applicant] to a position among his own people.[232]

Parrett fit this pattern; she began working in 1902 as a housekeeper at Pipestone in Minnesota and then as Assistant Matron at Sherman from 1910-1915.[233] She resigned to marry in 1915.[234] They met through the service, a practice so common for OIA employees that even the Commissioner of Indian Affairs joked about it. In his 1906 annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, Francis Leupp "…couldn't help but conclude with a droll comment: 'A not uninteresting feature of these dry statistics is the report that 132 employees were married during their service in the schools.'"[235] Marriages across racial lines, although less common, did occur. Marriages between a white husband and native wife did not seem to attract negative OIA attention.[236] Indeed, a number of these men received promotions to superintendent, as was the case for Ray Parrett.[237] After they married, the couple relocated to Pala, where he worked as

[230] Autta Parrett, PF NPRC.
[231] Ibid. and Ray Parrett, PF NPRC.
[232] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 121.
[233] Autta Nevitt and Autta Parrett, PF NPRC.
[234] Autta Parrett, PF NPRC.
[235] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 136.
[236] Ibid., 153-154.
[237] Ibid., 94, 154; and Ray Parrett, PF NPRC.

financial clerk and then a teacher, while she rejoined the service and held the housekeeper position.[238] She resigned again in 1917 to accompany him when he transferred to the superintendent position in Bishop, CA.[239] She then applied for reinstatement as a field matron but was rejected because she had an infant. The Parretts had tried to assuage officials by claiming that "…they had hired '[a] good girl as domestic help…[who] makes it possible for Mrs. Parrett to devote considerable time to outside matters.'"[240] This example illuminates the OIA informal labor force, For both white and native women with children, field matron positions were often beyond their reach. Autta Parrett never appeared again in personnel records.

[238] Autta Parrett and Ray Parrett, PF NPRC.
[239] Autta Parrett, PF NPRC.
[240] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 94-95.

FIGURE 8: Autta R. Parrett, c. 1915
Courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri)

Unlike the Parretts, mixed race couples where the husband was native met with considerable scrutiny, in the OIA and the public eye. John Wetenhall, a 1/4 Great Lakes Chippewa married to a Doris Wetenhall, a white woman, faced scandalous accusations when working at Rincon over his alleged drinking and inappropriate behavior toward women employees. He started working in the service as a teacher in 1904 at Pottawatomie.[241] The Wetenhalls seem to have met through their work for the OIA, as they married shortly after she received her first position in Oklahoma, where she had no previous ties.[242] In her words, she was:

> …appointed to the position of Matron at Cantonment, Oklahoma in April 1905, a year following that date I was married to John Edphered Wetenhall, a very fine man of Indian blood,; [sic] in August 1906, I was transferred by my request to Jicarilla Apache (along with my husband) in the same capacity, and resigned in the fall of 1907, due to delicate health. Since my resignation…I have not held a regular appointment but have filled in temporary capacities by way, Assistant Cook at Ft. Defiance, Ariz.; Field Matron, Rincon, Cal.; and Assistant Matron, Tohatchi, N.M. [sic][243]

Her work in these temporary positions did not appear on her Service Record Card, further evidence of the way that employee records remain incomplete. While she received complaints at Jicarilla, he was praised as a good and excellent employee.[244] Still, C.F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in a letter to the Superintendent of the Jicarilla School demanded that John Wetenhall abstain from drinking while in the service.[245]

[241] Service Record Card, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[242] Employee Record and Wetenhall to Cato Sells, July 17, 1916, Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[243] Doris Wetenhall to Cato Sells, July 17, 1916, Doris Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[244] C.F. Larrabee to John J Jenkins, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[245] C.F. Larrabee to Superintendent of the Jicarilla School, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.

FIGURE 9: John “Jack” and Doris Wetenhall and their son, “Little Jack,” C. 1911-1915
(Courtesy of the National Personnel Center, St. Louis, Missouri; John Wetenhall personnel file)

Rumors about John Wetenhall began when he worked in the position of farmer at Rincon, teaching native men techniques for farming.[246] Employees at Rincon and Pala often socialized, and accusations flew about his drinking as well as acting inappropriately towards women. Estella Fulton, former financial clerk at Pala, Mrs. McKee, Miss Florence Chetham, and Miss Clara Geradehand complained that he was intoxicated and had grabbed Geradehand's heel as she rode by on her horse.[247] Such untoward accusations launched an OIA investigation. Wetenhall claimed he was sober when he grabbed her foot and had done so as a joke:

> That while admitting the facts of having pulled Miss Clara Geradehand's foot from her stirrup, it was done mostly in the spirit of play and further as I only toucher [sic] her foot I do not feel that the act carried any factor of disrespect with it
>
> And secondly; I do not consider that my act was without provocation as Miss Clara Geradehand had invited reprisal by willfully crowding her horse against mine though she had ample room to avoid doing so, had she wished.
>
> No offense was meant nor did Miss Clara Geradehand seem offended, though I met her afterwards and danced with her.
>
> Sometime after this at the instigation of Miss Estella Fulton Miss Clara Geradehand consented to become offended.
>
> As to the charges of being intoxicated, will say; that they are entirely groundless, in further proof of my assertion that I was not intoxicated will submit the statements of the following persons whom I associated with immediately prior to and following the incident in question.
>
> Dr. Jacob Breid, Phoenix, Ariz. (who was here at the time) to follow later.
> 1 Supt. Walter Runke & Wife.
> 2 Dr. F.J. McKinley, Service Physician at Pala.
> 3 Mr. Maion E. Waite, Ex. Farmer at Pala.
> 4 Mr. Marcus Golsh, (who was with me at the time)
> 5 Mr. Osborne W. Rutherford, U.S. Forest Ranger.[248]

Wetenhall claims that as had grabbed Geradehand's foot in jest she was not upset until her friend Miss Fulton riled her up. One of his defenders, M.E. Waite, further argued, "The accusation of drunkenness [sic] against him is evidently part of the persecution instituted by some of Miss

[246] John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[247] Cato Sells to John Wetenhall, September 19, 1913, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[248] John Wetenhall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 4, 1913, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.

Fulton's friends in a spirit of retaliation and oversympathy [sic] for her."[249] The gendered and raced dynamics of the incident, while never explicitly mentioned in the accounts, pervade the records.

Here we have three single and one married white women accusing a native man of public intoxication and sexual harassment. Their claims fit with stereotypes of native men as sexual predators and alcoholics. In the OIA culture, Indian men, and the white women they courted, frequently faced accusations of sexual impropriety.[250] Cahill, in her chapter on interracial marriages between OIA employees, provides significant evidence that:

> It was often when ambitious Indian men were challenging their superiors, applying for promotions, or assuming higher-paid posts that white superiors tried to use their marriages to white women against them. The couples discovered that their positions as respectable families could be questioned at any time by accusers who played upon white stereotypes and prejudices about the behavior of nonwhite men.[251]

Just a few weeks before the accusations against her husband surfaced, Doris Wetenhall had written to William Kettner, the U.S. congressional representative for San Diego, to request his help in getting her husband's request for a transfer and promotion approved.[252] So, on the one hand, the timing of the accusations seems suspicious. However, the women also risked damage to their own reputations by coming forward. Three of them were single, which made coming forward even more dangerous. Cahill further finds that "As single working women, they were especially vulnerable to attacks on their propriety. Indeed, supervisors often used charges of improper relations with the opposite sex as a pretext for disciplinary action."[253] And indeed that is exactly how Wetenhall and his defenders responded, by using gendered attacks against the

[249] M.E. Waite to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 2, 1913, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[250] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 164-168.
[251] Ibid., 168.
[252] Doris Wetenhall to William Kettner, Sept. 2, 1913, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[253] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 164.

reputations of his accusers. A few months later, Iris Lyons also claimed Wetenhall had behaved inappropriately, saying that while she boarded with his family, he entered her bedroom while she slept.[254] Hugh J. Baldwin, San Diego County Superintendent of Schools and Edward L. Hardy, President, California State Normal School at San Diego, demanded his dismissal:

> We, the undersigned, request the removal of John Wetenhall, Farmer at Rincon Reservation, for the following reasons :
>
> 1. Because Miss Iris Lyons, the teacher of the Pauma School, which is situated near the Rincon Reservation and which is attended by Indian children of the reservation testifies to us that Mr. Wetenhall, while intoxicated, entered her bedroom early in the morning, stood at the foot of her bed, and so comported himself as to alarm her and made it impossible for her to remain in the house occupied by him.
>
> 2. Because we have evidence which convinced us that two witnesses, namely Frank Kranz…and Mr. H. K. Palmer…can be secured to testify that Mr. Wetenhall defamed Miss Lyon's [sic] character on several occasions.
>
> 3. Because Mr. Wetenhall threatened Miss Lyons with loss of her position should she in any way fail to conform to the wishes of Mr. and Mrs. Wetenhall, and should she make any statement concerning him. This is substantiated by the fact that Mr. Wetenhall came to me Hugh J. Baldwin, County Superintendent of Schools, and endeavored to secure the dismissal of Miss Lyons without being able to present any adequate grounds for such dismissal.
>
> 4. Because the facts stated above, all known to many people on the reservation and residents of the San Luis Rey Valley, together with Mr. Wetenhall's known irresponsibility and vindictiveness when intoxicated, make impossible for either of us to allow a teacher to take change of the school while Mr. Wetenhall is on the reservation.
>
> Under these conditions, you can understand that as Superintendent of Schools and as President of the Normal School responsible for the welfare of teachers appointed through the Appointment Bureau of said School, we respectively can take no step toward re-opening the Pauma School until Mr. Wetenhall has been removed.[255]

With male defenders, Lyons' charge, added to the earlier one, led the OIA to open an investigation. During the investigation she explained there had been other creepy incidents: "I have had him stop on the steps at a point where he could look into my window. I could not see

[254] Hugh J. Baldwin, County Superintendent of Schools, San Diego and Edward L. Hardy, President, California State Normal School at San Diego to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 19, 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[255] Ibid.

him as it was always dark, but I could hear some one [sic] there and then I would pull my curtain further down, he would pass on down the stairs. I am sure it was Mr. Wettenhall [sic]."[256]

As he had done earlier, Wetenhall responded by attacking the character of his accuser. During the misconduct investigation he and his wife contended that they showed Lyons cheaper places to live, but she decided to stay with them.[257] He denied her accusations, saying he never entered her room without knocking and that he had been sober for a year and a half.[258] He argued that his colleagues at Pala wanted to undermine him because of his race and in particular, because he had already tangled with Fulton.[259] Attempting to turn the tables, he asserted that Lyons went walking with young men, certainly inappropriate behavior for a respectable girl in this era.[260] "Miss Lyons went out walking with young men that I did not approve of that [sic] and told the school authorities at San Diego about it. They went walking at night also. I did not think any good, nice girl would do that."[261]

In addition to attacking Lyons' sexual reputation he changed his story about the foot-grabbing incident. In this version he explained that he was breaking a horse with Marcus Golsh and when he asked the women to move they refused, so he grabbed her foot to prevent an accident.[262] His description of Lyons's behavior, taking unchaperoned walks with men, played on stereotypes of working women as loose and morally suspect.[263] The early twentieth century saw changing dating patterns as young people moved away from their parents, often to urban

[256] Iris Lyons' Testimony, Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[257] Doris Wetenhall's Testimony and John Wetenhall's Testimony, Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[258] John Wetenhall's Testimony, Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Enstad, Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure.

areas.[264] Lyons seems to have embodied this new, more independent approach to courtship. Rather than being embarrassed by Wetenhall's charge, she embraced it.[265] "Yes, I went walking with young men--sometimes at night. I did not see anything wrong with that, do you?"[266] As a young woman in her early twenties, she belonged to this newer generation, but her boldness may have worked against her. What was common behavior in New York City, for example, did not play well in remote San Diego County. Despite the large number of witnesses who supported her, the OIA dismissed her complaint, in part, on grounds that she did not come forward at the time it occurred.[267] Of course, she and others claimed Wetenhall had threatened their termination, noting that he had fired a Miss Pool.[268] And today we know that survivors of sexual harassment and assault often do not come forward due to fear they will not be believed. However, the investigation did determine that Wetenhall was intoxicated and had behaved badly in the foot incident.[269] He claimed in his testimony he had not touched alcohol in a year and a half, while his wife in her testimony said he was four years sober.[270] The report recommended his transfer, and while emphasizing his need for supervision and fatherly counsel, it described him as a "fine specimen of manhood."[271] This infantilizing attitude reflected the belief that since Wetenhall was one-quarter Chippewa, he needed guidance. The records do not indicate if Lyons received any punishment, though it seems likely she suffered damage to her reputation. While

[264] Ibid.
[265] Iris Lyons' Testimony, Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall personnel file.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC..
[268] Iris Lyons' Testimony, Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[269] Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[270] John Wetenhall's Testimony and Doris Wetenhall's Testimony, Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[271] Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.

living with the Wetenhalls, Frank Kranz came calling, telling her that he stayed away at first since Mr. Wetenhall had warned him about her lack of virtue.[272] Lyons testified that:

> The first time he came he said he would have come sooner but he thought I was not a nice girl--that Mr. Wettenhall [sic] had told him so. I then and at once took Mr. Kranz to Mr. Wettenhall [sic] and asked him in the presence of Mr. Kranz if he had any reason to think I was not a good girl or was not nice. His reply was 'No,' and that I was all right. I did not ask for any further explanations, nor did Mr. Kranz.[273]

Given that Wetenhall had muddied her reputation before the investigation, her testimony and the subsequent dismissal of her charges may have caused much greater damage.

OIA surveillance of native charges obviously extended to native employees, as noted in the treatment of Wetenhall. The OIA feared that assimilated native people could "backslide" or "go back to the blanket" if not carefully watched.[274] But the federal government also attempted to control the behavior of white workers, particularly women. Like her husband, Doris Wetenhall received criticism for alleged disruptive behavior toward other employees.[275] H.H. Johnson, superintendent and special distribution agent for the Jicarilla Agency in New Mexico, informed the commissioner of Indian Affairs that she should not be reinstated into the service as: "She displayed no interest in her work, is lacking in industry, and showed a marked inclination to stir up strife among other employees."[276] While hard to determine the validity of these characterizations, they are certainly imbricated with gendered meaning and perhaps relate to Johnson's unease with her marriage to a native man. Certainly she was not portrayed as the long-suffering

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[272] Iris Lyons' Testimony, Misconduct Investigation, October 1914, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 7; For the concept of "blanket Indians" and the idea of isolating native children from their communities to assimilate them (and thus keep them from going "back to the blanket") see Richard H. Pratt, Battlefield and Classroom, Robert M. Utley, ed. (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 248.
[275] H.H. Johnson to Commissioner, Dec 5, 1907, John Wetenhall, PF NPRC.
[276] Ibid.

wife. Indeed, Victorian era white women frequently risked being maligned as gossips, a far less common accusation leveled against men.

But the OIA was rife with gossip, including rumors about who were the biggest gossips. Married couples sometimes seemed a threat to others in the service, especially since wives could take non-competitive exams and the office often favored couples over single women given that their household purportedly offered a real life model of family civilization.[277] The Swaims highlight these goals and tensions. The two appear to have entered the service together in 1898. On a 1906 form she listed her two children, a twelve year old boy and a ten year old girl, so likely they were married before 1894.[278] She started as a housekeeper at the Spokane Day School where he worked as a teacher.[279] After a few years, they transferred to Capitan Grande Day School and then La Jolla Day School, where they held the same positions.[280] Like many in the service, the two moved around fairly frequently. They next went to Hoopa Valley Agency in 1905, where she switched to the position of baker and he worked as the farmer.[281] They moved every few years until retiring from the service. In addition to working as teacher and farmer, he also served as clerk and financial clerk, with his Service Record Card listing twelve different agencies or schools in his over thirty years working for the OIA.[282] Her personnel file proves less robust, but contained a fascinating photo of her and other women and children in Port Gamble, Washington or on the Western Shoshoni Indian Reservation in Nevada:

[277] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 83, 98.
[278] Indian School Service Employee Card, Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC.
[279] Ibid. and Service Record Card, Leonidas Swaim, PF NPRC.
[280] Indian School Service Employee Card, Minnie E. Swaim, PF NPRC.
[281] Ibid. and Service Record Card, Leonidas Swaim, PF NPRC.
[282] Service Record Card, Leonidas Swaim, PF NPRC.

FIGURE 10: Annie Jones?, Mrs. Primo, Mrs. Armstrong, Mrs. Schwab, Mrs. Leonidas Swaim, and Mrs. Sewell, c. 1916-1918
(Courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri)

Despite this photograph displaying an outwardly lovely depiction of native and white women bonding over children, people apparently complained about Minnie Swaim. J.E. Jenkins, Superintendent of the Walker River Agency in Schurz, Nevada told the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> As to recommending Mrs. Minnie E. Swaim for the position of matron, I could not conscientiously do so. She is not at all reliable; is very hysterical, and is always in trouble with other employees. Her reputation at other agencies where she had been is that of a trouble-maker. Further, she does not give the interests of the children under her care the consideration that a matron should give to Indian children.[283]

[283] J.E. Jenkins to Commissioner, April 7, 1920, Minnie Swaim, PF NPRC.

In this official communication Jenkins refers to and relies on a network of gossip. Before this April 7, 1920 letter nothing in Swaim's personnel file indicated that she had difficulty in past posts, even though she had been employed for over twenty years. But the superintendent says that her reputation, like that of Doris Wetenhall, was that of an unruly woman. The label of "hysterical" was applied almost exclusively to women and her alleged lack of motherly behavior toward Indian children flew in the face of OIA maternalist expectations, notwithstanding the tenderness conveyed in the photograph. Of course, she selected that photo to her supervisors, understanding that the service believed women would naturally nurture their native wards.

The career plans of husbands at times took a nose-dive when their wives faced such attacks. Cahill meticulously documents that "An accusation that a superintendent's wife was behaving badly could also damage her husband's position."[284] In the case of Leonidas Swaim, he never progressed up the OIA ladder, perhaps due to claims against his wife. In a May 1, 1922 Efficiency Report from the Omaha Indian Agency the unnamed reviewer boldly stated that Swaim was "handicapped by a pestiferous wife."[285] And a few months later another such report expanded on these claims, describing him as: "Slow; adverse to working after hours; lives under a despotic petticoat sovereignty; who in all probability is the mainspring of local gossip and generally has the place ringing with news before nightfall."[286] These reports attacked not only his wife but also his own masculinity. Given his perceived inability to control his wife, his job performance came under question. Phrases such as "adverse to working after hours" questioned his commitment. OIA employees lived on reservations in close quarters with one another and thus provided a ready-made environment for gossip. Given the isolation of schools and

[284] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers,* 99.
[285] Efficiency Report, May 1, 1922, Leonidas Swaim personnel file.
[286] Ibid.

reservations, one can hardly blame OIA employees, male and female, for discussing what little interesting news came their way. But women were usually the ones chastised for spreading strife through gossip.

FIGURE 11: Minnie and Leonidas Swaim, c. 1915
(Courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri; Leonidas Swaim Personnel File)

In some instances, supervisors considered the husband, rather than the wife, as a liability. Agnes M. Chambers and her husband, John Chambers, started in the service in 1909 as housekeeper and teacher, respectively, at the Cibicue Day School on the Fort Apache

Reservation.[287] There his reviews were not as favorable as hers. "He is what is usually known as a 'chronic kicker' or a pessimist; and likely his actions show that he does not desire to co-operate. If he does not soon show improvement, it will be my duty to recommend a transfer. His wife (the Housekeeper) is efficient and pleasant."[288] Note the difference between this complaint and those made against other women employees. His disposition purportedly affected his supervisory duties, with his pessimism interfering with his job performance. But the terminology is very different. Rather than called a trouble-maker, as Minnie Swaim was, he was characterized as not being motivated to "co-operate" with others. Agnes Chambers received praise in this report, and in a later one she received credit for helping her husband with his job. The memorandum continued: "His next assignment was at the Rincon Day School, Pala Agency, California, where the Superintendent and also Superintendent Conser of Sherman Institute, as visiting Supervisor, rated him as something as an oddity whose wife contributed largely to the success of his classroom work."[289] Although she worked as a housekeeper, this report reveals the ways that wives assisted their spouses sometimes with their jobs. This support was mentioned in personnel files, when women applied to hold new OIA posts. Like the Swaims, the Chambers moved regularly during their careers. By May 1918, they transferred to the Salt River Day School in Arizona, they both worked as teachers.[290] Agnes Chambers also worked as a teacher when they moved to the Santa Clara Day School in New Mexico.[291] Supervisors' reports regularly insulted John Chambers' competence and masculinity. The memorandum further noted that "One argument in favor of men in the Day Schools as teachers is that they will keep the

[287] Memorandum concerning Mr. and Mrs. John F. Chambers, Agnes Chambers, PF NPRC.
[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Employee Record, December 4, 1920 and Record of Employees in the Indian Service, January 17, 1918, Agnes Chambers, PF NPRC.

plant in shape, look after the water systems, etc., etc., [sic] I have never seen a man as helpless about a place as Mr. Chambers. The average woman in the Day School is much more competent."[292] After this damning review the OIA transferred him, but he refused to relocate. His employment was then terminated.

FIGURE 12: Agnes and John Chambers, date unknown
(Courtesy of the National Archives and Record Administration, St. Louis; Agnes Chambers personnel file)

[292] Memorandum concerning Mr. and Mrs. John F. Chambers, Agnes Chambers, PF NPRC.

Agnes Chambers continued in her position, but suddenly started getting unfavorable reviews. A report from November 1, 1921 stated:

> Mrs. Chambers is a good teacher and has done good work. She has never been satisfied with conditions though under which she has been working. She is disloyal and has consorted with those who were attempting to bring the administration here into disrepute. Had I [Superintendent Johnson] known what I know now about her I should never have recommended her retention here when her husband quit the Service and it is hoped that steps will be taken not later than the close of present fiscal year to replace her with someone else who will, at least be loyal to the management.[293]

It is interesting that after her husband no longer worked for the OIA, she began to receive negative evaluations. She, like her husband, was accused of disloyalty to her superiors, but she was not alone in complaining about those in charge, and while she was not accused of being the ringleader of a discontented group, Superintendent Johnson wanted her gone. A few months later her Efficiency Report claimed "Mrs. Chambers is a good organizer and executive. Her methods are effective. She is the type of woman that would work better alone, as she insists on being the "boss". [sic] This attitude has resulted in strained relations between Miss Heyes and Mrs. Chambers."[294] While her work performance seemed excellent, her "bossiness" was identified as an issue, although a teacher's job literally involves taking charge of a classroom. She resigned a few months later, ending her career with the service. Other women received critiques for failing to get along. Georgie Robinson, who worked as a field matron at Pala before her transfer to the Santa Fe Agency, apparently became a target. Her Efficiency Report from May 1, 1913 explained that she tried to befriend the local native women and their families, but that the "teacher's (Miss Richards) antagonistic attitude towards her and her work has been a

[293] Memorandum concerning Mr. and Mrs. John F. Chambers, Agnes Chambers, PF NPRC.
[294] Efficiency Report, April 8, 1922, Agnes Chambers, PF NPRC.

handicap."[295] Getting along with co-workers was mentioned with greater frequently for women OIA employees than for men.

It truly was a struggle for OIA employees, who found themselves thrown together and posted in unfamiliar, often remote, areas. Some had supportive colleagues while others experienced petty, difficult coworkers. They often came in with grandiose plans for helping Indian people, only to find that their "wards" did not appreciate their "help" and preferred their native traditions. Frequently these battles took place at the individual level, but at times larger scale protests occurred. Superintendent Thomas Games, who worked as superintendent of Mesa Grande, faced such a situation when a mixed-gender delegation from Los Coyotes (Cahuilla and Cupeño) arrived to lodge complaints about him during his tenure from 1906 to 1908. Since so many of the employees came from other regions, they relied on locals, native and non-native, to help them to understand their new area. In the case of Games, he received the support of Father Ketcham, who claimed "'It is said that the Indians of San Ysabel [sic] or Volcan are little better satisfied with their Superintendent than the Coyotes are. The Superintendent [Games] appears to be a man of ability…'"[296] Women in these local networks also attempted to influence the OA, including over hiring. Colonization proved a constant negotiation, far more complicated than then OIA reports portrayed.

Women's networks included local groups, formal and informal, native bands and nations, state and national organizations, anthropologists, ethnographers, and other "friends" of the Indians who may or may not have worked for the OIA. Organizations like the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), and it's state and local branches, had significant influence

[295] Efficiency Report, May 1, 1913, Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC.
[296] Statement of Father Ketcham, "For Status File of Thomas M. Games," October 12, 1909, Thomas Games, PF NPRC.

on government policy. But local level connections and relationships, often forged through unequal alliances and individual friendships between native and white women mattered. Nothing occurred on a larger scale without local connections, a lesson many OIA employees learned on the job, and as noted in the lives and careers of selected women profiled in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Colonial Domesticity and Intimate Acquaintance

> For years I have pursued the search for a mortuary olla among the Diegueño Indians…The Indians all knew of them, and the whereabouts of many were known to the [illegible] aged few; but to meddle with them was sacrilege. An educated Indian girl who still shared the feelings of her people ~~wept at the thought~~ when it was suggested that her grandfather should secure one for my benefit. It was represented to her that it was to be used for the benefit of science and not to satisfy an idle curiosity [illegible]; that those thus buried were so long forgotten that it was not like disturbing the bones of their ~~own people~~ remembered dead. But the [illegible] availed little, and she was happy when the search proved futile.[1]
>
> -Constance Goddard Dubois

An amateur ethnographer and activist for Indians, Constance Goddard DuBois worked with the Kumeyaay (Diegueño) Indians at the turn of the twentieth century.[2] While previous scholarly studies on DuBois have focused on her resistance to off-reservation boarding schools,[3] I explore the contradictions in personal relationships between Indian advocates, like DuBois, and the Indian people with whom they worked. Postcolonial studies often portray colonial processes and infrastructure as abstract, impersonal, and stagnant. But the relationships between colonizers and colonized often proved intimate, multifaceted, dynamic, and messy. As Laura Briggs and Ann Stoler demonstrate, colonialism infiltrated even the most personal spaces, relationships, and everyday activities.[4] Furthermore, by focusing on individual experiences, such as friendships,

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[1] "Arts and Industries of the Mission Indians," 54, Notebooks, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[2] Don Laylander, ed., *Listening to the Raven: The Southern California Ethnography of Constance Goddard DuBois*, (Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 2004).
[3] Glen, *Forced to Care* and Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*.
[4] Ann Laura Stoler, *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) and Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

the fraught relationships among reformers, native people, and larger colonial structures surface. Native women negotiated within the structure of the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), and with reformers, with some choosing to align themselves with their mentors in unequal power relationships.

The relationship between Constance DuBois and Rosalie Nejo, serves as a concrete example. Almost definitively the "educated Indian girl" DuBois mentioned above, Nejo served as a translator for many community elders[5] and her grandfather served as DuBois' primary informant for her ethnographic work.[6] DuBois described "Cinon Duro, or Hokoyél Mutaweér, as the last chief of the Diegueños [Kumeyaay] at Mesa Grande."[7] Nejo's American education included attending St. Anthony's, then she likely attended the government day school at Mesa Grande during her year away from the Catholic boarding school, and she later seemed to have attended Perris Indian School (Sherman Institute).[8] She completed schooling with her close friend Frances M. LaChapa, who also became DuBois's mentee. LaChapa attended Mesa Grande Day School, "Perris Riverside" School, and then Phoenix Indian School, spending three years at each.[9] Although only Nejo's records indicated decisively that she came from Mesa Grande, it seems likely they both belonged to the sane band.[10] After graduating they returned to

[5] Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[6] "Correspondence Chronology for Constance Goddard DuBois, prepared by Lowell Bean," Series I., Guides and other material, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[7] Laylander, "Early Ethnographic Notes," *Listening to the Raven*, 205.
[8] *Mission Indian* II, no. 8 (May 15, 1897): 5 and Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. According to Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Divinely Guided: The California Work of the Women's National Indian Association,* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012), 216, in 1902 Perris Indian School, the first Indian boarding school in California, was renamed to Sherman Institute when it moved from Perris to Riverside.
[9] Record, January 22, 1913, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[10] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, June 19, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

their community and with the help of DuBois and other mentors, they secured positions as assistant field matrons at Campo, one of the more isolated reservations in San Diego County.

Despite her education and cooperation with the OIA and white reformers, Nejo identified strongly with her native traditions, though her work appeared on the surface as a form of "civilizing" native peoples. Field matrons focused on teaching white household standards through "intensive domestic work with Indian women."[11] The goal of this, and other OIA systems in this time period, involved undermining tribal traditions.[12] Nejo, however, retained her loyalty to her family and community, even though she performed the duties of a field matron.

Not a mere "native helper"[13] or "mimic,"[14] Nejo continued supporting her tribal traditions, as evidenced by her continued respect for the sacredness of mortuary ollas.[15] DuBois's binary understanding of identity had no place for hybridity, so she could not comprehend Nejo's multiple loyalties and motivations. The colonial system demands that the colonized change internally, to become a copy of the colonizer. As Homi Bhabha theorizes, "…colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as *a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*…Mimicry is, thus, the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power."[16] I argue, however, that Nejo demonstrates that the process could transform anyone involved, even colonizers, to varying degrees, and thus potentially serve as a challenge to colonial institutions themselves.

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[11] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst of My Own People,'" 201.
[12] Emmerich, "'Civilization' and Transculturation," 34.
[13] Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[14] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994).
[15] The "native helper" concept comes from Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue,* while "mimicry" is theorized by Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.
[16] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 126.

Constance Goddard DuBois first came to the San Diego region in summer 1897 to visit her sister.[17] Active in the Connecticut Indian Association, a Women's National Indian Association auxiliary,[18] she became interested in the conditions of local Native Americans.[19] Jacobs explains that:

> Thereafter she spent almost every summer with them and almost every winter in Connecticut advocating their cause. In the early 1900s she conducted fieldwork on the Diegueños and other Mission Indians off and on under the direction of Alfred Kroeber, the renowned chair of the University of California's Anthropology Department…She also recorded songs and myths and collected 'specimens' for Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History.[20]

OIA teacher Mary B. Watkins frequently helped mediate DuBois' interactions with native people. Working as the schoolteacher in Mesa Grande for many years, Watkins taught native children, like LaChapa and Nejo, in English and basic school subjects, along with gender-specific vocational skills, with some of her students moving on to complete higher-level schooling.[21] Watkins herself graduated from Mills Seminary and College, a women's school in northern California (now Mills College).[22] Upon leaving her OIA position, the records do not indicate when, Watkins continued to live in Mesa Grande, serving as a local expert on, liaison to, and advocate for, native peoples in the region.[23]

Over time DuBois and Watkins became close friends and confidants. Their correspondence revealed Watkins's understandings about Indian needs, as well as her own

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[17] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 16, 1897, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[18] Jacobs, *White Mother*, 401; Valerie Sherer Mathes, ed., *The Women's National Indian Association: A History*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015), 70.
[19] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 16, 1897, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[20] Jacobs, *White Mother*, 401.
[21] Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[22] "Society Section," *San Diego Union and Daily Bee* (San Diego, CA), November 2, 1913.
[23] Mary C.B Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 16, 1897, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

standing in the community. In the first letter, dated August 16, 1897, Watkins thanked DuBois for sending money to help several unnamed elderly and infirm Indians.[24] Likening her care of old Indians to that of a mother tending for her disabled offspring, she lamented, "…the poor old people. They are the needy ones. For they have neither strength nor skill to get work. My heart goes out to them as a mother's to a deformed child"[25] In another letter she explained that "…with the help of Pasadena I shall be very happy and make my brown babies old & young happy also."[26] Her description of both the native children she taught and the adult members of the tribe proved strikingly similar.[27] For instance, Watkins referred to native people of all ages by their first names, but addresses most non-native adults by Miss, Mr., or Mrs.[28] Despite these and other distinctions she made, Watkins saw great potential for Indians to become civilized, telling DuBois "…they will be equal—nay more than the same class of white people for they have not learned the abdominal vices of the whites of the lower orders."[29]

A dynamic class system, with distinct racial inflections, structured Watkins's world. For instance, in a letter from 1899 Watkins informed DuBois of the marriage of a Californio, Mr. Estudillo, to a Miss Hoover.[30] Watkins accords Mr. Estudillo a level of respect she does not give to native peoples, by referring to him as "Mr.," an honor she did not bestow on "Mexicans," whom she describes as "leeches."[31] Anglo-Americans often drew class-based boundaries around

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Nov 22, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[27] Series III. Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[28] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Nov. 2, 1897, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[29] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 16, 1897, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[30] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 7, 1899, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[31] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Nov 18, 1900, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Spanish-speakers, especially earlier in the nineteenth century. Historian Antonia I. Castaneda notes that:

> In accounts of Mexican California (1822-1846), the popular [Anglo-American] historians divide[d]…'Spanish' and 'Mexican.' Although the vast majority of Californians, including the elite, were *mestizo* or *mulatto* and Mexican, not Spanish, in nationality, women from long-time Californian elite, land-owning families, some of whom married Europeans or Euro-Americans, were called 'Spanish.' Women from more recently arrived or non-elite families were called 'Mexican.'[32]

"Californio" and "Mexican," categories embedded in race and class, were at times flexible. And Watkins, unlike many Anglo-Americans at the time, accorded far more respect to native peoples than most of her peers. By comparison, historian Lisbeth Haas' research demonstrates that the white dominated city of Santa Ana "became segregated [by 1910] as a result of strong race prejudice against all dark-skinned people, regardless of what language they spoke."[33] But, as seen in the work of Margie Brown-Coronel, some Californios maintained their elite status well into the twentieth century.[34] The class and race system in California proved somewhat fluid, although always hierarchical.

Watkins' own economic status explains some of her anxieties. Although Watkins collected charitable donations for Indians, she herself sometimes seemed in need of assistance. Others recognized her situation, perhaps to her embarrassment, as she tried to keep up the appearance of class respectability. When St. Paul's of San Diego sent clothing donations for the natives, they also included a dress for Watkins.[35] In several letters to DuBois, she confessed that

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[32] Castañeda, "Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish-Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 11, no. 1 (1990):* 9.
[33] Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1939*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 165.
[34] Margie Brown-Coronel, "Beyond the Rancho: Four Generations of del Valle Women in Southern California, 1830-1940," (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2011).
[35] Mary C.B. Watkins to Rev. H.B. Restwick? [name illegible], Rector of St. Paul's San Diego, Feb. 23, 1898, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

she would not travel to Los Angeles for Indian Advocacy meetings because she did not own anything nice enough to wear.[36] In many cases, those working daily with native people, like Watkins, occupied a nominal class position in California. Mamie Robinson, field matron at Campo, also complained about lacking respectable clothes.[37] "I should have liked so much to have gone to Los Angeles the 1" [sic] of this mo. The Institute for Indian Service people was held there then but I could not have the money to dress myself respectably so I stayed here."[38] An educated woman, Robinson, and many other OIA women like her, feared the judgement of comfortably middle class or elite reformers. Despite her modest circumstances Watkins, and women like her, maintained a shabby respectability.[39]

Class tensions between advocates for Indian rights and field matrons appear repeatedly in the DuBois collection. When DuBois gave her a gift of clothing, Watkins bristled a bit, perhaps out of embarrassment. "The box came last night and my beautiful dress and coat. I have not words to thank you. But you must not waste your precious money on me."[40] While Watkins initially couches her rejection of further gifts out of implied concern for native people's welfare, it may also indicate her discomfort with the social distance between she and DuBois. But Watkins also possessed aspirations of class climbing and worked to maintain a certain appearance of respectability.

> It's true that I am the nicest dressed woman here and that even in S.F. I was not mortified with shabby dresses. Years ago your mother sent me a black silk skirt and at last I made it into a handsome shirtwaist & also a jumper to wear with white shirtwaists, and felt somewhat stylish. And now in that beautiful dress lined with <u>white</u> <u>satin</u>,-and I do be [sic] fond of linings, they seem so self

[36] Series III. Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[37] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, July 21, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Thanks to Vicki Ruiz for coining the term "shabby respectability" in a discussion of this chapter.
[40] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Jan 7, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

> respecting,-perhaps I shall go to San Diego or even to Los Angeles to see my niece and her new boy. I do thank you and my eyes brim with tears when I think, as so over burdined [sic] as you are I am remembered & my needs supplied.[41]

This letter reflects Watkins' torn desires. On the one hand, she longed to keep up appearances of class respectability. She seemed proud of her status as the best dressed woman in Mesa Grande. But her concern for the Indians, as well as her interest in maintaining *the appearance* of sacrifice and service to native people, also proved essential to her identity. DuBois and her mother sent clothing to Watkins, which demonstrates their closeness, but also indicates DuBois's relative privilege.

To supplement her income, Watkins took in boarders, sometimes new OIA teachers.[42] Unfortunately, income from boarders proved inconsistent. For instance, in February 1906 the new lace teacher, Mrs. Brunson, could not stay at Watkins's home since the teacher for the white school already boarded there.[43] But at other times no boarders needed lodgings. With teachers and advocates boarding with her, Indians stopping by for help, and a native woman as housekeeper, Watkins and her home truly served as a center for Mesa Grande.

In contrast to OIA working women, many women who volunteered in advocacy organizations, such as the WNIA, did not have direct contact with native people. Historian Helen Bannan in "The Idea of Civilization and American Indian Policy Reformers in the 1880s" writes that "The men and women active in the cause [peaking in the 1880s], [were] as a group overwhelmingly white, eastern, urban, Protestant, well-educated, and well-off…"[44] Many east coast groups, in the WNIA and other organizations, supported projects to assist native people

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Sep 9, 1904; Sep 25, 1905; Nov 14, 1905; Feb 22, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[43] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Feb 22, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[44] Bannan, "The Idea of Civilization," 1.

from a distance. Mathes in her book *Divinely Guided: The California Work of the Women's National Indian Association* illuminates that "Initially, WNIA missionary work in California was financed by eastern branches, but in 1891 Amelia Stone Quinton, co-founder of the organization, organized local women, who then took over the work and much of the funding."[45] But these local groups also reflected the class divide as most members did not work directly with the native communities. Mathes continues, "These dedicated Indian reformers [who led WNIA branches in California] and the many nameless women in eastern auxiliaries who worked on behalf of the Indians in California… [were] upper- and middle-class women, inheritors of the evangelical obsession to save others."[46] Most never saw conditions in person. Instead they read the "singing praise" from the WNIA's publication *The Indian Friend*.[47] Educated women who had to work for a living were the ones on the front lines. From Mesa Grande Watkins used her extended network to fundraise, following a model similar to that of the WNIA, soliciting donations of items from elite women. Indeed, Watkins felt that the support from women in Pasadena would really help her achieve her goals. Nejo also wrote to DuBois about these ladies sending things for Christmas to Campo.[48] DuBois bridged the gap between middle and upper class donors and those who worked directly with native people. She spent summers with the Indians and raised funds using the women's advocacy networks she belonged to the rest of the year. Historian Erik Trump discusses how

> In 1903…Du Bois [sic], a member of the Indian Industries League's executive committee since 1901, persuaded it to assist her efforts on behalf of the Mission Indian basket industry. President of the Waterbury branch of the Connecticut Indian Association [a WNIA subsidiary]…she often lectured at Indian association meetings, women's clubs, and churches, teaching her female

[45] Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 4.
[46] Ibid., 263.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, 1906? [date illegible], Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

> listeners why they should buy and how they should evaluate the baskets she offered for sale.[49]

Bringing back reports from the field,[50] DuBois helped members live vicariously through her, as they decorated their homes with the baskets she sold. But their class privilege allowed them to avoid the actual difficulties of working daily with impoverished communities. DuBois herself sometimes seemed to forget these challenges, even though she spent part of the year in Indian Country. In 1904, DuBois apparently questioned Watkin's management of money. Watkins destroyed this letter, but mentions it in a subsequent one.[51] "But I will not read scolding letters nor bear patiently with them. I don't deserve them nor need them. You know that I am worthy or unworthy of your confidence for you have known me seven years. I did not spare my own money, I shall not misuse money trusted to me for so sacred a purpose."[52] Although DuBois provided financially for the native people, with Watkins administering the funds, Watkins objected to her treatment as an underling, she demanded respect as a partner in their enterprise.

DuBois herself also received criticism from reformers, since she at times went against their wishes. She had witnessed the conditions every summer, and had local contacts like Watkins who kept her appraised as well. Other advocates, much more removed, many of whom had never even met a native person, were critical of white women on the ground. Amelia Stone Quinton, co-founder of the WNIA, serves as one example of a leader who wrote from a distance. Mathes argues that:

> Initially even Quinton viewed Du Bois [sic] as meddling. In the summer of 1901…[Quinton] had heard that she and [some] friends were trying to purchase

[49] Erik Trump, "'The Idea of Help': White Women Reformers and the Commercialization of Native American Women's Arts," *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures,* Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer, eds., (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 173.
[50] Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 4.
[51] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, April 3, 1904? [date illegible], Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[52] Ibid.

> the Santa Ysabel Ranch…land that would then be allotted to the Indians. And this same group hoped to…[set up] a school for Mission Indian teachers, and establish a mission at Mesa Grande. Quinton promptly informed these women that the WNIA had given all their missionary work to the Moravian Board and asked that they wait on their plans until the land question was finally settled.[53]

Although Quinton eventually saw DuBois as more of an ally, DuBois' open criticism of WNIA policies (like Indian child removal), made her unpopular in some reform circles. However, women on the ground also knew local issues better than those who made decisions from a distance. One must consider the class differences and tensions between elite reformers and OIA women.

Despite Watkins' liminal class status she retained a native housekeeper. Various native women, or "girls," as Watkins called them, worked for her over the years. She first mentions a housekeeper in 1899, telling DuBois that her "good girl" was going on to the Phoenix School.[54] A year later, Watkins complained of not having a "girl" for the first few days at her new house, and again in 1903, she found herself with no one to help with the housekeeping.[55] Furthermore, the seeming unavailability of "good girls" to perform domestic work, provides insight into employer expectations and worker resistance. Watkins' use of "girl" mirrored the use of "girl" and "boy" in South, with the same infantilizing, demeaning connotations. And in both places workers sometimes refused the conditions imposed on them. As Hunter argues about black workers in Atlanta, "Quitting did not necessarily guarantee a better situation…[but it demonstrated] workers' desire for self-determination and deprived employers of the ascendency to which they were accustomed…Consequently, quitting made it difficult for employers to find

[53] Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 253.
[54] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 17, 1899, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[55] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Sept 24, 1900 and May 12, 1903, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

'good' servants and, especially, to keep them—the single most oft-repeated complaint from Reconstruction onward."[56] Still, Watkins' grumbles revealed the relative privilege she held. Although she experienced financial difficulties, she and her family were never in extreme poverty, unlike many of the native people with whom she worked. Indeed, the desperate need of local Indians made them particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Advocates in Watkins' circle complained bitterly about local people taking advantage of Indians by paying low wages or only offering goods in exchange for services, rather than cash.[57] Yet Watkins and many "friends of the Indians" seemed blithely unaware of how they also profited directly from native labor.

The exploitation of native people, acknowledged or not, was gendered, both in the work performed, and the vulnerability women workers faced in terms of sexual assault and coercion. A potential new Indian Agent had a child with a native woman on Watkins's reservation, a fact she found shocking. "I am <u>much</u> worried about the Agent and the Agency. Dr. Wainwright is a rare scamp, has no respect for truth nor right. He is trying to wrest the place from Dr. Wright in order to get it for himself. I should then be obliged to resign as we are enemies open & <u>bitter</u>. He has a <u>child</u> on my Reserve & knows that I know it."[58] Some of the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA) women working in the region may also have been aware of Dr. C.C. Wainwright's sexual indiscretions. A couple of years earlier Julia M. French and Dr. Rebecca C. Hallowell, stationed at Warner Ranch, had confronted him.[59] Mathes highlights that:

> The Indians at Agua Caliente were again demanding that French and Hallowell leave. To [Rev. William Henry] Weinland, Quinton confided that the women had been imprudent lately, but she failed to elaborate. In late January 1899 Quinton

[56] Tera W. Hunter, "Domination and Resistance: The Politics of Wage Household Labor in New South Atlanta," *Labor History* 34, no. 2-3 (1993), 209.
[57] Sophie Miller to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 14, 1902, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[58] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Feb 5, 1901, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[59] Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 245-246.

> alluded to an altercation between French and Wainwright, the agency physician, as the source of the problem. But again no details were given, only that it would be best if the women left without tarnishing their six years of hard work.[60]

It seems unclear if the Agua Calientes actually complained about the women, or whether Wainwright had fabricated their distrust to Quinton. The telling feature of Quinton's response lies in the lack of details, surprising since when writing to Weinland she usually proved very forthcoming. She, or the other women, may have chosen to censure themselves if the issue related to sexual behavior. This kind of self-censorship appeared common in the era. Certain topics proved taboo for ladies, with women not discussing such things even with the closest of friends. Many parallels exist between native women in California and black women in the post-Civil War South.[61] Sexual exploitation ran rampant in both regions, hidden yet sometimes acknowledged in secret or code.

Many who worked with native communities, including teachers, exploited native women's labor to some degree, even if unintentionally. This pattern appears through both the formal OIA positions, like housekeeper, as well as in labor practices outside the federal government's system. While the OIA and other national organizations, such as the WNIA, might seem large and impersonal, their work relationships developed on the local level, even if some jobs came by appointment within a broader bureaucratic system.

By looking in depth at Watkins' relationship with Nejo, who served as her housekeeper, the intricacies of these colonial relationships become evident. While many benefited from native labor, labeling all employers as exploiters, and native people as victims, obscures a more nuanced understanding of these relationships that developed in the personal spaces of the home.

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*.

She stated that "Rosalia cares for the house as usual," in early 1901.[62] Nejo's duties varied, including writing to DuBois on behalf of Watkins's husband and even staying with newcomers when required.[63] When Watkins fell ill, she could not host the new lace teacher, Mrs. Sophie Miller, so she planned to have Nejo stay with Miller in the schoolhouse, if necessary.[64] The exact nature of Nejo's position, and the relationship that developed between them, seems murky at best. After Nejo accepted another job, she came back to stay with Watkins over the summer of 1906, her motivations unknown: perhaps boarding there, perhaps serving as housekeeper again, or perhaps visiting as a mentee or friend. By this time, Watkins had helped Nejo secure her job as field matron, so a status of colleague might also apply. True affection does come through in much of the correspondence.[65] Watkins, when writing to DuBois about Nejo's grandfather's funeral, declared "my heart aches for her…I think that I alone know her. She seems my own, and perhaps she is. Who knows the stories of the Eternal past."[66] Here Watkins not only expresses empathy with Nejo, but also suggests that the two are so close that she understands her better than anyone else. She even claims a fictive familial relationship. And Nejo seems to have returned at least some of this affection toward DuBois and probably Watkins as well. Although I did not find any letters from Nejo to Watkins, on March 1, 1907 Mamie

[62] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois., February 5, 1901, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Rosalia went not only by that name but also Rosalie and Rosie, something she explained when applying to work for the OIA. Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC.
[63] Rosie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, January 28, 1901, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[64] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, May 31, 1901, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[65] See in particular Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, April 24, 1901; June 6, 1903; January 12, 1904; November 17, 1904; March 24, 1905; September 25, 1905; October 5, 1906; Mar 19, 1908; and Dec 31, 1908, Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, Spring 1906? [date illegible] and September 17, 1906; Undated letters located from Nov 5-11, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[66] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 5, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Robinson, the field matron supervising her, ended her letter to DuBois by saying that "Rosalie joins me in love to you."[67]

But at other points, even in the later letters, Watkins did not seem to consider Nejo's own preferences or needs. For instance, Watkins told DuBois that Nejo could drive her wherever she wanted during her visit, which suggests Watkins continued to relegate Nejo to a subservient role.[68] Formal compensation for Nejo's translation work for DuBois also never appeared in the letters between DuBois and Watkins, though Nejo may have received some sort of payment. DuBois wrote to Kroeber that for her research she had "to pay an interpreter $1.50 per da [sic]—an Indian girl 50 cts per da [sic]—hire horses, buy food Etc."[69] No doubt the Indian girl was Nejo. Sometimes Nejo translated for Kroeber as well.[70] Others did not compensate native people appropriately. Delfina Cuero, a Kumeyaay woman who published an autobiography under the guidance of anthropologist Florence Shipek, explained the issues of in-kind compensation: "The ranchers that my people worked for gave us some food or sometimes some old clothes for the work. They never gave the Indians money."[71] Sophie Miller, who came to Mesa Grande to teach native women lace work,[72] complained to DuBois about this very issue, concerned that the local whites took advantage of their Indian neighbors. "I came to help these poor down trodden people—that the white people trade and traffic with—and cheat them [sic]

[67] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 1, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[68] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, May 1, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[69] Constance Goddard DuBois to Alfred Kroeber, May 21, 1906, Letters from DuBois to Kroeber, 1904-1911, Folders 11:7-11:9, Constance DuBois CU-23, Box 11, Department of Anthropology Records, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[70] Letters from Rosalia/Rosalie Nejo, Ethnological Documents of the Department and Museum of Anthropology, 1875-1958, BANC FILM 2216 Reel 186 (Nejo, Rosalia 186.3 and Nejo, Rosalie 186.5), University of California, Berkeley.
[71] Cuero, *Delfina Cuero*, 25.
[72] Sophie Miller was likely supported by the Episcopal Church.

they take their work pay them in fruits or what ever [sic] they raise and charge them double as much for it and make these poor creatures believe they are paying them big prices…"[73] Again, there exist parallels to the situation in the nineteenth century South after the Civil War. Many black women who performed domestic and other labor for white employers were not monetarily compensated.[74] Hunter narrates how

> Low wages made it difficult to survive, but no wages were even worse. Some employers cheated their workers by contriving spurious grounds for denying them their rightful earnings. Or sometimes employers would substitute perishables or durable goods in lieu of cash for remuneration, without the workers' consent…Women could also face deductions for behavioral infractions such as lost time and impudence, or for breaking or misplacing objects.[75]

Similar practices occurred in California during this period, but with domestic labor performed predominantly by women of native and Mexican descent.

Many OIA employees and others who advocated for native interests became entangled in these complicated, often directly exploitative, colonial relationships. For instance, Mrs. Brunson, the lace teacher at Mesa Grande, planned to have aspiring native teacher Frances LaChapa come live with her after her house was built.[76] Perhaps Brunson served as a mentor to LaChapa, Nejo's schoolmate,[77] but LaChapa may also have worked as a housekeeper. Other teachers exploited native people in this way as well. Low wages, or lack of any compensation, appeared common for native laborers well into the twentieth century. [78] Watkins lamented the

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[73] Sophie Miller to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 14, 1902, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[74] Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom*.
[75] Ibid, 53.
[76] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, February 22, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[77] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, June 6, 1903 and April 7, 1904; J.S. Lockwood to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 1? [date illegible], 1904; Edward H. Davis to Constance Goddard DuBois, May 18, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[78] Cuero, *Delfina Cuero*.

greed of others, while apparently failing to see how she herself sometimes benefitted from the system. "The people are grieving much about my absence. The teacher is there for money as so many teachers are."[79] By implicitly contrasting her comportment to that of her peers, Watkins positions herself as having higher motives for her work, but the system entangled the entire community.

In addition to holding the OIA positions of housekeeper and teacher, women served as assistant field matrons, assistant laundresses, assistant matrons, assistant teachers, cooks, financial clerks, field matrons, industrial assistants, lace-makers, matrons, outing matrons, and stenographers. The OIA Field Matron Program did not begin as a civil service OIA program, but was a practice started in the WNIA, with the OIA created its own version based off this program in 1890.[80] Historian Lisa Emmerich explains:

> The OIA initially recruited these women from the ranks of missionary and reform organizations. After the position attained civil service status in 1895, the corps incorporated an increasingly diverse pool of applicants who sought the positions for reasons that ranged from humanitarianism to the desire for a secure income. Whatever their motivation, they all accepted appointments that were among some of the most isolated and strenuous in the Indian Service.[81]

The WNIA, and other organizations, continued sponsoring their own field matrons, some of whom also held positions with the OIA. According to Mathes, the Northern California Indian Association, a WNIA subsidiary in San Jose, reported in 1909 that they were "…currently sponsoring ten matrons who were seeing to the needs of 4,000 Indians."[82] While sponsorship could mean full financial support, or just partial assistance, this provides an indication of the

[79] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard Dubois, February 27, 1901, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[80] Emmerich, "Right in the Midst," 201.
[81] Emmerich, "Civilization," 35.
[82] Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 143.

significance of private organizations. The remoteness of field matron positions made them unattractive to many women. Promoting "civilization" at such a distance proved a daunting task.

As described previously, field matrons were to bring civilization directly into the homes of native people. Emmerich theorizes how "Under the direction of Indian Service field employees, American Indians would restructure their worlds according to an Anglo-American model of life… Within the framework of 'civilization' and domestic education, OIA bureaucrats intended that the field matrons would build an infrastructure of personal ties that would increase their efficacy as agents of cultural change."[83] The program focused on domestic education within native household spaces.[84] White women in this period carved out spaces for themselves by advocating for, and attempting to uplift women from various "uncivilized" backgrounds, whether native or newcomer.[85] The Field Matron Program is thus an example of a larger facet of Progressive Era reform.

In "'Civilization' and Transculturation: The Field Matron Program and Cross-Cultural Contact" Emmerich posits a more creative process of assimilation. "Immersion in Indian communities fostered friendships and built loyalties that brought some field matrons to different perspectives about themselves and tribal life…reversal of this 'civilization' process, defined by anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell as transculturation, is not an unusual phenomenon in American Indian history."[86] Although Emmerich uses the term acculturation interchangeably with assimilation, "cultural coalescence" seems more precise. Ruiz defines

> …cultural coalescence [as when]… 'Immigrants and their children pick, borrow, retain, and create distinctive cultural forms. There is not a single hermetic Mexican or Mexican American culture, but rather permeable *cultures* rooted in generation, gender, region, class, and personal experience. People navigate across

[83] Emmerich, "Civilization," 34.
[84] Ibid., 38.
[85] Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue.*
[86] Emmerich, "Civilization," 34-35.

> cultural boundaries and consciously make decisions with regard to the production of culture. However, bear in mind, people of color have not had unlimited choice. Prejudice and discrimination with the accompanying social, political, and economic segmentation have constrained aspirations, expectations, and decision-making.'[87]

This also happened when Anglo and Native American cultures influenced one another. Transculturation proves limiting, as "not many Anglo-American women fully experienced the shift in group affiliation"[88] "Civilizing" is not necessarily "reversed" but constantly redefined and challenged, by those with more and less relative power and privilege in the specific context. The convergent influences of intimate relationships build on one another over time in layers, are demonstrated by the relationships between DuBois, LaChapa, Nejo, and Watkins.

DuBois and Watkins, while influenced by their relationships with native women, did not simply "shift their affiliation" to Kumeyaay native traditions. Both continued to support an American style education, even as they promoted native crafts, notably geared and modified for an Anglo-American market. DuBois and Watkins also did not "go native" and/or challenge colonization itself, only its form. But aspiring native field matrons LaChapa and Nejo, had much more to lose, and fewer options, than either DuBois or even Watkins. They faced pressure to bend and conform, to play the role of mimic, at least enough to maintain the relative privilege they had gained. Furthermore, Anglo-Americans, even allies, often did not recognize the shifting identities of native people, like LaChapa and Nejo, who depended on the "matronage" of women like DuBois and Watkins. Local and influential connections were essential to gaining these positions in the first place.

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[87] Vicki L. Ruiz, "Morena/o, blanca/o y café con leche: Racial Constructions in Chicana/o Historiography," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 20, no. 2 (Summer, 2004), 352.
[88] Emmerich, "Civilization," 44.

Despite the support they received, LaChapa and Nejo faced an uphill battle. The ties some native field matrons had to their communities led supervisors to question their objectivity and loyalty to the Indian Service's civilization project, especially during intertribal disputes.[89] Emmerich underlines that "Assistant field matrons Rosalie M. Nejo and Juanita LaChappa [sic] found themselves in such a situation…while they worked with some of the Mission Indians of California."[90] For OIA officials, the danger of any native "going back to the blanket" seemed eminent.[91]

Suspicion about assimilated native women often lingered, no matter how long or well they demonstrated their Americanization. During the 1920s, while still employed by the OIA, LaChapa faced accusations by multiple co-workers of hating white people and favoring certain Indian groups at the East Farm Sanatorium at the Phoenix School.[92] In the investigation into these claims they reported that "It seemed impossible for assistants to understand her, except those she favored. It seemed as though she could never get along with white people."[93] And she faced dismissal due to her alleged complaints about the government's treatment of Indians.[94] "Miss LaChapa has no use for white folks. She has made the statement to others that she hoped the time would come when she would see no white person at East Farm Sanatorium. She is constantly complaining the way [sic] the Government is using the Indians, in a general way. Tells about their not getting their lands and this and that."[95] Much of what Catherine Short described above were critiques of systematic racism, rather than a dislike of individual whites.

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[89] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst.'"
[90] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst,'" 209. Emmerich's own Appendixes, on pages 2012-2013, provide the contradictory evidence that there were no mixed-blood field matrons in 1908, and only one in 1909.
[91] Ibid., 205.
[92] Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[93] Statement of Mrs. Short, Dietician, Jan 15, 1924, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[94] Statement of Mrs. Short, Dietician, Jan 15, 1924, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[95] Statement of Mrs. Short, Dietician, Jan 15, 1924, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.

Assuming LaChapa even made these statements, people interpreted them as personal attacks. Merely holding a position of authority, LaChapa represented a threat as those who complained about her were white. Tellingly, when asked if LaChapa hated whites, one of her native co-workers, Mystica Amago, said LaChapa thought they did not like *her*.[96]

> Q- Are you related to Miss LaChapa?
> A- No relation.
> Q- Are you a member of the same tribe?
> A- Same tribe.
> Q- Did you ever hear her complain that the white people were not treating her right?
> A- She used to think that the white people did not like her.
> Q- Did she complain about this?
> A- No sir. No she hardly ever complained, but I know she thought that the white people did not like her.
> Q- Did she say she did not like the white people either?
> A- No she never said that.[97]

At the end of the inquiry LaChapa was banned from her previous post, and ultimately never returned to OIA service.[98] She did receive one offer for a less desirable position at the Ute Agency, which she declined.[99] Resistance, even in the form of merely having a job with authority, often had consequences. Even if reports did not come from OIA directly, Emmerich found that "the Indian Service informal network quickly reported any discord where field personnel, especially Native American employees, played a role."[100]

However, these informal networks could also help employees. Both DuBois and Watkins advocated for LaChapa and Nejo to initially gain government positions. The two young native women appear to have started working in some capacity, perhaps without any compensation at first, at Campo as early as 1903. In June of that year Watkins wrote DuBois telling her the OIA

[96] Statement of Mystica Amago, full blood Mission Indian, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[97] Statement of Mystica Amago, full blood Mission Indian, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[98] Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[99] Frances M. LaChapa to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug 19, 1924, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[100] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst,'" 207.

agent was pleased with the "two girls" at Campo, and that Nejo might get a teacher position.[101] In September 1904 she wrote to tell DuBois that she found a suitable woman for Campo, and that Frances would go also.[102] The "suitable woman" was Miss Woodruff, a relative of the Davis family (probably Edward H. Davis, a white Mesa Grande resident, Indian advocate, and ethnographer).[103]

> I heard that the Agent was at Santa Ysabela [sic] and we went down there. He was much pleased with my visit and entered into our plans immediately. He will have Frances appointed matron at Campo with $60.00 per mo. We must raise $30.00 per mo., and that will give them each $45.00 each (90÷2=45)…The Agent will give rations every month to the old people. The Churches will give other help.[104]

Watkins then told DuBois to write to many people, such as Frances Spearhawk (Secretary of the Indian Industries League), to make the appointment happen, as well as to raise the extra money.[105] She asked if the Episcopal Church might help, since LaChapa would soon be confirmed.[106]

The OIA initially seemed to go along with this plan. Frances LaChapa would be made field matron along with a white teacher of female industries.[107] Miss Woodruff, appointed by Spearhawk, would fulfill the latter role.[108] Colonel J. S. Lockwood, President of the Indian Industries League, had visited Campo and thought LaChapa and Nejo should be appointed

[101] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, June 6, 1903, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[102] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, September, 20, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Folder 4, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R.
[108] Ibid.

there.[109] He also met Miss Woodruff and thought she would do well at Campo.[110] These local interests and connections shed light on the larger mission of the Indian Industries League. It proved an essential link in this period between native women and the national market for their crafts. The league also reflected and shaped ideas about native women. Trump argues that the Indian Industries League evolved to combined notions of womanhood, including: "Artist, domestic helpmate, independent New Woman…Less than a decade after its founding, the [Indian Industries] league adopted this image of Indian female artistry to spur the consumption of Indian arts by white women."[111] Selling "traditional" native crafts, repackaged for white women consumers, proved far more successful for the Indian Industries League than their original plan to change Indian production to "modern" industries.[112] "Civilized" native women, like LaChapa and Nejo, complicated the model of white women helping native women, but they could also fit the construct of the New Woman. And league leaders seemed willing to give at least some of them a chance. Lochwood told DuBois how anxious "Frances" and "Rosalie" seemed to go work at Campo.[113] But by November Miss Woodruff had given up, and Watkins told DuBois that another white women would have to accompany "Frances" and "Rosalia."[114] Watkins told DuBois that Narcisco, a local native man mentioned in previous letters, would go as their

[109] J.S. Lockwood to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 4, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[110] J.S. Lockwood to Constance Goddard DuBois, October [date illegible], 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[111] Trump, *Selling the Indian*, 166-167.
[112] Ibid.
[113] J.S. Lockwood to Constance Goddard DuBois, October [day illegible], 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[114] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, November 17, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

protection and that a white woman for the position had yet to be selected.[115] Nejo would teach basketry and buy them as well.[116] But the two had not yet been appointed through the OIA.

Since field matrons served distant parts of reservations for extended periods of time, the separation from others proved difficult for maintaining a marriage and household. According to Emmerich, "The OIA hoped to attract young, well-educated, single women to the field matron program. Both Anglo-American and Native American appointees usually deviated from this personnel profile. Indian field matrons ranged in age from 20 to 67. The median age for this group was 42…About half of the 16 women whose marital status can be determined were single, three were widows."[117]

Edward H. Davis wrote to DuBois a few weeks after Watkins, informing her that he had forwarded money from her to Mrs. Watkins so she could help get "Rosalie" and "Frances" set up at Campo.[118] In early January 1905 Watkins suggested to DuBois that "Rosalia" get the $400 (for the year) from Lockwood and that "Frances" serve as an assistant to Miss Robinson.[119] But some of this funding fell through, and DuBois and Watkins spent the next few months trying to gather the funds to support LaChapa and Nejo's work at Campo. Watkins wrote to Superintendent Charles Shell urging him to appoint Nejo as assistant field matron there.[120] Davis complained that the Matron sent there was paid $60 per month by the government, but

[115] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, December 5, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[116] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Dec 5, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[117] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst,'" 203.
[118] Edward H. Davis to Constance Goddard DuBois, December 20, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[119] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Jan 4, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[120] Folder 1, Box 368, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R.

nothing was provided for the "girls."[121] This slight could not be attributed to their performance, as Emmerich underscores that "Nejo and LaChappa [sic] quickly won the affection and respect of Indian Service personnel and tribal people alike through their hard work and compassion."[122] Yet Davis reported in May 1905 that while the Campo venture seemed successful, with "Frances" teaching fourteen students, the OIA had still not agreed to compensate her or Nejo.[123] He mentioned an agent and inspector who visited, and hoped their reports would change the situation.[124] Financial support had come instead from DuBois, the Indian Industries League, and the Sequoia League of Los Angeles.[125] The league continued to support LaChapa and Nejo as they waited for OIA compensation. Emmerich continues, "Less than a year after their arrival in the field Superintendent Charles Shell informed Mamie Robinson, the field matron supervising their work, that he was more than pleased with their efforts. Sending his regards to Nejo and LaChapa, he noted 'each…fill[s] a different niche.'"[126] But this acknowledgement did not apparently lead to their official appointment. LaChapa did not list this experience when asked about her work for the OIA.[127] She did, however, include the job under other work experience, listing one year at $25 (probably per month) with Robinson as her supervisor.[128] And she also listed a year as housekeeper to Watkins, with a wage of $30 per month.[129] Rosie Nejo had a

[121] Edward H. Davis to Constance Goddard DuBois, Jan 25, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[122] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst,'" 209.
[123] Edward H. Davis to Constance Goddard DuBois, May 18, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. Charles Fletcher Lummis founded the Sequoia League in 1901 to aid and lobby for California native peoples, according to Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, Richard J. Orsi, Mary Ann Irwin, Michael F. Magliari, and Cecilia M. Tsu, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California,* 4th ed., (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 2017). 336. "As Lummis explained … the purpose of the league was to 'focus public sentiment locally to aid the Indian service,'" Mathes, *Divinely Guided*, 130.
[126] Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst,'" 209-210.
[127] Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.

personnel record, but it only included two letters, with no firm indication that she had ever been formally employed by the OIA.[130]

DuBois and Watkins continued throughout 1905 to push the Office of Indian Affairs for their appointment and for philanthropic funding to support their service at Campo. Watkins felt that "Rosalia is the soul of the mission."[131] Unfortunately, federal authorities proved uncooperative. Responding to DuBois' previous letter in August, Superintendent Shell included a copy of his response to the D.C. office's rejection of his original financial request.[132] The OIA denied Shell funds for even the most destitute on the reservation. DuBois and Watkins managed to get enough money from various sources to support the pair, and in September 1905 the young women settled down for another year of work at Campo.[133] But going into 1906, as the OIA continued to fail to offer positions to either young woman, other plans were considered. Watkins wrote to DuBois in February that a Mrs. Brunson had come to Mesa Grande to teach lace.[134] "I have such beautiful news. There is a lady here named Mrs. Brunson…she teaches lace three times a week...The Bishop promises to come soon and arrange for her and to build a nice little house on the Reserve. Then Frances will come and live with her."[135] Although Watkins did not discuss the denomination, the Bishop might have been from the Episcopal Church, given LaChapa's planned confirmation. However, this scheme for Mesa Grande did not seem to have

[130] Philip T. Lonergan, Superintendent of the Colorado River Indian School in Parker Arizona to C.W. Goodman, Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC.
[131] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 24, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[132] Charles Shell to Indian Affairs and Charles Shell to Constance Goddard DuBois (letter to Dubois typed at end of first), August 7, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[133] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, September 25, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[134] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, February 22, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[135] Ibid.

come to fruition. While Watkins planned a change for LaChapa, Nejo sent a positive report from the field. Watkins relayed this to DuBois, saying, "I hear that Campo will soon have a home for teacher and Matron. Rosalia writes that they are very happy and doing well. They have a fund for the old people."[136] Inroads occurred despite their very limited resources.

Nejo sometimes corresponded directly with DuBois. Addressing the letter to "Miss C.G. DuBois," Nejo indicated that she was "more than willing to teach the girls outline stitches."[137] She also informed her that "Most all the families have quilts now, we have been kept pretty busy all winter."[138] She ended the letter with more familiar, but also deferential, phrases. "With much love and gratefulness, Faithfully Yours, Rosalia Nejo."[139] While DuBois and Watkins used affectionate nicknames with each other, Nejo (and probably LaChapa also) used more formal forms of address with white women. Although Nejo did not specifically mention financial support, the letter must be understood in this context. The OIA had not hired her yet so she relied on the largess of reformers.

Nejo also updated DuBois on her grandfather's faltering health. But by the time Nejo finished writing the letter several days later, her grandfather had passed away.[140] She signed the final note "Yours in Sorrow."[141] Although he died in September, it seems Nejo did not write to DuBois again until November. In that letter she describes the funeral and laments that the old way of life has died with him.[142] "Everybody mourned they seemed to realize that the beautiful

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[136] Ibid.
[137] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, Spring 1906? [date illegible], Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, September 17, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

life of the past is also buried with that brave old chief, now only the memory is left."[143] Her explanation resonates with one of the dominant narratives of native people—that they were dying out. That Nejo herself would use this kind of language may reflect her interactions with Indian educators and reformers. In Watkins's words: "The people are very sad and talk of the inevitable constantly. And it will be but for a few days ie [sic] the history of this land that the brown people will claim even a passing notice."[144] Of course, Nejo's concern might also be deeply personal, in terms of the loss of Kumeyaay traditions.

Nejo wrote that month about Campo as well, reporting on the elderly Indians that DuBois supported.[145] It appeared LaChapa no longer worked at Campo, since Nejo discussed her loneliness. "I will be glad when she [Robinson] comes back, and we are settled down to our winter work."[146] Their work, close quarters, and the lack of other companions seemed to have fostered a meaningful friendship. Nejo mentioned support from some Pasadena ladies, who would send material goods for Christmas.[147] The combination of charities and organizations provided supplements to the people at Campo, given the stingy support from the OIA. Yet private philanthropy was still not nearly enough, as Nejo described the hunger faced by many native people, especially at Manzanita.[148] "Occasionally I give [a] little food to the Campos but for the Manzanitas I can only say I am glad I am not near them to see them hungry."[149]

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[143] Ibid.
[144] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Nov 22, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[145] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, November 1906? [date illegible], Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[146] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 1906? [date illegible], Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[149] Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Robinson corroborated Nejo's assessment. In the former's letter to DuBois she reported that the government gave $300, not enough for all who needed it.[150] To address this shortage they focused on making more baskets.[151] Nejo and Robinson both managed the money that DuBois sent for the elder relief, as well as money sent from other organizations.[152] DuBois received reports about donations of money and clothes from them as well as from Watkins. But the news was not always good. In January 1907 Robinson informed DuBois that the Sequoia League was faltering, and the market for baskets in Los Angeles had dried up.[153] A few weeks later Robinson sent another update. "My dear Miss DuBois, Your letter rec'd last week just before starting to Mesa Grande. Rosalie had to go on business and the Agt. gave me permission to go with her."[154] In this passage, we see that Robinson addressed DuBois formally as "Miss DuBois" while calling Nejo by her first name. Nejo uses "Miss" to address both DuBois and Robinson. As a government employee, Robinson also some knowledge about federal finances, some of which she shared with DuBois, reporting that she got thirteen rations from the government in January.[155] Watkins praised the work of Nejo and Robinson, telling DuBois in February 1907: "Have you thought of the amount accomplished? Seven years ago the Agent even did not know that Campo's poor people existed. I wrote first, reporting the words of old Jose de la Luz. We asked for further directions, and visited them. Now such wonderful changes

[150] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, November 11, 1906, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[151] Ibid.
[152] See Rosalie Nejo to Constance Goddard DuBois, November 1906? [date illegible] and Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, January 10, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, for examples.
[153] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, January 10, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[154] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, February 3, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[155] Ibid.

are coming."[156] In addition to praising the other women, Watkins gave credit to their past advocacy, and looked forward to a bright future. One of Campo's financial supporters, Colonel J. S. Lockwood, President of the Indian Industries League, agreed that they were fortunate to have Nejo and Robinson.[157] He also asked DuBois about LaChapa.[158] She probably left Campo between September and November 1905, perhaps working as a cook in Phoenix, the occupation listed on her service card for that time period. [159]

Nejo and Robinson worked through the summer of 1907, neither taking leave.[160] Using calico supplied by the government, the pair made quilts in the fall.[161] LaChapa finally reappeared, receiving mention in a November 1907 letter Robinson sent to DuBois.[162] The latter reported that both LaChapa and Nejo had expressed interest in reading DuBois' latest published story, a fictional work called "The Raven of Capistrano."[163] Archeologist Don Laylander describes the work in these terms: "In the story, a Luiseño boy struggles with the dilemma of trying to revivify the dying traditional culture or accommodating himself to modern, non-Indian ways, which are often hostile and unjust. The boy ultimately opts for the nontraditional future, collaborating with sympathetic whites, including a schoolteacher (presumably based on Watkins)."[164] While DuBois sympathized with the way young native people felt torn between their own and white cultures, she ultimately thought they needed to choose Americanization.

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[156] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, February 7, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[157] J.S. Lockwood to Constance Goddard DuBois, February 4, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[160] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, July 21, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[161] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, October 6, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[162] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, November 10, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Laylander, *Listening to the Raven*, 15-16.

LaChapa and Nejo may have served as at least partial inspiration for the native character, as they actively combined elements from both cultures in crafting their evolving identities, a process DuBois reduced to an either/or decision.

Robinson's January 1908 letter does not mention LaChapa, but described how she and Nejo cut flannel for the old people, and mentions that the two went for a ride in a car![165] This must have been very exciting for them, as automobiles were still very new, and certainly a rarity in a place like Campo. March brought a positive report, with Robinson writing that the government had finally issued rations.[166] She sent DuBois's check back, with the caveat that they might need her help again in July.[167] Watkins continued to send updates from Mesa Grande as well. She worried that many native people were out of work, and she had hoped to visit Nejo and Robinson in Campo.[168] Nejo sent DuBois's letter to LaChapa and then she sent it to Watkins.[169] While I did not have access to the letters between LaChapa and Nejo it seems likely, based in part on Watkins's reference here, that the two kept up a regular correspondence.

By summer, Robinson told DuBois that while they would stay for now, a farmer and his wife would eventually be sent, and then the wife would get the field matron position.[170] She also said LaChapa and Nejo would both go to Mesa Grande for their vacation.[171] Watkins wrote in August that the two native women attended the fiesta there, and enjoyed seeing each other after

[165] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, January 1, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[166] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 11, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 19, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[169] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, May 22, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[170] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, June 19, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[171] Ibid.

the long separation.[172] LaChapa planned to travel to New York for nursing school and Watkins thought that Nejo would probably go with her.[173] She further speculated that Robinson would go to Yuma.[174] OIA employees often faced uncertainty. Most moved around during their careers, sometimes by their request, sometimes not.[175] Robinson forwarded DuBois's letter to Nejo, and she thought Nejo would send the Indian names (for DuBois's anthropological research) soon.[176] Robinson mentioned that LaChapa had discussed nursing school, but in Maryland rather than New York. "Frances is talking of going to Baltimore and taking the nurses training. Just what she should have done two years ago instead of wasting all of this time."[177] This demonstrated that Robinson had a particular understanding about what LaChapa should do. Despite the close relationship that developed between her and Nejo she was often condescending with other native women. For instance, when she did not like a basket pattern used by one young woman, she gave her instructions on how to "improve" it.[178]

In December 1908 Watkins wrote DuBois and told her that LaChapa and Nejo had settled in Phoenix.[179] "Frances and Rosalie are very happy at Phoenix and write such good letters. Surely the time spent upon them has yielded a hundred fold."[180] LaChapa's personnel file offers further insight. In her personal file form from 1913 she lists two years of work in Phoenix as an assistant under C.W. Goodman, Superintendent of the U.S. Indian Industrial School in

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[172] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 9, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.
[175] PF NPRC.
[176] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 3, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Mamie Robinson to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 1, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[179] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, December 31, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[180] Ibid.

Phoenix.[181] Goodman wrote about LaChapa to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in November 1908. He says when the papers for her non-competitive exam arrived, she decided not to take it since she was uncertain she would pass.[182] Goodman further stated "Her Indian timidity could not be overcome."[183] But he assures the Commissioner that she would again be given a position as an assistant.[184] He wrote again a few weeks later, requesting that "the Indian position of hospital cook be established at $300 per annum"[185] Then he received approval to appoint LaChapa, formerly assistant nurse, to the new position.[186]

In early February 1909 Watkins wrote to DuBois with an update. Nejo had come in July, to care for her dying brother, and then went to Phoenix to become a trained nurse.[187] Robinson had transferred to Yuma, so no one was left at Campo.[188] Watkins explained that Mr. Frank, a teacher at Mesa Grande, wanted to transfer to Campo but had not.[189] Her points about Mr. Frank, who had received numerous mentions in previous letters, indicated a long standing discussion among Indian advocates in and out of the OIA about whether or not Campo should be manned by female field matrons or a male farmer/teacher. Despite these questions, the OIA decided to appoint a field matron and assistant field matron for Campo. On December 1, 1908 Lucy R. Redmond was named the new field matron.[190] And this time the OIA created an assistant field matron position, a position for which Nejo had laid the groundwork. Superintendent Philip T. Lonergan (the OIA superintendent for the area) requested that Juanita

[181] Personal Record, 1913, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[182] CW Goodman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 28, 1908. Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Goodman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec 14, 1908, Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, February 2, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Philip T. Lonergan to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 15, 1909, Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC.

Chaqua receive the position of assistant field matron. The Chief Clerk to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Frank M. Conser, was apparently confused, since he had granted her a provisional appointment as field matron, rather than assistant field matron. "This is a large responsibility to put upon an Indian girl only 22 years old, especially when she has no one to supervise her."[191] Lonergan replied back in mid-February, explaining that Chaqua should be assistant field matron under Redmond, not field matron.[192] He concluded by clarifying that he would not recommend her for field matron unless she had more experience.[193] Chaqua had attended Pechanga Day School, the U.S. Indian School at Perris, and then Sherman.[194] She also took a course at Haskell in Kansas.[195] So her educational background seemed similar to that of LaChapa and Nejo. Conser replied that Redmond's appointment would soon expire, as she had not passed the exam.[196] He also asked if Lonergan knew anyone in the service who would take the field matron position permanently.[197] Both men seemed to lack confidence in Chaqua's ability to be at the post without a superior. Yet Redmond, a white woman, had secured a temporary position without passing the exam. According to her personnel file she also had no previous OIA work experience. Yet the OIA men in-charge did not question her capabilities as they did Chaqua's. Conser reiterated twice his doubt that an "Indian girl" could handle the post alone. OIA officials would usually only approve the filling of underling positions, a process historian Peggy Pascoe describes as when "trusted assistants grew into 'native helpers' rather than full-fledged colleagues."[198]

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[191] Frank M. Conser to Philip T. Lonergan, February 4, 1909, Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC.
[192] Philip T. Lonergan to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 15, 1909, Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Frank M. Conser to Philip T. Lonergan, Feb 24, 1909, Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*, 144.

By March 1909 Redmond started communicating with DuBois.[199] "Christmas I invited them all here and such a good time as we all had and what a busy day it was, for I was all alone, but some of the squaws helped me wash dishes etc. There were 46 here to dinner."[200] The terminology "squaw," while common at the time, also reflected an othering of native women. Rather than empathy, Redmond dehumanized native people through her language choices. She never mentions Chaqua by name, perhaps she included the assistant field matron in the group of "squaws." Redmond also reported that churches and charity societies had sent Christmas donations.[201] She had not yet made visits to the remote families in the area, but speculated that tribal affections prompted a division of rations. [202] Their choice to share rations complicated the way the OIA, DuBois, and charities often operated. They gave rations, money, and supplies to individuals, or sometimes families. Then native people sometimes redistributed as they saw fit.

Native people resisted OIA programs in other ways as well, although that resistance often proves difficult to track in the records. One more dramatic example, highlighted by Emmerich, occurred "At Santo Domingo Pueblos in New Mexico in 1903, [where field matron] Josephine Babbitt found the residents adamantly opposed to her presence and her work. Her agent reported to the OIA that the community members 'don't want her or anyone else in that capacity; that they will not rent any quarters for her, nor will they permit her to live in the pueblo.'"[203] More common forms of resistance included complaining to OIA superiors, contacting advocates like DuBois or Watkins, or refusing to change behaviors.[204] Emmerich underscores that "None of the

[199] Lucy R. Redmond to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 26, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Emmerich, "Civilization," 37.
[204] Emmerich, "Civilization" and "Right in the Midst."

qualifications that won them positions in the OIA field service counted for much in situations where native men and women determined levels of interaction."[205] Many field matrons adapted, some even gaining respect for tribal customs, but most Indian women refused to relinquish all their traditions. Emmerich demonstrates how

> Despite the hopes of the OIA, domestic instruction failed as a strategy to promote assimilation. With few exceptions, field matrons found that tribal women did not wish to adopt, wholesale, 'the ways of White women.' Selective shoppers, they shrewdly extracted from myriad examples those skills most relevant to their own circumstances and perfected them readily…Most lessons in the attributes and skills of Victorian Anglo-American 'ladyhood' met with persistent indifference. Tribal women were quite content to choose their own degrees of assimilation…[206]

Even educated women like LaChapa and Nejo proved "selective shoppers," although their resistance, and that of others, was not always successful.

In April 1909 field matron Redmond and assistant field matron Chaqua were still at Campo. C.E. Kelsey (Special Agent for the California Indians) wrote to the Commissioner about Chaqua's work. He noted that she was "less competent" than Nejo, but still valuable.[207] He thought she would improve with experience and did not recommend her dismissal.[208] However, he observed, "She is Luiseno…the Campo Indians are Diegueno…These are hereditary enemies and though intertribal wars ceased long ago, there is no love lost between them today. Miss Chaqua is not exactly having a fair opportunity to make good at Campo and would probably be able to do better work at Pala or Saboba, if she could have a white woman to work under."[209] Again and again OIA officials believed Indian employees required white supervision. With six

[205] Emmerich, "Civilization," 37.
[206] Ibid., 44.
[207] C.E. Kelsey (Special Agent for the CA Indians) to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 6, 1909, Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.

scattered reservations, and the administration at such a distance, Redmond found it a struggle, even with Chaqua's help.[210]

Plenty of bad news continued to reach DuBois, even after she fell ill in 1908,[211] though she kept up her correspondence for another year. On May 10, 1909 she sent one of her last letters to the Government Land Office, asking for a lawyer to help one of the San Diego County Indians with his land claims.[212] Laylander discusses how "After DuBois spent successive but overlapping careers as a novelist, editor, philanthropist, activist, journalist, and ethnographer, the public record of her activities ends around 1909."[213] She passed away in 1934 at a mental institution in Hartford, Connecticut.[214] Dr. Caroline R. Conkey, her companion with whom she lived with for several decades, likely took care of her between 1909 and 1914 (the year of her "senility" diagnosis).[215]

Redmond's time in Campo turned out to be rather short. At the end of April 1909 she requested the opportunity to stay, claiming that the Indians liked her and wanted her to remain.[216] But the OIA refused to allow her to take a special exam or extend her temporary appointment.[217] In the following passage Chief Clerk J. H. Dortch asked Superintendent Lonergan for his advice:

> Meanwhile, what is the best that can now be done for the Campo Indians?...It has been suggested that Miss Robinson would like to return there, but no answer has been received from Office letter [sic] in regard to that matter. Is there no one in the classified service whom you would recommend for that discouraging field? Can Juanita Chaqua carry on the work there alone for awhile? I am informed that

[210] Lucy R. Redmond to Constance Goddard DuBois, April 12, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[211] Don Laylander, "Early Ethnographic Notes from Constance Goddard DuBois on the Indians of San Diego Count,." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 26, no. 2 (2006), 205.
[212] Constance Goddard DuBois to Govt. Land Office, May 10, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[213] Laylander, *Listening to the Raven,* 15.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Lucy R. Redmond to Philip T. Lonergan, April 26, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[217] J.H. Dortch (Chief Clerk) to Philip T. Lonergan, May 15, 1909, Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC.

> she is at a disadvantage in her work, because she is of a different tribal stock from the Campo Indians and that her people are their hereditary enemies and that she would be better placed somewhere else. What would be your recommendation? If Miss Robinson should return to Campo probably Miss Rosalie Nejo would return with her and then some other place would have to be found for Juanita Chaqua, provided she is competent and faithful and makes a success of such work. What are the facts?[218]

Some people thought Miss Robinson should return, and apparently if she did, Nejo would be likely to return with her. Importantly, there appeared some possibility for a native woman, Chaqua, to take on more of a leadership role, albeit temporarily.

Lonergan responded to Dortch's questions about Campo a few days later, on March 24, 1909. He said that he would handle the situation at Campo until October 1909.[219]

> Regarding the return of Miss Robinson I hesitate to recommend it for, though I was unable to visit while she occupied the position there…from what I have learned from the Indians there I think she did not visit the remote reservations at all and the others very seldom, and they seem to regard her not as being there to assist them but to watch them and all spoke very highly of Mrs. Redmond.[220]

In this case, the Superintendent listened to the native people. Lonergan believed Chaqua would not stay on alone at Campo, but he refuted the information Dortch had received that she was not liked by the native people she served.[221] "Regarding the report that the Campo Indian did not take kindly to Juanita Chaqua I have heard nothing from them. . . Juanita is of the same tribal stock, the Louisenas [sic], as the Mesa Grande… [and thus] the same disadvantages would obtain if Miss Rosalie Nejo were sent there."[222] Lonergan clearly did not know as much as he should about his own superintendency, since Mesa Grande is actually Diegueño [Kumeyaay]. Ultimately, however, he felt Campo really needed a farmer and a teacher.[223] He favored a native

[218] Ibid.
[219] Philip T. Lonergan to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 24, 1909, Lucy R. Redmond, PF NPRC.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Philip T. Lonergan To C. W. Goodman, Aug 22, 1910, Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC.

man, especially a Mission Indian, and he recommended Domingo Moro.[224] And he wanted a day school to be established at Campo.[225] His recommendation was nothing new, as discussions of having a farmer, teacher, or both, at Campo had taken place for years.

But the OIA did not abolish the positions, despite Lonergan's recommendations. Chaqua resigned, effective July 15, 1909.[226] By October a new field matron took her turn at Campo. Lonergan wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that "…I have been informed that Miss Mary Seward, Matron at Fort Yuma, desires a position as Field Matron, and as he [Supervisor Harwood Hall] considers her qualified for the position at Campo, I would be pleased if the Office would transfer her to the position of Field Matron at Campo."[227]

Seward started work as the field matron at Campo in November 1909,[228] with Clara Warren as the first OIA assistant field matron.[229] Campo received a school and thus became its own agency.[230] Although Warren left in early May 1910,[231] by then Seward, according to the superintendent's report, had "…won their [the local Indians] entire confidence and respect and by these means she has induced them to become interested in small farming and gardening."[232] The OIA connected Nejo and Steward in interesting ways. Nejo's personnel file starts and ends in 1910. The first letter in Nejo's file was sent in August 1910 by Lonergan, who by then worked as Superintendent of the Colorado River Indian School in Parker, Arizona, to C.W. Goodman, the Superintendent of the Indian Industrial School in Phoenix.[233] He asked if Nejo

[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Record of Service, Juanita Chaqua, PF NPRC.
[227] Philip T. Lonergan to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct 15, 1909, Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC.
[228] Service Record Card, Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC.
[229] C.F. Hauke to Philip T. Lonergan, April 8, 1910, Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Service Record Card, Clara Warren, PF NPRC.
[232] Efficiency Report, May 12, 1910, Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC.
[233] Philip T. Lonergan To C. W. Goodman, Aug 22, 1910, Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC.

was employed at the Indian Industrial School and if she might accept a position of assistant matron.[234] He explained that "from what I know of Rosalie's experience as field matron at the Pala jurisdiction I believe she would make a capable matron."[235] This provides further evidence that many in the OIA respected Nejo and her work at Campo. Still, Nejo did not get the position. Dortch, Chief of the OIA Education Division, told Lonergan that

> Concerning your letter addressed to Superintendent Goodman relative to the appointment of Rosie Nejo as assistant matron, you are informed that it is not very probable that this Indian girl is eligible for such appointment for the reason that before Indians can be appointed to certain positions the Civil Service Commission requires that they pass non-competitive examinations.[236]

If she had served as Assistant Field Matron through the OIA, she likely would have been already required to pass this exam, yet there exists no evidence in her file that she did.

Seward, not Nejo, eventually worked in the position at the Colorado River Indian School, which she transferred to from Campo in 1912. She explained that she wanted to transfer to "a place where I can do more efficient work than is possible to do here."[237] Before she transferred, however, a huge scandal, at least in the eyes of the OIA, rocked Campo.

> During a part of Miss Seward's incumbency, there was a position of assistant field matron also, at this place. It was occupied by an Indian girl, Anita Conohritch. At the time the position was abolished, the girl was three or four months pregnant. She claims as the father of the child a man who was temporarily boarding at the Government quarters. Where this is true, it remains that she was an employee at the time, under the supervision of the superintendent and the field matron, and was living at the Government quarters along with them. While no one can be held strictly accountable for her moral character, they must have surmised from her history that it was none too strong a one and they should have been aware of her comings and goings, especially as there was at the time a party of engineers and road workers about. Miss Seward claims that she was ill at the time, and that she trusted Anita implicitly believing that she was trustworthy.[238]

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[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid.
[236] J.H. Dortch to Philip T. Lonergan, Sep 10, 1910, Rosie Nejo, PF NPRC.
[237] Request for Transfer, June 19, 1911, Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC.
[238] Newton to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 8, 1912, Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC.

In her report Supervisor Elsie E. Newton, placed responsibility for the pregnancy on Conohritch, although she also questioned Steward's role as matron. No blame fell on the child's father, and the report does not consider either coercion or sexual assault. Newton thought the Superintendent should have known about the "moral character" of his employee and recommended a transfer for Seward.[239] Newton claimed that the pregnancy scandal did not color her assessment, but suggested the field matron position be abolished as unnecessary.[240] By the time Newton submitted her findings Seward had already transferred. "Answering your letter of March 8, you are informed that the Superintendent of the Campo School urgently recommended the abolishment of the position of field matron, and the establishment in lieu thereof of the position of farmer."[241] It seems notable that the switch to a farmer, although recommended by many over the years, did not happen until after the scandal. This scandal just exacerbated a lack of faith in women's abilities to carry out the work at Campo.

Many had previously recommended a housekeeper position to complement an OIA farmer at Campo. In some cases OIA housekeepers actually performed work similar to a field matron, just without the title or higher compensation. In the Efficiency Report about Gertrude Spalsbury, the La Jolla Indian School's housekeeper, her evaluator explained, "She visits the Indian homes, confers with the Indian women, and succeeds at creating a favorable and pleasant feeling toward the school and its work."[242] He specifically stated they did not need a field matron at La Jolla:

> There is no field matron on the reservation. The Episcopal Missionary and lace teacher does a good deal of the [illegible] work however. Also the school housekeeper does a small amount of field work, visiting homes ate [sic] so that a Field Matron is not needed. I am of the opinion that these people would resent

[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid.
[241] F.H. Abbott to Miss Elsie E. Newton, Mar 29, 1912, Mary A. Seward, PF NPRC.
[242] Efficiency Report, Enclosure 1, Book 1, Box 388, RE, 1903-1912, PA, RG 75, NARA R.

> quite strenuously any efforts of an employee to enter their homes and try to teach them what to do and how to do it. The largest part of the women are fairly good housekeepers though there is scarcely any knowledge of how to secure and maintain sanitary conditions. No appropriation is needed for Matrons.[243]

Interestingly, he notes how indigenous peoples resented the intrusion into their homes, a rare acknowledgement of their attitudes.

Most OIA positions required a competency examination, with exemptions granted to spouses.[244] So wives, often without training or experience, served in positions ranking below their husbands. For instance, the wife of the agent at the La Jolla Superintendency served as housekeeper through 1909,[245] and Mr. J.C. Leger and his wife served as teacher and housekeeper at Agua Caliente Day School in 1903.[246] When a woman worked as teacher, a relative often accompanied her as housekeeper. In 1904, Pechanga had Belle Dean as teacher, with her mother Georgia Dean as housekeeper, while a pair of sisters fulfilled both roles at Capitan Grande.[247] But sometimes a native woman received the housekeeper post. When Mrs. Dean temporarily replaced her daughter as teacher reason, Pechanga officials hired a native woman, Firmina Chaqua, as housekeeper.[248] Other native women held similar jobs, not just officially for the OIA but on a local basis, as LaChappa and Nejo did when working for Watkins. Natives more rarely held the official (and usually better paying) OIA housekeeper position. The different expectations for white and native women was structured into the pay for OIA employees. For example, Alice Anderson, stenographer and then financial clerk at Pala, received a raise in order to hire a "girl" to do her housework.[249]

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[243] Annual Estimate, No. 7, "Recommendations for Field Matrons," LJS, RG 75, NARA R.
[244] PF NPRC.
[245] Folder 6, LR, 1909-1911, LJS, RG 75, NARA R.
[246] October 24, 1903, Folder 2, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R.
[247] Folder 2, Box 367, LR, 1903-1921, PS, RG 75, NARA R.
[248] Charles Shell to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 9, 1904, Box 362, Misc. Letters Sent, Dec 1903-Jan 1915, PA, RG 75, NARA R.
[249] Thomas F. McCormick to Sells, October. 4, 1916, Alice Anderson, PF NPRC.

Watkins, like Anderson, lived with her husband, but many of the women working for the OIA were single or widowed. If presented with the opportunity, women in this era rarely chose not to marry. Historian Nancy F. Cott chronicles that "Marital status is just as important to one's standing in the community and state as it is to self-understanding. Radiating outward, the structure of marriage organizes community life and facilitates the government's grasp on the populace."[250] Despite the pressures, some eschewed marriage. Their motives often proved elusive, and varied widely. Some rejected marriage out of a desire for independence. While most reformers married, some dedicated their lives to public service. According to Pascoe, reformers thought that "women together could make a home, while a woman and a man 'of doubtful character' could not, because patriarchal behavior was a primary threat…[This advice was given even though] most of the women who supported home mission projects were…themselves dependent on marriage for economic support."[251]

Still others rejected marriage due to a lack of sexual attraction to men. Today we use identity labels like lesbian or asexual, but in nineteenth century U.S. society sexual attraction and acts did not lead to categorizing an individual in this way.[252] Historian Leila J. Rupp explains that "There is no agreement, then, about when in the Western world we can begin to talk about women who desired women as belonging in a discrete category…but what is clear is that these [earlier] categories did not have the same global reach as the naming of the lesbian by the nineteenth century sexologists."[253] While romantic and sexual relationship between women

[250] Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 1.
[251] Pascoe, *Relations of Power,* 39.
[252] Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
[253] Leila J. Rupp, *Sapphistries: A Global History of Love Between Women*, (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 146.

occurred before this time, and were sometimes categorized in different parts of the West at various times, in was not until the turn of the twentieth century that a more fixed descriptor took hold. Rupp continues:

> By the late nineteenth century…The emerging visible subcultures and communities of women and especially men with same-sex desires both piqued the doctors' interest and provided material for their theories…[These sexologists] all contributed to the notion that having such desires and engaging in same-sex acts defined one as a particular kind of person.[254]

And as Michel Foucault explores in his influential 1978 book, *The History of Sexuality*, "…the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on…homosexuality…made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of 'perversity'; but it also made possible the formation of a 'reverse' discourse: homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf..."[255] The discussions and naming of diverse sexual practices also meant that people who had those desires could learn that they were not alone.

Jane Addams, a white middle-class woman who established the first settlement house to assist immigrant women and their children, serves as a prominent example of a woman with a long-term female partner. No direct evidence of Addams' relationship being sexual exists, although that does not mean it could not have been.[256] Historian Lillian Faderman in *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* makes clear:

> The term 'Boston Marriage' was used in the late nineteenth-century to describe a long-term monogamous relationship between two otherwise unmarried women…Whether these unions sometimes or often included sex we will never know, but we do know that these women spent their lives primarily with other

[254] Rupp, *Sapphistries*, 146.
[255] Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality,* Vol. 1, *An Introduction*, (New York: Vintage, 1990), 101.
[256] Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

> women, they gave to other women the bulk of their energy and attention, and they formed powerful emotional ties to other women.[257]

That the phrase included the term marriage indicates a recognition of the closeness of the bond between such women. Again, as Foucault indicates, giving this practice a name could have been interpreted in many different ways, including provided legitimacy to it, even if originally intended to be derisive. Historian Estelle B. Freedman notes that:

> Men or women…established [same-sex] marriage-like relationships in the era before homosexual identity. They exchanged rings or set up common domicile, such as Boston Marriages, so named because so many educated women paired off in that city at the turn of the twentieth century. These women often owned property jointly, planned their travels together, shared family celebrations, and usually slept in the same bed. Cultural assumptions of asexuality tended to protect them from scandal.[258]

DuBois may have had a Boston Marriage. Laylander provides the following information: "DuBois never married; she had moved from Watertown [N.Y.] to Waterbury [C.T.] with Dr. Caroline R. Conkey, with whom she lived for several decades. According to later gossip, Conkey was considered 'mannish,' and there was speculation concerning the nature of the relationship between the two women."[259]

DuBois' letter collection contains no letters from Conkey, even though the correspondence proved robust from so many others.[260] The lack of any such letters suggests that they were destroyed, not an uncommon practice among same-sex couples. One letter in the DuBois collection ended abruptly, with no conclusion or signature.[261] It looked like the end had

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[257] Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1981), 190.
[258] Estelle B. Freedman, "Boston Marriage, Free Love, and Fictive Kin: Historical Alternatives to Mainstream Marriage," *OAH Newsletter* 32, no.1 (August 2004), 16.
[259] Laylander, *Listening to the Raven*, 14.
[260] Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[261] Harwood Hall to Constance Goddard DuBois, November 22, 1900, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

been cut off with scissors. DuBois, or someone with access to her papers, like Conkey, chose to censor the material before donating it. Other letters mentioned in the correspondence are missing entirely. On Jan 24, 1905 Mary Watkins, a white, middle-class resident and native rights activist in the San Diego area, told DuBois "I enclose the letters written by Frances [LaChapa] & Rosalia [Nejo]. They are so happy and the new matron [Robinson] is lovely, just suited to the work."[262] Yet these letters from the native women no longer exist in the collection. Perhaps they contained information on same-sex partnerships. Hints of a romantic relationship between DuBois and Conkey does exist in other archives. When writing to Kroeber, DuBois described her relationship with Conkey as like a marriage.

> I told you—I simply can't leave home when the friend I live with is at home, as by devoting myself to her benefit for years I have become tied hand & foot—quite as if I were a married woman with a family. Her health is so poor I can never say she must spare me. She will be gone seven weeks this summer unless something very unforeseen occurs—so that will leave me a free month exclusive of the trip across.[263]

DuBois' choice of words hints at a romantic connection between the women. Perhaps she felt safe writing to Kroeber in this way.[264] And possibly she found herself drawn to study native traditions because of the options they offered women and the wider gender diversity in many nations.

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[262] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, January 24, 1905, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[263] Constance Goddard DuBois to Alfred Kroeber, May 24, 1906, Letters from DuBois to Kroeber, 1904-1911, Folders 11:7-11:9, Constance DuBois CU-23, Box 11, Department of Anthropology Records, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[264] Don Laylander, *Listening to the Raven;* and for an understanding of acceptance, and its limitations in Anthropology in this era, see Kroeber's mentor Franz Boas' theory of relativism described in "History," Department of Anthropology at Columbia University, accessed December 14, 2019, https://anthropology.columbia.edu/content/history.

FIGURE 13: Constance Goddard DuBois, Waterbury, Connecticut, date unknown
(Courtesy of the Braun Research Library Collection, Autry Museum, Los Angeles; P.32202)

As mentioned before, LaChapa and Nejo also remained unmarried. An unusual choice for the era, especially since they likely had many options. References to suitors courting LaChapa appeared in the DuBois collection. Colonel J. S. Lockwood, a white, middle-class man who worked with native people as President of the Indian Industries League, asked DuBois in February 1907 about LaChapa, wondering if she had at last agreed to marry an Indian man.[265] "I wish when you write me sometime you would tell me what has become of Frances LaChappa [sic]. I have often wondered whether she finally concluded to accept an Indian husband, remembering that she used to refuse one about once a week when I was in California."[266] While he may have exaggerated for dramatic effect, Lockwood revealed that LaChapa deliberately rejected all suitors. She remained unmarried at least through the mid-1920s, when her OIA records end.[267] Why might LaChapa and Nejo have chosen not to marry? Like other single women in the era, the motivations of native women who chose to remain unmarried varied widely. But native cultures had their own unique histories regarding gender, sexuality, and marriage as well.

Before colonization many native societies had more than two genders. Sometimes the third gender combined female and male roles. Other times the individuals lived as a woman or man. In some cases there might be four or more genders. Many in these societies thus saw gender as acquired, rather than innate. It was not about categorizing the individual based on their physical bodies but their social role and inner spirit(s). The term Two Spirit is a modern phrase used to describe various traditions practiced in these societies. The term references the idea, held by

[265] Letter from J.S. Lockwood to Constance Goddard DuBois, February 4, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Frances M. LaChapa, PF NPRC.

some tribes, that two spirits (female and male) could live within one person. The phrase Two Spirit came into use in the twentieth century as an umbrella term to describe these gender roles more broadly. Each tribe has their own word or words for these individuals. Miranda underscores that:

> In precontact California…'Over a hundred languages were spoken here, representing five or more major language families and various smaller families and linguistic isolates.' Adding in estimates of hundreds of different dialects, it seems clear that every California tribe would have had its own world for third-gendered people…For example, at Mission San Diego, Father Boscana…[recorded that] 'they were called '*Cuit*,' in the mountains, '*Uluqui*,' and in other parts, they were known by the name of 'Coias.'[268]

Many tribes considered Two Spirits as having special religious powers or importance. In many California native nations they served as undertakers, an essential religious role.[269] Originally these multiple gender options were about the gender role performed, not sexuality as currently defined in many Western traditions started in the 19th and twentieth centuries, as described in the section on sexologists. If a Two Spirit person married, they did so in a heterogender pairing.[270] The idea was to have partners that complemented one another. Homogender relationships were not usually accepted in most tribes. Of course, some individuals living before colonization may have been attracted to what mainstream U.S. society today considers the "same sex" and thus might have chosen another gender option to have those relationships.

Even describing these different multiple gender systems in English proves difficult due to the limitations of the language. Historian Virginia M. Bouvier, author of *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence*, offers this description: "The Spanish

[268] Miranda, "Extermination of the *Joyas,"* 261.
[269] Ibid., 266.
[270] Sabine Lang, "Lesbians, Men-Women, and Two-Spirits: Homosexuality and Gender in Native American Cultures," *Female Desires: Same-Sex Relations and Transgender Practices Across Cultures*, Evelyn Blackwood and Saskia E. Wieringa, eds., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 96.

translation of the term used by California indigenous groups in the eighteenth century was *joyas*, literally 'jewels,' a term that perhaps better conveys the great esteem in which these 'non-men' and 'non-women' were held by their communities."[271] Although Spanish, Mexican, and American colonizers disapproved of these practices, they continued well into the twentieth century. Both "women-men" and "men-women" were still accepted by some Kumeyaay (Diegueño) communities at least as late as the 1930s.[272]

No one in any of the materials I consulted described LaChapa or Nejo in a way that would suggested either of them might have belonged to these alternative genders, merely describing them as "educated" native women and revealing little about their personal lives. But most of the sources did come from European-Americans, and both women worked closely with whites, so even if they had inclinations toward other gender identities they might have chosen not to express them in front of their colonizers for fear of disapproval or even violence from those outside their native community. LaChapa seemed very in-touch with mainstream American period styles, as evidenced below by Figure 14, from her personnel file. But this gendered performance could have served as a survival strategy so that she could continue to have a job. Driskill theorizes in *Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory* that:

> Colonial and heteropatriarchal renderings of the past limit our imagination, dictate to us what of the past is remembered and how. An *asegi* [Cherokee for queer/strange] approach to rereading these histories enables us to at least challenge the assumption that some kind of 'lack of evidence' of Two-Spirit presence in the archive somehow proves a binary gender system. An *asegi* critique counters such an argument by pointing out that there is an equal 'lack of evidence' that she was *not* someone we would call Two-Spirit.[273]

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[271] Virginia M. Bouvier, *Women and the Conquest of California, 1542-1840: Codes of Silence*, (Tuscan: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 41.
[272] Sabine Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures*, trans. John L. Vantine, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 313-314.
[273] Qwo-Li Driskill, *Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 98.

For both LaChapa and Nejo no concrete evidence of them having non-normative (according to mainstream US standards of the time) gender roles or sexual attraction, but there also is no evidence that they were not Two Spirit. Even those that did marry were sometimes queer.

FIGURE 14: Frances LaChapa, c. 1919
Note her stylish fashion choices, this is how she decided to present herself in this photograph, which was requested for her OIA employee file.
(Courtesy of the National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri)

As scholar Sabine Lang notes, "…the last 'old-time' women-men and men-women on many reservations were alive in the 1920s and 1930s, in a few cases up to the 1940s. Even by then, these had already dramatically declined due to colonial gendercide and homophobia."[274] For native Californians this violence started with the arrival of Spanish-speakers. Miranda provides the following background: "In the area eventually known as California, the genocidal policies of the Spanish Crown would lead to a severe population crash…Part of this massive were third-gender people, who were lost not by 'passive' colonizing collateral damage such as disease or starvation, but through active, conscious, violent extermination."[275] This emotional, physical, psychological, sexual, and spiritual violence continued under subsequent European-American colonization since "…settler colonialism has been and continues to be a gendered process."[276] These attempts to destroy native gender systems were devastating, but also incomplete.

If LaChapa and Nejo had interests in romantic relationships with women they may have also chosen to align themselves with those following the Anglo-American model of Boston Marriage, such as DuBois. This might also have served as a way of reconciling their own native, gender, and sexual identities with forced assimilation through interacting with those resisting limitations within the mainstream white society. LaChapa and Nejo certainly proved very close over the years. They even relocated from California together. The two of them spent considerable time together beyond school and work assignments. "Rosalia & Frances are here and they enjoy each other after the long separation. Frances is going to New York as a nurse and

[274] Lang, "Lesbians, Men-Women, and Two-Spirits," 105.
[275] Miranda, "Extermination of the *Joyas*," 256.
[276] Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism," 8.

probably Rosalie will go with her."[277] This proves very significant, that Nejo would relocate across the country to be with LaChapa. While the New York plan fell through, they did end up in Arizona together. "Rosalia came home in July, cared for her brother in his last days & went to Phoenix to become a trained nurse. Frances was there you know for some time."[278] While Nejo and LaChapa were certainly not the only native people from the area to go Phoenix, in letters to DuBois from multiple people the two are often described as a pair. "You will be glad to know that Santiago Meza has returned to Phoenix for two years. Rosalie Nejo and Frances LaChapa are there also."[279] LaChapa and Nejo's choice not to marry, and instead to remain single together, provides evidence of their close bond. Together Nejo and LaChapa navigated childhood, forced assimilation through education, and then adulthood attempting to establish a career in a racist, sexist, and homophobic U.S. society. They weathered changes in their native community as well, as Anglo-Americans and their values added onto the generation trauma from Spanish-speakers. As Driskill explains, "While homophobia, transphobia, and sexism are problems in Native communities, in many of our tribal realities these forms of oppression are the result of colonization and genocide that cannot accept women as leaders, or people with extra-ordinary genders and sexualities."[280] The long history of gendercide in California still casts a shadow today.

But change continues, due to the work of activists and academics. Scholars Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill illuminate that "Native peoples have long subverted

[277] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 9, 1908, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[278] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, Feb 2, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[279] Lucy R. Redmond to Constance Goddard DuBois, March 26, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[280] Qwo-Li Driskill, "Stolen from our Bodies: First Nations Two-Spirits/Queers and the Journey to a Sovereign Erotic," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 16, no. 2 (Summer 2004), 52.

heteropatriarchal gender norms, as evident in the frequency of decolonization movements led by those who are female-identified."[281] The legacy of women like LaChapa and Nejo allowed others to resist and make an impact going forward. Simply surviving a colonial system intended to destroy native people and their communities is an act of resistance. As Miranda explores in *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, if the only good Indian is a dead Indian, then the bad Indians were the ones who lived.[282] And native people and nations continue to exist today, despite all efforts to kill them, and murder their cultures. Miranda explores this in her article "Extermination of the *Joyas*: Gendercide in Spanish California":

> Looking forward now, it is clear to me that indigenous California third-gender people are reemerging from attempted gendercide…we are emerging as contemporary Two-Spirit people. This name, Two-Spirit, allows the reunion of spiritual and sexual roles into a whole and undivided gender role, a role still needed in human society. Claiming our roles as the caretakers of culture and spirituality, …as well as our sexual selves, …we focus our attentions on the nurturance of our communities.[283]

Marriage to a male provided no guarantee of economic security. Watkins, for instance, raised funds from benefactors to support natives, and incidentally, even to provide luxuries for herself. She clearly had a complicated, perhaps at times exploitative, relationship with native women, such as Nejo. But their interactions were not atypical among native advocates and the people they worked to uplift. Watkins expressed pride in the enthusiasm she saw in other native advocates, white and non-white. "Miss Robinson and Rosalia were here most of last week…How perfectly fitted they are to their work and to each other! They told me of their doings, of the sewing & constant teaching, of feeding & warming, petting & scolding their

[281] Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism," 18.
[282] Miranda, *Bad Indians*, 96-99.
[283] Miranda, "Extermination of the *Joyas*," 274-275.

brown babes."[284] For Watkins, any reforming woman could be "mother" to "brown babies," even if she came from Indian roots.

Yet, uplift had its limits, as even educated native women did not usually obtain leadership positions. Neither LaChapa nor Nejo became the head field matron, and neither seemed to garner teaching positions, despite their interest. Natives were often deemed more suitable by most whites for "helper" roles.[285] As Pascoe explains, home mission women referred to the "civilized" Chinese women working for them as "native helpers." We also see this reflected in OIA and Indian reform hiring patterns. This attitude comes out in a letter sent to DuBois by Sybil Carter, Superintendent for the Church Missions House.[286] "I do not feel it be wise for an Indian girl to go alone, but if a teacher goes it would be good for her to have an Indian girl from Mesa Grande who knows lace go as interpreter and helper."[287] Based on Carter's reply here it seems that DuBois had suggested a specific native woman, probably LaChapa, to be lace teacher for their organization, but Carter proved skeptical. Conversely, Watkins, while placing herself in a protective, motherly role over LaChapa, Nejo, and all "her" Indians, did support their aspirations for more equal roles. "Frances LaChapa [sic] is anxious to go there [Manzanita] to teach. Write to Mrs. Fant, Newark, Ohio. She wants to go, maintaining herself, but must have a companion—Frances I hope. Write to Sybil Carter also."[288] Given the dominant attitudes of the time, DuBois and Watkins demonstrated uncharacteristic confidence in their mentees. Clearly, deep bonds formed between these women, albeit within a structurally unequal relationship.

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[284] Mary C.B. Watkins to DuBois, February 7, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[285] Sybil Carter to DuBois, May 3, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Mary C.B. Watkins to DuBois, Apr 7, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

In response to this kind of labor exploitation, as well as reservation poverty, advocates like DuBois and Watkins focused on training that would allow native women to earn an independent livelihood, not just as domestic labor. They did not eschew domestic arts but wanted them to acquire practical skills.[289] As Bannan explores, "Opponents of boarding schools noted that they split up Indian families and created severe adjustment problems for graduates returning home. They advocated reservation day schools, stressing the impact such institutions could have in creating both a more 'civilized' environment for the entire Indian community, and jobs for educated Indians."[290]

The close friendship that developed between Watkins and DuBois (the two eventually used the Spanish nicknames of Maria and Constancia for one another)[291] made a profound impact on the DuBois's Indian advocacy work. They both focused on artisan work, such as lace making and basket weaving. Watkins urged DuBois in 1900 to consider what they could do to help native people:

> I have thought much of the way in which the Indians are to be helped. Helped they must be even if all those cranks in the East assent to the contrary. But the help must come in a way that fill foster self respect and ideas of self help instead of encouraging laziness and engendering covetousness. Buying baskets is a good way to help them. I send a doily [made by Nejo] as a sample of some work[292]

The concern with helping, but not creating dependency, appeared common among reformers on all sides of the schooling debates. DuBois took Watkins' suggestions and together they helped the Indian women sell their wares to a broader market. Watkins had bought and sold native women's baskets for several years. The native women made money if they could sell a basket

[289] Correspondence between Mary C.B. Watkins and Constance DuBois, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[290] Bannan, "The Idea of Civilization," 790.
[291] Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[292] Mary C.B. Watkins to DuBois, March 19, 1900, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

for at least a dollar (two weeks of work for even the simplest and smallest), and Watkins paid the freight to ship them.[293] DuBois' connections fetched a higher price on the East Coast. In the San Diego area the baskets were usually undervalued, with Watkins often complaining that even some OIA employees took advantage of native artisans.[294] DuBois and Watkins ended up supplying baskets for a specialized market of empathetic white women. Trump's piece "'The Idea of Help': White Women Reformers and the Commercialization of Native American Women's Arts" explores the differences between commercial and philanthropic sales of Indian arts, focusing on white women activists who purchased the work of native women artists. Stories accompanied baskets sold in these networks:

> 'Angela Lachapa [sic] … made this basket for La Constancia whom she loves very much.'…—Mary B. Watkins
> …whereas the majority of objects were sold to either the curio or the art market, Du Bois [sic] represented a third market: the philanthropist, the white woman who bought Indian arts from the conviction that doing so gave economic support to individual Indians…The Indian artist, although not famous, is named. The complex power relations involved in the exchange are revealed: A single Indian woman living in apparent poverty makes a basket for a white patron whom she may or may not have really loved, but whose economic beneficence made her important. Moreover, the value of this particular basket appears to have been increased by the stories of population decline, poverty, and violent oppression that accompanied it, stories that were erased from commercially available baskets.[295]

DuBois' basket networks connected middle and upper class woman on the east coast to the native women who made the baskets, albeit vicariously. But other women served as the brokers who purchased the baskets and collected the stories that would accompany them. For DuBois' basket sales these local working women included Watkins, who largely led the effort, other white women teachers and matrons in the San Diego area, and even native women like Nejo.

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[293] Mary C.B. Watkins to DuBois, March 19 and 23, 1900, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[294] Correspondence between Mary C.B. Watkins and Constance DuBois, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[295] Trump, "'The Idea of Help,'" 159-160.

Watkins actually started a local level basket trade before meeting DuBois. In 1900 she wrote to DuBois' sister, Mary DuBois, saying that she'd been selling baskets on behalf on the Indians for years.

> Your sister, Miss Constance, wrote to me last week and I answered explaining the conditions here. I have been buying baskets for nearly four years, and have found sale for them though not at as high a price as I wish. It takes weeks of work to prepare even a small basket for market, and even a large basket is little [sic] in comparison to the labor required. I can get the Santa Ysabela [sic] and Agua Caliente baskets. Also the small reserve immediately around us…The baskets sell for from .75c up to $5.00, as they are fine and smooth and large. You will soon learn to grade them.[296]

DuBois' sister [297] also became involved in the basket network DuBois and Watkins created. Other scholars have focused more on the sales side of the trade. Laylander, for instance, states the following:

> DuBois was responsible for establishing a market for the hand crafted goods, particularly baskets…[She] found east coast museums, themselves in the midst of a collective frenzy, a good market for Kumeyaay cultural materials. She gave public lectures, charging admission and selling baskets and other artifacts to the audience. She used this money to pay the Kumeyaay women for their baskets and to provide 'rations' of $3.00 per month for the aged, disabled, and indigent at Mesa Grande and Campo reservations.[298] (brackets in original).

The first sample Watkins sent DuBois was a doily made by Nejo. At this point DuBois and Nejo had yet to be introduced. This March 1900 letter included a short description about the maker of the doily, like the ones DuBois would tell later about the baskets she sold. "A dear young girl made it, and wants the money to help her father. Her name is Rosalia Nejo."[299] Nejo started out making items for sale, but she eventually became a buyer for DuBois. Watkins told DuBois in

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[296] Mary C.B. Watkins to Mary DuBois, March 23, 1900, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[297] Laylander, *Listening to the Raven,* 14.
[298] Ibid., 14-15.
[299] Mary C.B. Watkins to DuBois, March 19, 1900, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

1904 that Nejo could teach basketry and also purchase baskets.[300] In an undated letter, likely from spring 1906, Nejo wrote to DuBois that she was sending a basket, but worried about its quality.[301] She also mentioned teaching the Campo "girls" outline stitches, perhaps so they could create other marketable goods. Mamie Robinson and Lucy Redmond also sent DuBois baskets and other items when they worked as field matrons at Campo.[302] Constance DuBois's advocacy led to instruction in basket weaving and other practical arts in local native schools.[303] Native women proved strategic in their sales, preferring the higher prices DuBois fetched. While some whites attempted to exploit native artists, when possible native women negotiated for better prices or played buyers off each other. Robinson worried she paid too much for the baskets, as someone else bought them for half as much, but she liked that she had first choice.[304] Thus, the native women offered their better products to those willing to pay more.

The scant secondary literature on DuBois reveals little about her role as colonizer in her relationships with, and study of, native people.[305] By focusing on her publications, many scholars have missed the importance that personal relationships played in DuBois' scholarly research, as well as the impact of her activism and political work. Her interconnections reveal the larger impact DuBois had in her lifetime and beyond. Historian Margaret Jacobs, however, recognized the local and national connections in Constance DuBois's life. She argued that child removal was an intimate form of empire designed to further alienate native people from their

[300] Mary C.B. Watkins to DuBois, December 5, 1904, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[301] Rosalie Nejo to DuBois, Spring 1906? [date illegible], Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[302] Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[303] Mary C.B. Watkins to DuBois, May 8, 1901, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[304] Mamie Robinson to DuBois, March 1, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[305] Laylander, *Listening to the Raven,* 20.

lands and destroy their cultures. By focusing on children, the state modeled the role of father and patriarchal authority, while involving white women as surrogate mothers in intimate relations with colonial subjects. Thus white women created spaces through which to gain a measure of power and influence through serving the state. Noting how ethnography influenced DuBois's advocacy, Jacobs underscores how DuBois spoke out for native women's rights as mothers.[306] While Jacobs briefly mentions the importance of DuBois' ties to native communities in San Diego, my work enhances understandings of these local connections held together by women. Indeed, Frances LaChapa, Rosalia Nejo and Mary Watkins clearly prove pivotal for understanding DuBois' advocacy of day schools, demonstrating that the roots of national advocacy often began on the local level.

DuBois's work with the local native community in San Diego influenced her anti-boarding school stance, as she and Watkins focused on training that would allow native women to earn an independent livelihood, not just provide cheap, temporary domestic labor. Furthermore, their relationships with LaChapa and Nejo, especially watching their disappointments when passed over for teaching positions, must have significantly shaped these views. DuBois' ideas on Indian education, while unpopular in the nineteenth century, became more accepted in the twentieth, in no small part due to her extensive advocacy. Jacobs believes that "Through her close association with a group of Indian people…DuBois became vehemently opposed to child removal…[and while initially one of] the lone voices…[By] the 1920s…a full-fledged reform movement against assimilation and its attendant boarding schools for Indians blossomed."[307]

[306] Jacobs, "Maternal Colonialism," and Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*.
[307] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race* , 403-404.

Despite the limited options, native women not only made the best of the few choices available to them, but also ultimately influenced white advocates and at times the larger colonial systems that restricted them. After years of working in the few jobs available to them locally, both LaChapa and Nejo left the area to attend nursing school.[308] Rather than accept their limited circumstances, they set off to create new opportunities for themselves. Ultimately the personal relationships and local connections between these women resulted in individual, community and systematic changes much broader than their own regional networks.

Constance DuBois did eventually receive two mortuary ollas, against the wishes of Rosalie Nejo. In a letter, Watkins explained that the Indians feared and avoided funeral burning sites.[309] DuBois tried to sell the ollas to the Smithsonian, saying it would be for the benefit of the aged Indians who found them.[310] And Mary Watkins attempted to sell them to the University of California, Berkeley.[311] But any "benefit" from these sales came at a significant spiritual cost for the Kumeyaay involved. It is unclear what ultimately happened to the ollas.

Despite all DuBois learned from the Kumeyaay, she did not fully understand them. Her objection to child removal and boarding schools came out of her local work in the San Diego area, but she could not relinquish her "civilizing" mission. As reflected in this chapter's introductory quote, DuBois's appeal to the value of science over native religious traditions suggests that she believed that an educated native woman like Nejo should have learned to see

[308] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, August 3, 1908; August 9, 1908; and February 9, 1909, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[309] Mary C.B. Watkins to Constance Goddard DuBois, June 18, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[310] Constance Goddard DuBois to Mr. Hodge, May 22, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.
[311] Alfred Kroeber to Constance Goddard DuBois, May 16, 1907, Series III, Correspondence, Constance Goddard DuBois papers, #9167, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

the "objective" importance of the collection and study of funeral objects. The limits of such "friends" of the Indians become clear through studying these intimate bonds at the local level.

Rosalie Nejo's refusal to comply with her mentor's desires demonstrates the depth of her connection to her native community. Despite years of American style education, and working in positions which held her up as a "representative of her race," her connections to her people proved stronger. While Frances LaChapa, Rosalie Nejo, and other native people had an indirect influence on shaping regional and national policy through their local connections to people like Constance DuBois, this is ultimately a story of native agency. Like the Spanish-speaking women in Deena Gonzalez's work, Nejo proved a "selective shopper" in colonizer attempts to assimilate her, "refusing the favor" when she found it antithetical to her own values and goals. González demonstrates that colonized "women did more than just survive colonization. They refused its basic premise, which aimed at integrating them, at its lowest rungs, into a[n]…economy and society that was being transplanted from the midwestern [sic] and eastern United States."[312] LaChapa and Nejo used the OIA in an attempt to gain employment so they could work with their own people. When this proved a dead end, they sought further education and opportunities. Nejo choose to use her education to work as a translator, which allowed her to continue to be with her own tribe. She did this at least as late as 1917, when Alfred Kroeber from the Department Anthropology at Berkeley mentioned her translation work in his notes.[313] She, and many other native people, preserved their traditions, using their new education to do so. They used the system for their own purposes, appropriating written language to translate their culture and keep its memory alive, transmitted their traditions in new and old forms.

[312] González, *Refusing the Favor*, 7.
[313] Letters from Rosalia/Rosalie Nejo, Reel 186.

CONCLUSION

Native people in the greater San Diego region resisted multiple waves of colonization during the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods. The tactics of these governments and settlers focused on reforming the most intimate relationships in these communities, attacking gender roles and the power women held in the Cahuilla, Kumeyaay (Diegueño), Kuupangaxwichem (Cupeño), and Payómkawichum (Luiseño) nations. Resistance took many forms, as noted in the continuing presence of native women healers and spiritual leaders, girls questioning gendered education in Catholic boarding schools, women working for and subverting the goals of the OIA, and graduates of Catholic and government schools using their educations to support their own communities. Spanish-speaking and Anglo-American women generally supported acculturation goals, while at other times they served as allies to native women, albeit exercising unequal power over those they "helped."

When Georgie Robinson wrote in 1910 about how fulfilling she found her career in the service she captured the sentiment of many white women who worked for the OIA. Her description fit with the goals of those who promoted moral uplift, but Robinson revealed:

> "..it does take a long time before one gets into their lives and before they are sure you are really and truly their friend, with your heart and soul filled with the desire to help them—not along the material side of life only, but in their struggle to break away for the old superstitions and customs and take up the more enlightened ways such as we show and help them to."[1]

She seemed optimistic that they trusted her and considered her a friend. But what she, and many other white OIA officials did not anticipate was how many native people would use their

[1] Georgie Robinson, PF NPRC.

education to strengthen their native communities. Villiana Calac Hyde, whose words began chapter two, provides one such example. She and her sister, Mary Calac Grand, attended Sherman,[2] but when their mother fell ill during the 1918 influenza epidemic, they returned home.[3]

> "[Hyde:] Our brother met us in Temecula.
> [Grand:] We were so glad to come home.
> [Hyde:] And we never went back.
> …
> [Interviewer Eric Elliot:] Where did you work?
> [Grand:] It was in Escondido, wasn't it? At whose house first?
> . . .
> [Hyde:] She was crazy, loquita.
> [Grand:] I did everything in the house. I would sweep. Oh I would clean (using a Spanish verb). But that's not our language."[4]

Relieved to leave Sherman, the sisters found work in white homes and ranches in the area. Of note, both native and Spanish languages continued to be spoken in communities like Rincon, where the sisters grew up. Rather than using her boarding school education to try to meld into American society, Hyde used it to maintain native traditions, particularly the preservation of the Luiseño language. She was part of a cohort of such native resisters, as chronicled in books like *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School*, and *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000,* the latter of which is the book that accompanied the Heard Museum (Phoenix)'s exhibit on 4 federal boarding schools, including Sherman.[5]

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[2] Villiana Calac Hyde and Mary Calac Grand, "First Dialog Between Sisters," *Yumáyk yumáyk = Long ago*.
[3] Ibid., 686-687.
[4] Ibid., 686-688.
[5] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light;* and K. Tsianina

Continuing the pre-European tradition of historians in native societies, who memorized, recited, and maintained the oral traditions of their tribe,[6] Villiana Calac Hyde used her ability to write to preserve and even publish books on the Luiseño culture and language. Her book, *An Introduction to the Luiseño Language*, appeared in print in 1971. And in 1994, when she was in her nineties, she co-wrote *Yumáyk yumáyk = Long ago*, a collection of oral histories, poems, songs, and personal recollections from her own life, written in Luiseño and English. Hyde bridged the experiences of native women who worked for the Office of Indian Affairs and those who participated in Civil Rights organizing, including the American Indian Movement. Indeed, her first book came out at this time, when native people rose up in defense of their rights. Native people like Hyde subverted the OIA goals in order to fight for their own communities. Whether working for the service, or outside it, native resistance remains a constant, in the 1800s, 1900s, and to this day.

Lomawaima, *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences 1879-2000* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000).

[6] Miskwish, *Kumeyaay: A History Textbook.*

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