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UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

San Diego

Urban Indians in San Diego:

1850-1900

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in History

by

Susan Hunter Carrico

Committee in charge:

Professor Raymond S. Brandes, Chairman

Professor Iris W. Engstrand

Professor James R. Moriarty, III

1984

Author's Period of Grace Request

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Date _____ /s/ _____

The thesis of Susan Hunter Carrico is approved:

Committee Chairman

University of San Diego
Alcala Park, San Diego

1984

iii

to
Richard
Christina and Dora

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	vi
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
	INTRODUCTION.....	1
I.	PRE-AMERICAN BEGINNINGS.....	8
II.	THE RANCHERIA.....	24
III.	LEADERSHIP: NATIVE SPOKESMEN.....	44
IV.	EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMICS: INDIANS IN THE LABOR FORCE.....	55
V.	LEGISLATION.....	69
VI.	THE SOCIAL CONDITION: EDUCATION AND WELFARE.....	88
	CONCLUSION.....	109
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	112
	APPENDIX: DEATH OF EL CAPITAN.....	126

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE		PAGE
I.	Map: Plano del Puerto de S. Diego, 1782 showing Indian Rancherias	10
II.	Rancheria at the Mouth of Chollas (Choyas) Drainage, c. 1884	25
III.	Indian Rancheria, 1890's, Possibly Switzer or Chollas Canyon	30
IV.	Cabrillo Festival, 1892	32
V.	Old Indian Women at Cabrillo Festival 1892	35
VI.	Chief Jose Manuel Hatam, c. 1874	46
VII.	Rancheria near 22nd and Logan, c. 1879	61
VIII.	Chollas Rancheria, c. 1884	73
IX.	Chollas Rancheria, c. 1884	75
X.	Saint Anthony's Indian School, Aguirre Adobe, prior to 1891	96
XI.	Saint Anthony's Indian School, Mission San Diego de Alcala, 1891-1908	98
XII.	Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondolet with Indian Students, c. 1906	100

CREDITS

Plates I, VII, and IX
 Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley,
 California

Plates II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII
 Courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society
 Photographic Collection - Ticor Collection

Plates X, XI, and XII
 Courtesy of the Diocesan Office, San Diego,
 California

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INTRODUCTION

Generally, Indians as portrayed in films and novels of the late nineteenth century were either herded onto reservations or portrayed as fiercely independent and living beyond the influence of Anglo-dominated civilization. Certainly, a majority of the native population lived on reservations after 1880, but a sizeable and rarely discussed native group lived in or near urban centers. These people have gone largely undocumented because of their invisibility to contemporary anthropologists and historians. A study of these marginal urban dwellers offers an important view of acculturated native life that clarifies the broader spectrum, of native American culture in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This thesis resulted from an attempt to verify the existence of an Indian reservation in New Town, San Diego. Information obtained concerning Indians in the city showed that, although no Indian reservation existed in San Diego,¹ a sizeable population of Indians lived within and on the fringes of the city in small villages called rancherias.² These rancherias were pockets of a marginal culture.

Most information about native Americans has been obtained from Bureau of Indian Affairs records, letters and directives, and deals with those Indians living within the bounds of a reservation. Ethnographers, anthropologists and historians frequently visited the reservations seeking

the last great spectacle of Indian life-ways. At the turn of the century, ethnographers, such as Constance Goddard DuBois, Philip S. Sparkman, and T.T. Waterman, directed all of their research to the reservations.³ A good study of nineteenth century urban Indians in the southern California area has been written by George H. Phillips.⁴ He proposes that although Indians lost their own sense of ethnic unity they contributed to the economic growth of early Los Angeles.

Contemporary accounts occurred in newspapers, diaries, and legal documents written by non-Indian observers. It is difficult to produce an objective history that includes the Indian perspective of that time because few Indians had received an education and those that could read or write did not document themselves or their people.

Whatever reasons motivated Indian populations to habitate on the fringes of, or within, urban centers, they did not preclude the acceptance by them of Anglo patterns of behavior. The influences were present and, it seems, the native American selectively chose which attributes were worth emulating and which were not.

Similarly, there appears to have been an inverse relationship between the toleration level exhibited by intruding groups and the size of the displaced group. The fewer the number of foreigners to the area, the greater their acceptance by local inhabitants. The newcomer's desire for amicable relationships became less offensive

and, oftentimes, an economic dependence upon them occurred as a result of the native group having more knowledge of the available resources necessary for survival.

Prior to white occupation, there was no such Indian concept as wilderness---uninhabited.⁵ All of the land was used to some degree. Archaeologists realized this when they discovered isolated artifacts scattered over the countryside. Some locations, of course, reflect less use than others. Areas were visited for foraging, as single time occupational camps, as places for hunting game, and as transportation routes.

As the Indian population diminished after 1846, they became a minority in their own land. With this minority status they were expected to conform to the lifestyle of the majority.

To the European mind, aggregation of wealth was exemplified in the amount of land that lay under one's jurisdiction. The act of physically fencing hundreds of square miles was an old world trait, unfamiliar to the Indian. Property and ownership were implicitly understood and enforcement was "more by common consent than by any specialized institution for the purpose."⁶

In some ways, the Indian group in San Diego was not different than other ethnic groups that immigrated to San Diego: the Portuguese fishermen, the Chinese railroad workers, and the Italians.⁷ All sought the security of their own language, food, religion and traditions that were

familiar to them---a form of imposed isolation.

Some major differences were apparent, though. The circumstance of a native people increasingly dominated by a foreign power was, and still is, unique to the colonial experience. The Chinese had left Asia to work as labor on the railroads and in the mines, with the goal of accumulating wealth and eventually returning to their homeland. In many cases, the immigrant chose the new life offered in America because back in Europe or Asia they were persecuted for religious or ethnic reasons.

Native Americans instead watched as towns sprang up on top of their villages, and the barely visible trails leading along coast and valleys became well-travelled and rutted roads for wagons and stagelines. More often than not, Indians moved farther east and south of San Diego, occupying summer and fall villages for longer periods of time and abandoning the coastal villages.⁸

Urbanization involved not just the act of moving to the city. It entailed the social and cultural changes caused by the assimilation of the prescribed characteristics valued by "city-folk." What was produced by this movement were not subcultures---a subculture being a group that developed uniquely.⁹ The prototype of the urban Indian in San Diego, therefore became a common sight in many California communities during the second half of the nineteenth century.

This paper is a retrospective look at those

venturesome Indians who moved to San Diego during the late nineteenth century and can no longer be asked why they left the reservation, family and home to seek their fortune in a "foreign" environment. It does not intend to look at the twentieth century movement of Indians to the city of San Diego, a topic of discussion covered extensively by contemporary sociologists.

Urban Indian adaptation to the intrusive Anglos resulted in economic, social and cultural change. The disorganization created by the intrusion of a technically advanced group had a catastrophic effect.¹⁰ These changes were the outcome of contact beginning with the Spaniards, then Mexicans, and finally Americans. The following thesis will discuss the role of the urban Indian in San Diego from 1850 to 1900.

INTRODUCTION

NOTES

¹The "reserved" property was land set aside for the military and located in the vicinity of New Town.

²The term rancheria was first used by the Spanish to refer to a community of Indians often situated in the vicinity of a ranch or town. Size varied from a few brush or adobe structures to many, sometimes covering acres. Rancheria as defined here is the contemporary use of the word, as a camp of Indians on the outskirts of a town or ranch.

³Constance Goddard DuBois did work primarily among the Diegueño and Luiseño; Philip S. Sparkman collected information about the Luiseño; and T.T. Waterman published several papers on the Diegueño.

⁴George H. Phillips, "Indians in Los Angeles, 1781-1875: Economic Integration, Social Disintegration." Pacific Historical Review XLIX (1980), pp. 427-451.

⁵Every culture has its perception of "wilderness". It is usually that which is outside of its own civilization and does not necessarily mean uninhabited. "For most of their history, Americans regarded wilderness as a moral and physical wasteland fit only for conquest and fructification in the name of progress, civilization, and Christianity." Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, (New Haven: Yale University Press), p.xv.

⁶A.L. Kroeber, in "The Nature of Land-holding Groups in Aboriginal California," (Aboriginal California: Three Studies in Culture History, Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1966), p.90.

⁷Andrew R. Griego documents an immigrant to San Diego in the second half of the 1900's, in "Mayor of Chinatown: The Life of Ah Quin." [Masters Thesis, San Diego State University, 1979]. In his introduction he states, "Chinese immigrants who journeyed to the United States in the nineteenth century have frequently been described as sojourners, or 'birds of passage', because they viewed the 'Golden Mountain', as California was known, as but temporary refuge." (p.1). In The Portuguese in California [San Francisco: Filmer Bros. Press, 1965], A.M. Vaz states

that "Many a Portuguese earned his way to the east coast of the United States, to Hawaii, or to California, by shipping out as a deck hand aboard these early whaling ships....from 1833 to 1863...."(p.43).

⁸ Since much of the Spanish, Mexican and Anglo occupation was concentrated along the coast of California, the Indian was literally pushed out of his seasonally occupied residences. These sites appeared to be "abandoned" off-season and, therefore Anglo settlers would move into the area, (Kroeber, "Nature of Land-holding Groups..," p.110).

⁹ A subculture as defined by Milton Gordon in Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) is [those] "patterns consisting of the national cultural patterns blended with or refracted through the particular cultural heritage of the ethnic group; this blend or amalgam," is a subculture (p. 38).

¹⁰ "Social and cultural disorganization of greater or lesser degree usually overtakes people subjugated by others. When sharp contrasts divide the economies of indigenous peoples from technologically advanced conquerors, conquest usually shatters the formers' social and economic order, reducing them to pauperism." This interpretation is Peter Peretti, "Acculturation and Indian-White Relations," Indian Historian 6(1): p. 39, who credits Fred Voget, "The Indian in Transition: Reformation and Status Innovations," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (1957), p. 369.

CHAPTER I

PRE-AMERICAN BEGINNINGS

Beginning in 1769 with a small band of Spanish explorers to California, the processes of acculturation began to take hold.¹ These first settlers were initially received well by the established residents, and many natives came under the influence of the padres.²

After a half century of Spanish and two decades of Mexican domination, transition to American rule was not smooth. In many ways the early guardians proved a hindrance. The fatherly, patron-like attitude of the padres, although harsh at times, included the native population in all facets of daily life.³ Criteria for involvement was conversion to Catholicism. The Indians learned numerous trades in the process and, as a result of the contact, adopted the Spanish language.

After the secularization of the Missions in 1835-1836, Indian labor remained in demand on the Mexican ranchos. The Spanish-speaking Indian could find employment as a ranch-hand or vaquero. The country-like atmosphere of widely spaced ranchos surrounding the small settlement at Old Town, San Diego was, more often than not, unthreatening and allowed for a fair amount of compatible co-existence.

Native Americans had their own villages that were the equivalent of urban centers prior to European contact. On the journey toward San Diego in 1769, Lt. Pedro Fages,⁴ the

military commander who accompanied Father Junipero Serra, reported passing native villages at the mouth of the Tijuana, Sweetwater, and Choyas Rivers. Before there were Euro-American settlements at the Royal Presidio, Mission San Diego de Alcalá, Old Town or New Town, Native Americans lived in Mission Valley within sight of the Presidio, and just south of what became New Town at Indian Point. The prehistory of San Diego County is comprised of 12,000 years of nearly continuous occupation. Indians that observed the arrival of Europeans on the California coast could claim direct ancestors inhabiting the area for at least 800 years.⁵

At the time of contact, most Europeans believed that the Indians inhabiting the southern California coast were a miserable lot barely able to survive.⁶ More recently, as a result of research by ethnographers and archaeologists, the information gleaned has shown that the mild climate and sufficient vegetation provided a healthy and varied diet.⁷

The economy of the Indian was based on gathering wild plants, hunting and fishing. Since it did not include the stationary lifestyle of a farmer or breeder of animals, their "dependence upon the natural habitat was even more direct and intensive...and in general they required a larger per capita area from which to make their living than is possible under systematic agriculture."⁸

Prior to the advent of Europeans, Indians lived in various size groups along the coast and inland. Generally,

- I. Map: Plano del Puerto de S. Diego, 1782
showing Indian Rancherias

PLANO
del Puerto

DE S. DIEGO

EN LA COSTA SETENT. DE CALIFORNIA

Levantado por el 2.º Piloto de la
Armada D. Juan Pantoja
Año de 1782.

Mision de S. Diego

Nota
La linea interrumpida es la q' en el original
esta marcada con la tinta enar nada

Escala de millas españolas

population size depended on the "mode of subsistence" or method of obtaining sustenance. In the case where Native Americans grew their own food or "where food supply was concentrated, as at favorable points on some of the large rivers, settlements and tribelets would run larger."⁹ The European intrusion affected native inhabitants as reflected by adjustments that resulted in population movements and variations of life style.

Travelling across ecozones that offered varied and seasonally available resources, each group, or tribelet, collectively controlled the territory needed to sustain them.¹⁰ A regular routine was followed and all members participated without individual claim to the land.

Major settlements were usually located near year-round fresh water sources. From this base, the group could circuitously collect seeds, berries and acorns when in season, and travel to outlying areas abundant game and shellfish could be collected, quality stone for knapping occurred, and clay sources could be exploited. Usually all members participated in these seasonal trips, except the very old and very young, since all held the responsibility for contributing to the well-being of the group.

The individual's sense of community and his place within it was strong and well-defined. What had worked for thousands of years could not be undone easily in one century. "The Indians knew nothing of formal titles or records just as they knew nothing of any written lore.

Their understanding was the common knowledge of a group, validated only by common assent...Custom ruled everything."¹¹ This described the state of life in San Diego when the Spanish missionaries arrived.

During the 1690's the mission chain in Baja California began under the Jesuit direction of Father Juan Maria Salvatierra.¹² His method for winning converts started with showing generosity to, and providing food gifts for, the elderly and young children. Herein he could gain the confidence of the native population through benevolence. Once the rapport was established, the population was instructed in catechism and the church site selected. Neophytes (new converts) would set up residency in the area. Usually an articulate man supported by the tribe would be identified as the "spokesman." This person would be assigned the title of captain by the priest, and would help make decisions involving the settlement. A maestro de la doctrina was selected from those newly baptized to tutor the neophytes in church ritual. The appointment of el capitan de Iglesia, as a type of enforcer, ensured regular attendance at Mass.¹³

It was the padre's intent to protect California from the Russian threat in the name of God and the Spanish king. Ultimately, the plan envisioned that the missionaries could move on to other frontiers in need of conversion, the lands would be divided among the Indians, and parish priests would administer religious needs.¹⁴

The first church at the presidio of San Diego and, eventually, the nine missions established in upper California were the responsibility of Father President Junipero Serra,¹⁵ a Franciscan priest and ecclesiastical leader for missionizing efforts, who had travelled overland to San Diego from lower California arriving in 1769. His guides were Indian converts from the peninsula. They were employed to identify the most direct route along the California coast and to locate sources of food and water. When the Padres and their military escort arrived in San Diego, the first site selected for settlement was on a hill overlooking the confluence of False Bay and the San Diego River.

Early encounters with the Indians appeared basically friendly and uneventful. Lt. Fages contrasted the women's modest reluctance to be seen with the open, friendly, almost boisterous manner of the men. This characterized the type of settlement found where Padre Serra performed his missionary tasks. The village of Cosoy was situated near the hill chosen for the presidio.¹⁶

Initially, religious contacts made between the priests and Indians were conducted within a small tule (reed) structure erected at the presidio, which served as a church. After a short time, however, growing hostilities between soldiers and natives became apparent. Soldiers committed atrocities on Indian women, and the general military rowdiness, oftentimes under the influence of

alcohol, proved offensive and detrimental to the Christianizing intent.¹⁷ Moving the location of mission activities out of the presidio was deemed necessary and a site seven miles east along the San Diego River was selected at the Indian rancheria of Nipaguay.

In the years that followed, a definite social pattern evolved which took two factors into consideration. The first was the proximity of villages to the mission. Those in the immediate vicinity were absorbed into the community with a high rate of success. Second, based on kinship patterns, relatives of missionized Indians converted more easily to Catholicism. This was evident when the mission was sacked in 1775.¹⁸ Those Indians, from 18 villages, who participated in the destruction, although some had been on the rolls of baptized neophytes, were unrelated to the families living at the Mission.¹⁹ After the attack, the mission was temporarily reinstated within the presidio compound until the next year, when the church was again moved to the site of Nipaguay.

From 1776 to the end of the Mexican War for Independence in 1822, the Padres strove to make the Mission self-sufficient. All building materials came from local sources. Carpentry and blacksmithing tasks were performed by artisans who lived within the mission walls. Food was grown to feed the community and, for the duration of the mission period, the church held title to much of the best grazing and farming land.²⁰

The padres relied heavily on Indian labor since a single priest could not possibly perform the tasks required to physically and spiritually maintain a community. As a result, the Indians gradually learned to be "masons, carpenters, plasterers, soap-makers, tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, cooks, brickmakers, carters and cart makers, weavers and spinners, saddlers, shepherds, agriculturists, horticulturists, viñeros, [and] vaqueros..."²¹

Fifty years after the establishment of the first mission in Alta California, unrest in Mexico climaxed with the Mexican Revolution of 1821-23. Breaking from Spain was a political severance. The dissolution brought some financial repercussions, testing existing trade alliances and shifting loyalties of countries previously under agreement with both Spain and Mexico. Property under the jurisdiction of the church in the San Diego area was allocated to Mexican supporters of the revolution in the form of large land grants made to the families of Estudillo, Pico, Ruiz, Osuna and Alvarado.²²

The secularization of the missions prompted the dispersement of Indians, although in theory the land was intended to be returned to them. Native Americans either removed themselves to Baja California, migrated to the interior of San Diego County, stayed on the fringes of the old mission property to work as laborers for the new grant holders, or set up residence closer to the newly forming

urban center at Old Town, San Diego.

Those Indians just out of reach of missionization, who noticed the impending movement from church owned to state owned lands, either joined the ranks of neophytes or sought "refuge in foreign native communities...[placing] new and unaccustomed pressure on tribes beyond."²³ Generally, Indians migrated to the interior of this county or south into lower California.²⁴ The population had been reduced considerably either through migration or by disease.²⁵

Indian labor remained in demand because they possessed the needed skills and worked for low wages. In any case, the cultural traits that they took with them were a combination of newly acquired language and skills along with centuries of traditional native knowledge.²⁶ Unfortunately the upheaval caused by the removal of the missionaries could be seen in the lack of stability evidenced by selling Indian children into indenture, a definite indication of a society's declining morale.²⁷ The Californios continued to skew the natural balance by allowing large range areas to be overgrazed. This practice destroyed the food sources procured by Indians.

During the short "reign" of the Californios, the mission buildings fell into decay and, even when temporarily occupied by Mexican soldiers, gradually deteriorated. While most natives moved away, some lived in the abandoned ruins or erected shelters on the fringes of the edifice. In the 1852 report on the condition of

Indians, Benjamin Wilson, the local Indian Agent, states that "if there be 'savages' among these southern Indians, a Mission is now the place to seek them, where riot and debauchery reign supreme."²⁸

Beginning with the American period a number of immigrants came to San Diego because they foresaw the potential for prosperity. Miners came for gold, settlers to homestead, and Indians to gain employment by implementing the skills they had learned from the padres while at the missions. With the immigrants came change. The town of San Diego expanded but not without repercussions. The speed at which the population grew induced "culture shock."

The influx of settlers to California increased by leaps and bounds with the discovery of gold in 1848, and subsequent statehood in 1850. Many of the immigrants to San Diego in the early frontier period were aggressive, adventurous, semi-rebellious fortune seekers. Back in their native Ireland, France or even in Pennsylvania or Maryland, the general population tended to be more stable and predictable. Common folk of rural areas in Europe and the eastern United States identified many of these fortune-seekers as "misfits" or rowdy ne'er-do-wells in their own settled communities. The miners proved to be major offenders to Native Americans and Californios, who by now considered themselves natives. The life style of the miner reflected self seeking goals and a transient nature.

Those immigrants who intended to remain and create a future were a strong force butting against the much settled, more mellow natives already living at San Diego. Similarly, the type of Indian who could fall into step with this mentality could claim to be a sturdy adventurer himself. His sense of identity had to be strong enough for him to leave the nest to pursue his fortune, and sometimes took the challenge to join the city-dwellers.

Progressively and simultaneously, the native was acculturated, converted, dominated, educated, employed and ignored by the influx of Spanish and Mexican settlers. Within four or five decades, those whose ancestors had lived in San Diego for hundreds, probably thousands, of years were relegated to the status of squatters and indigents.

CHAPTER I
NOTES

¹ It is not the intent here to ignore the 1542 presence of Cabrillo at San Diego, but since the duration of his stay and extent of his influence was minimal, the first important contact to be considered is that of Fr. Junipero Serra.

² Padres were the priests or "fathers" who brought Christian religion to the California coast. Two publications pursuing the topic of priests in Mexico and California are Peter Maston Dunne's, Black Robes in Lower California (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1952), and Francis J. Weber's Pioneer Catholicism in the Californias (Los Angeles: California Historical Publications, 1961).

³ Priests varied in their degree of kindness and punishment. Fr. Jose Pedro Panto, who served at Mission San Diego de Alcalá from 1810 to 1812, was a harsh disciplinarian. When his Indian cook admitted to an attempted poisoning, Jose Maria Pico came to his defense at the hearing claiming the act had been justifiable due to Panto's cruelties. The account is cited in Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of California, (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co.). Vol. II, p. 345. In the early years not as many instances of cruelty are reported although Lt. Zúñiga thought the natives were overworked and too severely punished; also according to Bancroft, Vol. I, p. 400-401.

⁴ Pedro Fages was a Spanish Lieutenant who accompanied the first expedition by sea to California as Commander of the Forces. Fages' A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California, (trans. and ed. by Herbert I. Priestley, Ramona: Ballena press, 1972) documented the trip from Baja California to Alta California thoroughly.

⁵ Palou reported in his Informe, December 10, 1773, that the Presidio at San Diego had two bronze cannons; one faced the port and the other faced toward the Indian rancheria, located no doubt within visual distance at the bottom of the hill in Mission Valley. Palou's Informe is cited in Fr. Zephyrin Englehardt's Mission San Diego, (San Francisco: James H. Berry Co., 1920) p. 50. Recent archaeological investigations at coastal sites inhabited prehistorically have been dated by Carbon-14 processes.

⁶ This train of thought was perpetuated by Sherburne Cook in his "The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization," Ibero-Americana: 23 (1943). R.F. Heizer has collected examples of thoughts characterizing the Indian in They Were Only Diggers (Ballena Press Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology and History, No. 1, 1974). According to Pedro Fages in his A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California written to the viceroy in 1775, Indians located along the coast from San Diego to San Francisco "are of a light brown color with homely features and ungainly figures; they are dirty, very slovenly, and withal evil-looking, suspicious, treacherous, and have scant friendship for the Spanish."

⁷ Creighton Gabel in Analysis of Prehistoric Economic Patterns (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 30, writes, "Many writers have tended to be very critical of the productivity and efficiency of swidden cultivation...but every such system should be evaluated in terms of many technological, environmental, and even socioeconomic variables." There is growing evidence that the hunting and gathering groups may have had advantages since agriculturally dependent people are at the mercy of natural forces, i.e. fire, flood, drought. More than one season of inclement weather could be devastating to the community. A mobile society that hunts and gathers has several ecozones from which to acquire food resources. Fish, game and plant food were plentiful prior to Anglo occupation of San Diego County. Remembrances of Tom Lucas (The Kwaaymii, Reflections of a Lost Culture, El Centro: Imperial Valley College Museum Society 1979, by Lora Cline) and Delfina Cuero (Autobiography, Los Angeles: Dawson Books, 1968, edited by Florence Shipek) cite a time when life was occasionally disrupted by natural events but, on the whole, fulfilling and predictable.

⁸ Kroeber, in "Nature of Land-holding Groups...", p. 115, discusses how "California Indians lived on what nature provided. They did not cultivate plants. They did not tame and breed animals, with the sole exception of the dog." They fished, gathered wild plants, and hunted wild animals.

⁹ From Kroeber's "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", p. 96.

¹⁰ "Tribelet", is the "basic social and political unit of most California Indians," (p. 94). Kroeber in "The Nature of Land-holding Groups..." states: "First, it is the largest group which was autonomous, self-governing and

independent. Second, it is the largest group over which any one person, leader or Chief had recognized authority or near-authority. An able chief might be known and respected and listened to among neighboring tribelets, but his actual following was limited to his own tribe, and strictly so. And in the third place, it was the tribelet that was the largest unit to own territory, and in much of California the only such unit. To the tribelet belonged the land which its members traveled over, lived on, gathered food in, and which they claimed and occupied," (p. 95).

¹¹Kroeber in "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", p. 89.

¹²Marguerite Wilbur in her introduction to The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734-1737, (Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1931) by Fr. Sigismundo Taraval, writes that Fr. Juan Salvatierra was considered to be "the founder of the Mission system," (p. 7). Fr. Taraval, in "Spain in the West," Vol. 5, calls him the "Apostolic conqueror of the Californias." In most references he is especially remembered for winning over his converts with kindness.

¹³From Wilbur in her Introduction to The Indian Uprising in Lower California by Taraval, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴Herbert Eugene Bolton edited Fray Francisco Palou's Historical Memoirs of New California (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966). Introduction, pp. 3-12, he discusses the background of the expedition.

¹⁵Fr. Junipero Serra was a Franciscan priest from Spain, and founder of the nine Missions in Upper California. He supervised the building of the Mission San Diego de Alcalá. Several good sources concerning the life and work of Father Serra are: Maynard Geiger's The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M., or the Man Who Never Turned Back, 1713-1784, A Biography, 2 volumes (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959); Francisco Palou's The Founding of the First California Missions Under the Spiritual Guidance of the Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra (San Francisco: Nueva California Press, 1934); and Antonine Tibesar's (editor) Writings of Junipero Serra (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955).

¹⁶Palou's Historical Memoirs of New California, pp. 94-101.

¹⁷ Lt. Fages who was frequently at odds with Fr. Serra was in favor of moving the site of the church out of the Presidio. He felt it was threatening from a military position to have the Indians so close to the fortress, and especially attending mass inside. The site was moved from the Indian village of Cosoy to near the Indian village of Nipaguay. (Bancroft, History of California, Vol. I, pp. 229-230). The letters of Fr. Serra requesting removal of church activities to a separate site are documented in Tibesar's Writings of Junipero Serra. The village of Nipaguay is also mentioned in Englehardt's San Diego Mission, p. 56.

¹⁸ The villages involved in the sacking of the mission are listed in Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I, p. 253, footnote 28. He cites Ortega in the Informe manuscript as the source.

¹⁹ Information from a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of California Archaeology in San Diego, April, 1983.

²⁰ "Pasturage is everywhere excellent, and the little live-stock distributed among the missions has flourished from the beginning. Each mission has recieved 18 head of horned cattle and has now from 38 to 47 heads or 204 in the aggregate, with 63 horses, 79 mules, 102 swine, and 161 sheep and goats at San Diego and San Gabriel alone." (Bancroft, History of California, Vol. I, p. 205-206).

²¹ Benjamin Wilson, Indians in Southern California in 1852, (San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 1952) p. 22.

²² For additional information see Richard Pourade's, Historic Ranchos of San Diego, (San Diego: Copley Press, 1969); R.W. Brackett's, The History of San Diego County Ranchos, (San Diego: Union Title and Trust, 1951); and Leonard Pitt's, The Decline of the Californios, (San Diego: Copley Press, 1966).

²³ Kroeber, in "Nature of Land-holding Groups...", p. 110, also suggests that "Indians in the vicinity of a newly founded mission would have difficulty escaping its domination," and those who did not leave the area became neophytes either voluntarily or through pressure.

²⁴ For a history of prehistoric and Mission Indians prior to

1850 see A.L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California (New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1976); and Zephyrin Englehardt, The Mission and Missionaries of California, (San Francisco, The James H. Berry Co., 1920).

²⁵ In replying to the Spanish government's "Interrogatorio" on the Indians located at San Diego in 1814, Fr. Fernando Martin and Fr. Jose Sanchez reported: "However the most widespread malady is the morbo venereo. For the last four years, in this part of the territory, deaths have exceeded Baptisms. In the last year of 1814, the deaths were 118 while the Baptisms were only 75." (Englehardt, San Diego Mission, p. 181). The disease was transmitted by soldiers stationed at the presidio.

²⁶ The secularized mission lands were "in theory turned over to the resident Indians. Actually they were expropriated by large landholders, the Indians either remaining as peons or removing themselves to their traditional lands or to new lands in the interior. These removals did not constitute a reversion to indigenous culture, however, and the new communities developed an entirely new culture, which was a combination of Indian and European traits and languages". James Downs, "California," in North American Indians in Historical Perspective (ed. by Leacock and Lurie, New York: Random House, 1971, p. 305).

²⁷ In Charles Hughes' Master's Thesis (San Diego State University, 1974) on "The Decline of the Californios," he discusses the lifestyle of the Don, his relationship to the land, dependence on the Indians, and ultimate demise with the advent of the Americanos. Also see Leonard Pitt's, The Decline of the Californios, ...which covers the social history of the Spanish speaking Californians during 1846-1890.

²⁸ Benjamin Wilson, Indians in Southern California in 1852, p. 25. "It is no exaggeration to repeat that the Indians lurking about the missions, with occasional exception, are the worst in the country, morally speaking; and the sooner they are removed, the better for all."

CHAPTER II

THE RANCHERIA

No reservation was ever established closer to the city of San Diego than those granted in 1875, that of Sequan¹ located 21 miles to the east, and San Pasqual,² located 30 miles to the north. Indians were not recognized as citizens of the United States, but were an autonomous group that could not own or purchase land. As a result, they had the status of squatters on the various settlements bordering the pueblo of San Diego.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Indian settlements or rancherias were located in the Middletown and New Town areas of San Diego. Whether temporary or permanent in nature, all camps were abandoned by the turn of the century.

The actual locations of the camps or rancherias are difficult to identify since many of the references to them are vague, such as "eastern part of town," but several can be documented. In 1884, the rancheria in the eastern part of town is cited frequently in the Union.³ A "rancheria near the railroad grounds in the eastern part of town" is identified in the September 27, 1882, edition of the Union, and "the eastern part of town beyond the flour mill" is the site of disturbances reported in the Union dated December 14, 1883. "In each settlement the houses were often fairly well clustered, not actually adjacent, but within

II. Rancheria at the Mouth of Chollas (Choyas)
 Drainage, c. 1884

428 Indian Rancheria near San Diego

Photo, San Francisco

conversational distance of each."⁴

Whether or not this is a single rancheria or a lengthy extension of semi-permanent shelters makes little difference. These references are evidence that the native population lived on the fringes of the city and had no identifiable name such as those villages or rancherias located on or near reservations. It appears that any cluster of dwellings within visual distance of Old or New Town did not have any Anglo-acknowledged name. The closest villages still in existence after 1850 were Rincoñada to the north and Las Choyas to the south.⁵

In 1852 the population of San Diego County was 2,900, of which approximately 2,200 were Indians.⁶ Population at the various camps within and near the city of San Diego fluctuated. The 1860 census identifies the names, approximate age, and some occupations of Indians living at the rancheria located near San Diego. The village housed 59 persons ranging in age from birth to sixty and was comprised of 32 males and 27 females, with no chief listed.⁷

This particular rancheria, identified as the "San Diego Indian Village," was more likely located in the El Cajon Valley to the east of San Diego than in San Diego. Providing the census taker was somewhat methodical, he had visited Julian Ames, George Ryerson and Jose Maria Aguirre, who lived in the Los Coches area east of El Cajon, just prior to this settlement. The households of two farmers,

John Brown and Eugenio Morello, followed in the listing.⁸ Other Indians who are identified as located close to Old Town, and living in independent households, not associated with Mexican or Anglos, were near the abandoned or vacant buildings of the mission.⁹ According to the 1860 census, most of the Indians living apart from Mexican or Anglo families identified their birthplace as California, not Baja California. By 1880, the county claimed 8600 persons in residence, of which Indians are not separately identified.¹⁰

Several reasons can be given for the presence of these rancherias, as well as why they were permitted to exist, even though they had no legal recognition. First, the Indians, with their non-citizen status, became "wards" of, and, therefore protected by, the Federal government.¹¹ Since few directives were issued explaining how the wardship should be accomplished on the local level, the City Fathers either chose to ignore the problem or tabled all resolutions dealing with these "nuisances."¹²

The word "nuisance" likely expresses the frustration of whites with no directives, but full responsibility, for dealing with an unregulated segment of the population. First, how could the local Indian be managed, controlled, helped or removed with the existing law? Second, since much of the property in Middletown and New Town, then part of the Pueblo Lands, had been purchased from the City after 1850 as real estate investments, development came slowly,

and many of the lots remained vacant, and, therefore inviting to temporary shelter. Finally, the Indians living at the rancherias bordering San Diego provided a major source of labor for the many businesses in the thriving town.

Until the end of the 1860's, San Diego remained fairly isolated and rural. When it was proposed that a trans-continental railroad would make its terminus at San Diego, new life surged into the town. Advertising schemes promoted the health and resort qualities of climate and location.¹³

One of the promoters was Alonzo Horton.¹⁴ In 1871, Mr. Horton started moving houses within his addition closer to the Horton House. Several buildings had been tenantless for years and served as "flop" houses for derelicts and transients. By the end of the year fifty-one new buildings stood in Old Town San Diego. When the railroad did not materialize, employment slowed, tax revenues decreased and the school was closed temporarily.¹⁵

Meanwhile, Indians lived close to the areas where they worked and to the businesses that encouraged their patronage, a pattern similar to that of Los Angeles and probably other California cities.¹⁶ For example, the rancheria at 24th and Imperial housed many railroad workers, and the area around 5th and "J," comprised mostly of bars and chop houses, was a popular place for social gatherings and brawls.¹⁷ The shopkeepers there were not

adverse to selling liquor to anyone with money, although the state and local laws explicitly prohibited the sale of alcohol to Indians.¹⁸

In the early 1880's, Indians living in the vicinity of 12th and "M" streets relocated to the mouth of South Chollas Creek because the San Diego Gas Company began construction of a building there.¹⁹ The Las Chollas site appears on maps today as Indian Point and existed long before Anglo settlements in the area.

Reportedly, in 1881 "Indians [were] camped out west of the Catholic church."²⁰ At that time two Catholic churches existed; one was located in Old Town, and the other, St. Joseph's, at Third and Beech Streets. The Indian rancheria probably lay west of St. Joseph's, since other references cite a camp in Middletown but no specific location.

In 1883, Indians lived in brush houses at 27th and "K" on Golden Hill.²¹ By 1884, few Indians actually resided in Middletown or New Town, but on occasion a vacant lot would house an Indian couple. In 1885, a camp of about 40 or 50 Indians was located at 16th and "M" Streets.²² Hundreds of Indians lived at 24th and "L" (present-day Imperial) in a large settlement near the railroad tracks in 1885.²³ As late as 1887, a rancheria existed at 22nd and 23rd Streets in southeast San Diego, possibly the same one reported near the railroad tracks in 1885.²⁴ From approximately 1860 to 1890, a large encampment, comprised primarily of Indians

III. Indian Rancheria, 1890's, Possibly Switzer
or Chollas Canyon

from Baja California, occupied the mesas and canyons east of Russ school, near 18th and "B" Streets.²⁵

One of the best documented rancherias was situated in Switzer Canyon, presently known as Florida Canyon. Located historically where 19th and 20th Streets intersect "A" and "B," few remnants of the camp can be found near present-day Florida Street and Pershing Drive. Ephraim D. Switzer, after whom the canyon was named, moved there in 1869. Switzer's daughter remembered "an Indian rancheria about a quarter of a mile north of our place in the canyon."²⁶

By the 1890's there were no Indians living west of 16th Street or north of Broadway, in San Diego proper, with the exception of an occasional vagrant. Mrs. Laura Frick Dale, born in 1891 in San Diego, recalled in an interview conducted in 1961, Indians located near Sixth or Seventh and "C" streets in 1894,²⁷ may have actually been the occasion of Discovery Day instituted in 1892.

Fr. Antonio Ubach collected twenty-five each of Diegueño men and women, and Luiseño men and women. Painted in red and white, and black and white, respectively, they encircled an actor dressed as the explorer Cabrillo and passed around a peace pipe. Sponsors and participants conducted the ceremony in a vacant block flanked by "A", Ash, Third and Fourth streets, and surrounded by a stockade for the occasion. One observer recalls, "Of course the public was present in force, and the crowding and grinning and humorous comments rather embarrassed the actors in the

IV. Cabrillo Festival, 1892

drama, but nevertheless it was a pretty good show."²⁸

The source of this group of Native Americans was the outlying rancherias and reservations. While they participated in customs unfamiliar to them, such as the Discovery Day celebrations, they also carried on activities that were well-embedded in tradition, returning by invitation to the areas that had historically and prehistorically been called home.

Henry H. Mason, a resident in San Diego from 1887-1902, reported another event, which he called a Mexican Fiesta, at Coronado Beach. Again Indians were present for the roping and riding, bucking bronco and wild bull contests. "The rich millionaire Gent. and Lady Tourists waited over for a month to see the great contest, betting and cheering the Indians on to new games."²⁹

In her autobiography, Delfina Cuero, an Indian woman born around 1900, recalled that her parents lived in Mission Valley until they were forced out by Chinese and Americans who settled there. They moved east through Mission Gorge, and eventually to Lakeside, El Cajon and Jamacha. Many villages lay along these canyon routes. Delfina was born in Jamul and remembers in her youth that the family still travelled to the coast---Ocean Beach, Pt. Loma and La Jolla---for abalone, fish and shellfish. Gradually, her family moved into Baja California, south of Tecate, without realizing that they had crossed the international border.³⁰

The Indians who stayed near San Diego, retained their general methods of obtaining shelter and food, although they also incorporated new materials. House construction depended upon, the length of the intended stay and on locally available materials. For short durations, such as overnight, Indians would sleep on the ground. An Indian shelter was often referred to as a wigwam, wickiup, or more correctly, a lean-to of brush and tules. After contact with Europeans, other types of construction material included poles, gunny sacks, and occasionally adobe.³¹ These so-called temporary camps were simply and quickly constructed and appeared a sharp contrast to the new architectural trends including "gingerbread," of Victorian San Diego.

Several early residents remember Indian dwellings. In an interview with Frank Paul Hartley in 1960 he reported that "their wigwams were made out of poles and gunnysacks." George Bidwell recalled "nothing but grass huts" at 12th and "M", and Mrs. Bertha Hubbard described the houses at 27th and "K" as constructed of brush.³² When the abandonment of these temporary camps took place "Heaps of debris---sticks, dried tules (rushes), dirty rags, bones of animals that had been eaten and the ashes of extinct fires remained to mark the spot."³³

While working at ranches, small, temporary houses of willow and other brush were constructed. According to Delfina Cuero,

V. Old Indian Women at Cabrillo Festival
1892

The men put up two posts and tied a beam between them with fibers stripped from yucca leaves. The reeds or brush were tied to the beam. It looked kind of like a small [pup] tent. ...Then the men put four posts to make a square and on them we made a ramada beside the house."³⁴

Similar to house construction and other cultural traits, the Indians' diet, even within the influence of the city, changed little from their life-style a century before. Since their economy was often one of basic subsistence, they maintained many of their traditional habits. They caught all varieties of small rodents and insects and collected the local flora, grasses and herbs for food and medicine.³⁵ Benjamin D. Wilson stated in his 1852 annual report that Indians in this part of the country maintained themselves on the mesquite bean, acorn, pine nut, tuna (cactus fruit) maguey, mescal, berries and seeds of grass and herbs which occur naturally. Their diet was supplemented "with a moderate culture of wheat, corn, melons and pumpkins and various small animals."³⁶ As late as 1900 the pine nut could be collected at Torrey Pines and manzanita berries were abundant at Pacific Beach.³⁷

One of the staple foods of the Indians in this area was the acorn, which gradually worked its way into the Spanish, then Mexican and, eventually, American diet. The Indian shared his knowledge of preparing the otherwise inedible food. "Without the leaching process practiced by the Indians, the acorn meat was useless."³⁸ Similarly,

Mexican and American dishes were adapted to the Indian diet when available.

The "last rites," as performed according to Indian tradition, were carried out in the vicinity of the city for as long as Indians remained there. Although, the dead were no longer cremated, as was traditional, the mourning ceremony included burning the belongings of the dead, wailing and weeping. The Union funeral editor reported in 1890 that Chief Juan Gonzalez' body "was taken in charge by the Indians residing at Switzer's Canyon, and last evening they held a pow-wow over it."³⁹

Juan Gonzalez was the last chief for the Indians residing in the vicinity of the city of San Diego. He guided his people, like the other city chiefs before him, with a mixture of prehistoric and historic traditions, within the canyons and on the mesas just beyond the hub of Old Town and New Town.

CHAPTER II
NOTES

¹Also spelled Sycuan. Kenneth R. Martin, "The First Residents," in San Diego: An Introduction to the Region (ed. by Philip R. Pryde. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1976, pp. 47-59). This study has a good overview with a map of the reservation, and chart providing information on the present size, number of residents and date established.

²Martin, "The First Residents," p. 54 also provides information on San Pasqual's changing boundaries.

³Specifically, rancherias are referred to in articles appearing in the San Diego Union on March 18 and 26, 1884.

⁴In "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", p. 94, Kroeber describes the settlements in both urban and rural settings found throughout California.

⁵The approximate location of Rincoñada and Las Chollas have been recorded with the Museum of Man, San Diego by Florence Shipek. Her information was derived from ethnographic studies. Father Luis Jayme refers to Rincoñada in Letters of Luis Jayme, O.F.M., edited by Maynard Geiger (Los Angeles: Dawson's Books Shop, 1970), pp. 39-43.

⁶Bancroft, History of California, Vol. VI, p. 520.

⁷The 1860 Federal Census for San Diego is available on microfilm at the San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego. The original is also housed there. The 1850 and 1852 censuses that were compiled by the State of California are partially excerpted in the publication Leaves and Saplings, published by the San Diego Geneological Society.

⁸Reference to the households of Ames, Aguirre, Brown and Morello are on pages 13-14, 1860 Federal Census, San Diego.

⁹See page 12 of the 1860 Federal Census, San Diego.

¹⁰Bancroft, History of California, Vol. VI, p. 520.

¹¹ Statutes of California 1850: An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, passed April 22, 1850. A more in-depth discussion of the Statutes are in Chapter V of this thesis.

¹² The term nuisance is consistently used by newspaper staff of the San Diego Union and "concerned" citizens. Several citations occur within a two month span: November 14, 1884, 3:2; November 30, 1884, 3:5-6; December 2, 1884, 3:2; and December 28, 1884, 3:3.

¹³ Bancroft, History of California, Vol. VI, p. 479.

¹⁴ Alonzo Horton, "Father of New San Diego," arrived here at the age of 57, in 1867. His faith in the new town could be seen in his investment of time and money. See The Story of New San Diego and of Its Founder, Alonzo E. Horton, by Elizabeth C. MacPhail (San Diego: Pioneer Printers, 1978).

¹⁵ Richard Pourade, The Glory Years, (San Diego: Copley Press, 1964), p. 92.

¹⁶ Phillips, George Harwood, Chiefs and Challengers, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975.

¹⁷ The "chop house" was basically an inexpensive restaurant, often with a saloon. The name comes from an oriental word "chap" meaning a seal, brand or imprint hence a license or permit. (Eric Partridge, Origins, A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern Usage, New York: Greenwich House, 1983), p. 97.

¹⁸ In 1852, the San Diego Herald reported that Don Maria Marron, Don Jose Jesus Moreno, and Mrs. Snook stood accused of selling liquor to "...the lazy and indolent Indians." (April 17, 1852, 2:4.).

¹⁹ In the George M. Bidwell interview, conducted May 15, 1957, (transcript on file with the San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego), p.3, he recalls that prior to construction of the Gas Company building there were no wooden buildings, just sagebrush and grass huts.

²⁰An article in the San Diego Union (July 7, 1881, 4:2,3), reported the occurrence of a young boy being bitten by a dog belonging to an Indian from this ranheria.

²¹An oral interview conducted on July 8, 1957, with Mrs. Bertha Huntley Hubbard provided information on Golden Hill Indian settlement. Transcription of interview is on file at San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego, California.

²²Information is from an oral interview with Frank Paul Hartley on September 23, 1960. Transcription is on file at San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego, California.

²³In an oral interview February 21, 1961, Mrs. Abigail Carson Swain remembers moving to San Diego in 1885 and living on 24th Street; interview on file at San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego, California.

²⁴This description appears in news articles in the San Diego Union, December 3, 1887, reporting the submission of petition to the City Trustees. It requested the removal of Indians in this vicinity for "Sanitary and moral reasons."

²⁵The Switzer Canyon ranheria has been documented in several places: the San Diego Union on March 6, 1890, an oral interview with Harriet Switzer Goodbody; and the secondary account of John Davidson in the San Diego Union, October 18, 1935.

²⁶Harriet Switzer Goodbody was born in 1874. Notes from this interview are in the Biography file of Ephraim D. Switzer at the San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego, California.

²⁷In an interview in 1961 Mrs. Laura Frick Dale remembered, "when we lived on Fourth Street, a little neighbor girl and I...walked up to about "C" and Sixth or Seventh or somewhere in there and there was a big board fence-five or six feet-around a vacant lot. One of the boards was off and we looked in and saw a man and his wife-Indians-cooking their evening meal in a pot over an open fire." Transcription of interview conducted on March 30, 1961, on file at San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives,

Balboa Park, San Diego, California.

²⁸Begun on the 350th Anniversary of the Cabrillo landing, the Indians organized by Father Ubach, "held a fiesta replete with their tribal chants and dances....Big stacks of tules and brushwood had been provided and the Indians quickly housed themselves in "wickiups" just like those which formed their characteristic rancherias," (Hensley Memoirs, 5 Volumes, unpublished manuscript, Vol.II, pp. 274-275. On file at the San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego).

²⁹Henry Mason, letter to his mother, from San Diego, October 22, 1893. He reported, "My old Margarita Indian [probably from Santa Margarita] took the two first prizes which were for riding the man-eating bull of Mexico that had killed five people and riding bareback he was thrown three times and lacerated terribly, but at last the bull gave up amid the cheers of the thousands surrounding the great arena bullpens."

³⁰They had friends there, rather than on the reservations of Campo, La Posta or Manzanita, to the east. Also, since her grandmother, as a small child, had been living at the Mission San Diego de Alcalá, the indication may be that most of the Indians that lived on the fringes of urban San Diego had many of their roots in lower California.

³¹"Wigwam" occurs in the March 6, 1890, San Diego Union account of the Switzer rancheria. In the same article the author writes, "There was a little, weird adobe hut, broken and mysterious. A fire flickered fitfully on the earthen floor."

³²All three interviews are on file at the San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego. "Wickup", which may be a typesetting error, was a term used in a San Diego Union article on November 2, 1881.

³³This description by Daniel Cleveland, recalling the Indians in 1869, exemplifies the nomadic behavior and "temporary residence of these nomads of the desert" that occurred throughout the country, both in urban and back-country settings. The article is from the San Diego Union, October 17, 1926, 9:4.

³⁴Delfina Cuero, Autobiography, p. 25.

³⁵ Cleveland also discusses the Indian diet concluding that the Indians thrived where white men would perish with hunger, San Diego Union, October 17, 1926, 9:4. Kroeber cites in "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", "that, in pre-contact times, Indians collected acorns from the oak; fruits and berries from manzanita, choke berries and wild prunes (p. 115). "In many cases, the gathered seeds were parched with a few coals to burn off their husks, after which most frequently they were ground, and could be eaten either dry as a sort of seasoning or, when the quantity was sufficient, they would be treated very much like ground acorn meal. Chia or sage..were collected seasonally" (p. 116). "Shellfish: mussels, oysters, clams and the like were not only eaten raw, but were dried so that they could be stored and traded inland." Beached whales, seals and sea otters, were clubbed where and when they occurred. Deer, cottontail rabbits, jack rabbits, ground squirrels, wood rats, and small birds were caught with darts or bows and arrows (p. 117), and by hand small insects such as "....grasshoppers, caterpillars and angleworms, all of which are definitely nutritious. In some parts of the state it was customary to gather and eat such small fry, but other tribes felt about them very much as we do," (p. 118). Other resources that were exploited included trees for clothing: bark skirts; baskets were made from plant fibers; and pottery was created from well-known good clay sources. Houses were constructed out of local building materials; the tools used for cutting, scraping, chopping, pounding, and grinding, were fashioned from local outcrops or procured, as cobbles, from streambeds.

³⁶ Wilson continues, "The Dieguinos[sic]...hunt the deer and antelope. They manufacture very useful blankets, a kind of urn to hold water and keep it cool in summer (called olla), a sweatcloth for the saddle, from the maguey fibre, called a coco, etc." (Indians of Southern California in 1852, p. 28).

³⁷ Delfina Cuero, Autobiography. Torrey Pines is discussed on pages 27-28, and Pacific Beach on page 31.

³⁸ "The meat was removed from the acorns and dried in the sun. As it dried, it turned black. Then it was ground in the mortar holes in the rocks. A basket-like structure without a top or bottom was woven of small sticks and reeds. Over the top a coarse cloth was placed, forming a sieve. The ground meal was placed in the cloth sieve and then, for hours, the Indian women would patiently ladle water over it with a little clay scoop. At first, the

water running off would be black, but gradually it became clear, and then they knew it was free of the tannic acid which made the acorns unpalatable. The creamy mush made of the acorn meal was the "sowee" that we were all so fond of." DeFrate, This Was Yesterday, (San Diego: East San Diego Press), Vol. I, n.p., compiled 1951-53.

³⁹The San Diego Union for March 6, 1890, carries the obituary of Juan Gonzalez.

CHAPTER III

LEADERSHIP: NATIVE SPOKESMEN

Prehistorically, chiefs held loosely defined positions within the tribal hierarchy. Age and wisdom were recognized as admirable attributes and decisions concerning the community would be made collectively by the heads of the household. When the padres arrived, Spanish designations implying leadership were assigned to the most influential members of the group. Gradually, the titles were incorporated into the tradition. "El Capitan" and chief became a necessary occupation in dealing with the European mentality.

As a result of the contact between Indians and Europeans, the role of chief grew from a traditionally understood position to one of consolidated responsibility and political authority. Euro-Americans insisted on dealing with a spokesman because a homogeneous, communal group appeared a baffling phenomenon to the non-Native.¹

Because of the lack of documented information leadership among urban native Americans has been easily overlooked. Without this identity the leaders and their followers lacked substance and recognition. The major character attributed to them historically has often been a disreputable one. The need for group identity is fulfilled by having names for their leaders and places for their villages. This practice provides unity and prevents

disintegration of the culture. The "outstanding" Indian becomes the personification of a folk-hero.

From about 1860 to 1875, and possibly earlier, the chief of the Switzer Canyon rancheria was Manuel Hatam, also known by his baptismal name, Jose Manuel Pol-Ton. Born in Santa Catarina, Baja California, Manuel estimated his age at nearly one hundred just prior to his death; mortuary records placed his age at 70. He lived at the rancheria and served as its chief for approximately 14 years, residing with his daughter, the only survivor of his ten children. Almost all of the Indians under his jurisdiction were Abajeños, from Baja California.

The Indians on the Mexican side of the boundary are at San Diego indiscriminately called 'Abajeños' (Lower Californians); those on this side, 'Dieguiños' [sic] (after the Mission of San Diego). There are but few marks of distinction between them, to the ordinary observer now. All speak more or less of Spanish. And they understand so much of the idioms of each other, that their languages (by many?) supposed to be identical. But although they live side by side and intermix a great deal there is considerable difference between the language of the Frontera and the San Diego tribes. They always (each) claim a distinct nationality - with or without foundation.²

As early as 1853, "Manuelito and Old Tomas," chiefs of the local group of Indians, oversaw the Indian labor on construction of the Derby Dike.³ The Manuelito cited here is probably neither Hatam nor Cota.

After, but possibly before his death, Manuel Hatam was

VI. Chief Jose Manuel Hatam, c. 1874

often confused with Manuel Cota, the Anglo-appointed chief of reservation Indians located in northern and eastern San Diego County. Because Cota and Hatam shared the same given name of Manuel, were leaders in their own right, and lived in approximately the same time period gave potential cause for confusion. Judge Benjamin Hayes provides the best description of Hatam, who was better known by "El Capitan."

Manuel, as old as he is, is generally seen upon the street "lively as a cricket." In his manners he is "polite as a dancing master;" and especially full of smiles for any little gifts, which his old acquaintances often make in acknowledgement of his actual, if humble, services to the community.⁴

As a young boy, Manuel was sent from his home in Baja California to Los Angeles by Padre Feliz of the Santa Catarina Mission to work as a vaquero. While there, one of his employers was Don Dolores Sepulveda. It may have been during the smallpox epidemic of late 1862 and early 1863, when many persons fled the Los Angeles area, that Manuel left for San Diego. Many Mexicans and Indians succumbed to the disease.⁵

Daniel Cleveland, reminiscing in a San Diego Union article dated 1926, discusses the chief of the Indians of San Diego: "He must have been nearly 80 years of age when I saw him in 1869. He was dressed in a cast-off suit of dingy black, much the worse from long wear and rough usage, his head crowned by a stove-pipe hat."⁶

An article which appeared in the San Diego Union,

fifty years after the fact, perpetuates the myth that Cota was involved in local urban Indian affairs: "Gonzalez was the name of the leader of local Indians after the death of the famous Jesus Manuel Cota, or Manuelito."⁷ Cota, in 1860, was 40 years old and could not have been the aged Hatam.⁸

Cota, a Luiseño Indian, was promoted to chief of the San Diego County Indians by Anglo-appointment, a non-traditional position and one highly contested by his constituents. His actual jurisdiction focused on territory along the San Luis Rey and Santa Margarita Rivers in northern San Diego County.⁹ In 1863 he had "near complete control of many Luiseño and several Cahuilla settlements."¹⁰ Cota was "overthrown" by the election of Olegario in 1871 and remained in the Temecula area. Manuel Hatam was chief of the rancheria in San Diego until his death in 1875.

Most often, for a man to become chief was a birthright. If he did not measure up to the task the position was designated to a relative. It does not appear that Hatam came from "royalty" in Ensenada, but may have received recognition as a leader while living at the mission during his youth and early adulthood. The chief "functioned on occasion, rather than professionally or full-time. His office did carry with it a certain amount of prestige."¹¹

Reportedly, while Hatam served as captain of the

rancheria there were few instances requiring civil intervention by the city authorities. Described as a model chieftain, he earned the respect of both white and Indian residents.

The chief was also expected to be an orator... To be impressive, it was thought that the speeches should have a certain length, and since often there was no great amount of detailed information to be imparted, they were likely to be repetitious, as well as platitudinous.¹²

Hatam disciplined and directed his people in the manner of Anglo government. In January of 1869, Captain Manuelito, "the indomitable Chieftain of the San Diego Indians, convened his swarthy crowd of sans culottes, upon the plaza, and with an old dirty blanket for a toga, delivered himself of a high-toned oration."¹³ In the democratic tradition, he was unanimously re-elected chief. Accounts in the Union relate other examples of activities imitating urban injustices such as the use of the plaza for dealing out punishment,¹⁴ or Manuel fining an Indian \$2.50 for becoming intoxicated and threatening the camp with a loaded revolver.¹⁵

After the death of Manuel Hatam in 1875, an Indian by the name of Juan Gonzalez succeeded as the local leader and lived at the rancheria in Switzer Canyon. "His wife was Ysabel, known as Chabela. They lived in Switzer Canyon for a time and there Gonzalez died."¹⁶

The title of "El Capitan" passed to Juan shortly after

Manuel died. He may have gained the position as a result of being a relative of Hatam's but more likely he was self-appointed because of his ancient age and ability to interact with Anglo San Diegans. Similar to Hatam, Gonzalez' domain loosely included all rancherias in the vicinity of the city of San Diego. Initially, Juan did not live at Switzer Canyon, but rather, with his wife and several children, resided in a tent donated to him by the soldiers and erected near the barracks. He has been described as a colorful character, sporting a bright red shirt and the semblance of a plug hat decorated with bright colored strips of cloth.¹⁷

Following in Manuel Hatam's footsteps, and not far from being the same age, Gonzalez acted as chief of the band, settling disputes among Indians there and maintaining order.

He always professed to be worn-out by the responsibilities of his high position and anxious to resign it, only his people (he said) wouldn't hear of it. However, his followers, when approached on the subject, generally expressed themselves, in terms most unflattering, as ardently desirous of getting rid of him but not knowing just how to go about the business.¹⁸

While he and his family lived in the tent near "N" and Thirty-Second Streets, "...it was his habit to come down town every day, and returning would carry with him scraps of bread and meat, and sometimes delicacies, given him at the hotel kitchen."¹⁹ At one time, the previous year,

Father Ubach administered the last sacrament to Juan but he recovered from his illness under the attention of his faithful and feeble wife.²⁰ There are no photographs of Juan, the last chief of the Switzer Canyon rancheria nor of other Indian settlements close to the city.²¹

Captain Juan died in Switzer Canyon in 1890. He was originally from Baja California like Hatam, and "according to a low estimate, was 110 years old."²² His obituary reports that as a member of Fremont's force Gonzalez made the first trek to the Pacific with the pathfinder. His wife, who survived him was 102 years old and blind. Each had aided the other through numerous sicknesses between them and were fond and devoted partners in marriage.²³

At the time of his death the San Diego economy had once again slowed. Even low-paying jobs were hard to get since much of the population required employment. Newcomers to the area, drawn by advertisements proclaiming excellent climate and opportunity, purchased land in suburban areas. Cultivation, fencing and other improvements to the newly acquired property curtailed the population of small game and destroyed vegetation, both a native supplemental food source. Gradually, the Indians moved east or south.

CHAPTER III
NOTES

¹Kroeber discusses the "augmentation of chief's role under Caucasian impingement" in "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", p. 108.

²This information is from Benjamin Hayes' "Emigrant Notes," Vol. 5, p. 944 (old #753), on file at the Bancroft Library, University of Berkeley, California.

³San Diego Herald, September 24, 1853.

⁴A fairly thorough account of Manuel Hatam was given as a eulogistic piece read before the San Diego Lyceum of National Sciences by Benjamin Hayes (Appendix). The speech appeared in the San Diego Union for December 11, 1875.

⁵Harris Newmark in Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913 (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1930), recalled that "The dread disease worked its ravages especially among Mexicans and Indians, as many as a dozen of them dying in a single day," (p. 266).

⁶Daniel Cleveland's article, in the San Diego Union, October 27, 1926, 9:4. Here he describes Manuel but has him confused with the Chief that followed Hatam whose name was Juan Gonzalez. This is a good example of writing history fifty years later and confusing the characters.

⁷John Davidson wrote historic pieces for the San Diego Union during the 1930's while he was director of the San Diego Historical Society. This particular article was written based on information he had collected from historical society archives and old newspaper articles.

⁸Cota is listed in the 1860 Census, on page 32. There is a photograph in the archives of Title Insurance and Trust, San Diego, which has been reprinted in Phillips' Chiefs and Challengers (Plate 16) and is identified as Manuelito Cota about 1873. It is actually Hatam as seen in the photo taken by Parker and listed in his San Diego stereopticon photos. Cota died around 1886. As far as can be determined there is no extant picture of Manuel Cota.

⁹ See Map 4 in George Phillip's Chiefs and Challengers, p. 139. Map shows villages controlled by Manuel Cota located along the Santa Margarita and San Luis Rey Rivers.

¹⁰ Manuel Cota came into power in the north county after the death of Chief Juan Antonio in 1863. Richard Carrico, "The Struggle for Native Self-Determination in San Diego County," Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology 2(2), p. 201. Cota's downfall came when the reservations at Pala and San Pasqual were revoked and the land to be set aside became public domain. Cota had urged his people to move there and had this happened they would have been landless. (p. 206).

¹¹ According to Kroeber in "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", p. 107.

¹² Kroeber's "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", pp. 107-108. "A successful chief was an ornament to his people and must conduct himself with considerable dignity when the situation demanded it. He had, however, next to no true authority. His role was supposed to be essentially one of using moral influence on the side of wisdom and coordination, and of preventing dissension [sic] and trouble from coming up."

¹³ San Diego Union, January 2, 1869.

¹⁴ San Diego Union, August 4, 1869.

¹⁵ San Diego Union, June 1, 1871.

¹⁶ "We have his portrait in the collection at Junipero Serra Museum: a stoutish bright-eyed individual about three sizes too large for the decorated coat, high hat and interesting waistcoat which he had inherited from Manuelito." (In the San Diego Union, from Davidson's article October 27, 1926, 9:4.)

¹⁷ Hensley Memoirs, Vol. 5, p. 808.

¹⁸ Hensley Memoirs, Vol. 5, p. 808.

¹⁹ San Diego Union, March 6, 1890, 5. It is unknown which kitchens Juan patronized, but probably most of them in the vicinity of the Gaslamp District (4th and 5th, south of Broadway) and also the Horton House.

²⁰ "The kind-hearted priest went to the hovel, late as it was, but the old Indian did not die." San Diego Union, March 6, 1890, 5.

²¹ Although Davidson did not correctly identify the Indian in the stove-pipe hat, he identifies the name of the leader who followed Hatam. A photograph of Antonio Gonzalez at Title Insurance has been reproduced in the San Diego Journal of History, Vol XXVI, no. 1 (Winter 1980) on page 23. Imprinted on the photo (taken in 1906) is "Chief Gonzalez, aged 101. The information provided by the funeral editor of the Union on March 6, 1890, does not contradict what little else is known about the last chief of Switzer Canyon and San Diego.

²² Captain Juan Gonzalez' obituary appears in the San Diego Union for March 6, 1890, 5:1-2.

²³ "In the morning his first duty was to wash her face. Then before partaking of food himself he saw that she was fed to her complete satisfaction. For hours and sometimes for days no word would pass between them, but an abiding confidence prevailed all the time." The funeral editor takes information from the San Diegan and cites it in his article appearing in the San Diego Union, March 6, 1890, 5:1-2.

CHAPTER IV

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMICS: INDIANS IN THE LABOR FORCE

The first native Americans to leave their villages during the 1700's joined the padres on their northward trek in pursuit of converts. As a result of this association, they learned skills and spoke at least two languages, but received little or no formal education. After secularization of the missions, Indians dispersed across the countryside often selling these skills. A "respectable" job for an Indian as determined by whites was low paying, menial and usually temporary.

Between 1850 and 1900 the county of San Diego, which at that time also included Imperial County, grew from 2,287 persons --- all but 254 were Indians --- to over 35,000. During this half century the population and economy suffered setbacks as well as successes. The greatest population increase came in the 1880's when land developers promoted the climate, landscape, and opportunities to Eastern investors. During that ten year span the populace more than quadrupled from 8,000 to 35,000.

Throughout the nineteenth century San Diego County's economy was based on cattle (hides and tallow) or agriculture. Local industries tied to this economic structure were shipping and transportation. Steamship traffic increased shortly after the erection of the first wharf in San Diego by William Heath Davis at the foot of

Fifth Street in 1850 because passengers and freight no longer had to be moved out to the ships.

Davis had hoped to make the area around the wharf a new San Diego but since there was no 'gold rush' to this area of California, Old Town remained the hub of activity. Aside from the wharf, a few other wooden structures including the Army barracks, comprised "Davis' Folly." Both improved and unimproved property housed Indians working in the vicinity.

Employment for Indian men included seasonal jobs as vaqueros on ranches. These ranches, often comprised of thousands of acres, maintained until the drought of 1862-1863. At this time, agriculture began to play a more important role.

Throughout the 1850's and 1860's, Indians were employed as dock workers and deck hands. Captain Clark of the ship Ocean arrived at San Diego in January 1861. Leaving part of his crew on board he took the whaling boats out. Upon returning, all hands "down to the cabin boy" were drunk. According to Judge Benjamin Hayes, the Captain intended to replace these former employees with Indians who received \$15 per month for the work.¹ Two whaling companies at Ballast Point also used Indian labor at the same wage. "The work is measurably light, and the Indians well content with this pay better than they can get at any other kind of employment."²

In or near the city, Indian men worked as laborers on

public roads or public works such as the construction of the Derby Dike. Redirection of the San Diego River commenced in the Fall of 1853 and it was speculated that "until a sufficient force of laborers can be collected, Indians ... will be employed in opening this channel."³ The laborers were directed by their own chiefs, Manuelito and Old Tomas, and lived in tents adjacent to the construction. Food consisted of an unlimited supply of beef and beans.

According to Indian Agent Benjamin Wilson in his 1852 report, Indians working as farmhands and laborers received between eight and ten dollars a month in pay. Whites would not work for such wages, and it is asserted by Wilson that an increase in pay would not improve the lot of the Indian - rather he would spend more on vices.⁴

After the Civil War, an influx of immigrants from the East arrived. Many of them had been Southern farmers. Small communities in inland valleys boasted productive plots. Various areas such as El Cajon and San Luis Rey had sheep farms.⁵ In 1869 the bee business arrived in San Diego with John Harrison heading the endeavor. The Kimballs of National City were successfully growing citrus, lemons and oranges, as well as olives. Residents of Julian shipped their prize-winning apples and pears by wagon to San Diego for export, and the vineyards in Alpine, Jamul, San Pasqual, and El Cajon were planted with grapes. By the 1880's these products contributed considerably to the

economic boom.

Job opportunities increased when Kimball built his wharf at National City in 1871. Indians were employed as stevedores loading vessels at National City.⁶

In October 1872, Marco Bruschi, a local businessman, hired Indians to collect rags. The Union reported it as follows:

Rags! Rags!---The familiar cry of Rags! Rags! indulged in by the gatherers of old rags and junk of all kinds is never heard in San Diego, although the ragpicker plies his vocation here as well as in New York and San Francisco. We presume that the explanation of this lies in the fact that the ragpickers are all Indians, and that they are not in business for themselves but are working for a shrewd and enterprising man. M. Bruschi has for some time past had several Indians engaged in gathering rags, and he will ship the fruits of their labor in a few days. He will send to San Francisco about 3,000 pounds of white and 2,000 pounds of colored rags by the next steamer, all of which have been gathered within the past few days.

Marco Bruschi also hired Indians to stomp grapes at his grocery store at 5th and "J", and according to early resident George Bidwell, "in the back of the store he used to make wine. He had big vats there and I saw the Indians come in barefooted from their rancheria, roll up their pants, get into these vats and stamp these grapes."⁸

Indian women accepted work as maids, laundresses, and cooks in Anglo and Mexican households.⁹ Susan Tiffany, a resident of Old Town San Diego, lived in the Bandini House

as a child around the turn of the century. She remembered that a full-blooded Indian woman worked for her family.

The woman was

...an excellent cook and a faithful servant until she died after I was grown. She was a genius at concocting mouth-watering tamales and green pepper dishes...We had no trouble getting household help as Mexican and Indian girls who lived nearby were glad to earn the small amount we could afford to pay them. I had forgotten what we paid or how efficient they were, but we were not to exacting with them. They did not "live-in" with us, but after they finished what we wanted them to do they went to their adobe or wherever they lived and came back when we told them to.¹⁰

While employed in these households the women often used their skills of pottery making and weaving to provide clay ware and baskets. Many of the homes in San Diego had ollas and clay pots that were used for cooking as well as for storage. These items were readily available and often thought "superior to metal pots and pans."¹¹ The baskets and pottery were not purchased by the household in which the Indian worked but rather the potter or weaver presented her crafts to the family as gifts. Baskets were valued for their numerous uses and durability.

There were loosely woven ones to hold larger objects, the tightly woven ones made to endure years of wear as sewing baskets; small ones for the bureau to keep jewels and small precious articles, and very large ones made of willow withes for the laundry. Then those for fruit, seeds, and one flat one was¹² the bread plate for the dining table.

In the summer of 1886, fifty Chinese employed as grubbers for the Coronado Company were replaced by Indians. According to a report in the San Diego Union, "Should their work prove acceptable there will be employment for from fifty to seventy-five nearly all summer."¹³

From 1850 to 1880 many local businessmen attempted to lure the transcontinental railroad to San Diego, in hopes that San Diego, the most western terminus, would flourish economically. Several railroad companies showed interest but plans never got off the drawing boards. First, in 1854, the San Diego & Gila Southern Pacific & Atlantic incorporated but failed when it could not secure financial backing. Then, in 1869, the Memphis, El Paso & Pacific Railroad Board of Directors entertained the notion of building a line connecting San Diego to eastern cities but filed bankruptcy within a year. After a couple more unsuccessful attempts, a new angle was proposed by the City Fathers. The Santa Fe Railroad was solicited to build a connecting line between San Diego and Los Angeles. Construction on this route began in January of 1881.

Indians worked as railroad laborers for the contracting firm of French and Drew.¹⁴ In January 1881, Rufus K. Porter, in a letter to the editor of the Union, reported fifty Indians employed by William and George Lyons on their section of the railroad line. The pay was considered good: \$20 per month plus board. Apparently this

VII. Rancheria near 22nd and Logan, c. 1879

employment temporarily depleted the male population at the Conejo Rancheria, 40 miles east of San Diego. William says they are the best laborers he has yet employed. I suppose by this time as many as fifty are working; and let all praise be given to the young fellows of Old San Diego who thus initiated the noble work of making our Mission Indians self-sustaining.¹⁵

Reports on Indians' ability to work varied from highly responsible to unreliable. The newspaper grudgingly published favorable information on the conduct of Indians, usually ending on a note of skepticism: "It is generally considered they had rather die than work."¹⁶ To the disbelief of reporters, another contractor for the railroad, Mr. French, stated that he preferred Indian labor to that of white or Chinese, and that the Indians "work harder and more persistently during the working hours of the day and move more earth than the same number of white laborers..."¹⁷

But the newspaper staff would not let the good news stand without adding their own social commentary, "...that in fact they [the Indians] will work only a few days at a time, or until they are paid a few dollars; then no more work till they have invested their hard earnings in the red man's heaven of felicity - a good drdnk [sic]."¹⁸ In spite of this "serious fault of the Indians," Mr. French assured the news staff that his crews had out-distanced any of his competitors and he was looking forward to increasing the

number of Indians in his employ.

Another employer of Indians, Julian Ames, living at Cañada de Los Coches (El Cajon), "was smart enough not to hurry his Indians. They like their meat and flour and they like their old patron, Juliano. They were always satisfied with their pay. Their work was done slowly but thoroughly."¹⁹

Another article related the occasion of 25 to 30 quiet and well-behaved Indians on strike. "So far as we could learn there was no good cause for their striking, which was simply for wages due, and which will be paid as soon as their several accounts can be made up for settlement. Most of them, however, will probably receive their money and spend it before resuming work again."²⁰

One of the most prevalent problems for Indian laborers was the potential of injury, resulting in severe maiming. Since no one had the benefit of workman's compensation, it could be tragic in any household. It was increasingly so for the minorities that performed most of the hard labor. An Indian while helping to unload the Steamer Orizaba smashed a finger and had to have it amputated by Dr. Peter Remondino.²¹

Numerous unreported cases of injuries probably occurred daily. Once disabled, what meager source of income they had was cut off and the physical needs of these generally large families were unmet. As yet, few psychologists had given much thought to the devastating

emotional effect this would have on the unemployed male, as well as the financial detriment. There were no rehabilitation centers---only the local pub.

There were Indians who would, upon receiving their pay, retire to the nearest saloon until the money and themselves were completely spent. The Union described their drunkenness and brawling for San Diego readers. Employed as casual laborers, the Indians came in contact with the coarser side of the population, and often imitated it to the dismay of Victorian San Diego. Drunk and rowdy behavior was often reported by the San Diego Union, usually in the vicinity of 5th and "J" or the Stingaree district.

Destitution and despair affected many households in the second half of the nineteenth century during periods when not only Indians and other minorities but most of the population found themselves unemployed. Frequent requests for donations to feed the starving Indians at the various reservations were printed in the newspaper.²² The status of San Diego in 1880 could not have foretold the boom to come:

...there have been a number of men in town so destitute as to beg food at the doors of our people. Most of them have the appearance of honest workingmen, whose poverty arises from no dislike of labor, but from lack of employment. They have nearly all come from Los Angeles to this place on foot. We wish that every man willing to work could find work to do, but San Diego is just now the last place a laboring man out of a job should come to.²³

Although very selective about emphasizing the seedier side of Indian life, the information given in biased newspaper accounts provides ethnographic data. Places are cited where a misconduct occurred and from which rancheria, if local, the offenders came. As the economy slowed, more reports of unemployed vagrants were cited in the newspaper.

As employment rose with the arrival of the railroad, many of the districts comprised of bars and "chop houses" took on an air of celebration. Problems arose when the steamer arrived on "steamer day," usually a Sunday. Reportedly, in 1881, "Ladies and gentlemen and misses promenaded Fifth street from three to five, bound for the boat to see friends off and take an airing," and had to wind their way through the crowd of Indians at the "Chop House" in front of the French Hotel.²⁴

The citizens were increasingly alarmed by the crimes and violence which occurred within the city limits. No efforts were made to rid the community of Indians since most of the businessmen relied on their cheap labor. Regulatory measures were considered but the City Council Board was ineffective.

Some of the Indian inhabitants were permanent to the area, others were transient. More often than not, Indians came to San Diego encouraged by the prospects of employment. Sometimes trade or just curiosity would bring them for short periods of time.

CHAPTER IV
NOTES

¹ Benjamin Hayes, (Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875. Los Angeles: McBride Printing Co., 1929), January 21, 1861, p. 231.

² Hayes, Pioneer Notes, January 21, 1861, p. 234.

³ San Diego Herald for September 24, October 1, and October 8, 1853. On October 1, there were 47 Indians employed with 50 more expected. By October 8, "about a hundred Indians" were aiding in the excavation of the river. They performed "as well as could be expected." (October 8, 1853, 2:5).

⁴ Benjamin Wilson's "The Indians of So. California in 1852," p. 21.

⁵ Herbert Crouch, a resident of North County during the latter half of the nineteenth century, reports in his memoirs that he hired Indians for sheep-shearing and to do odd jobs at his ranch, ("Reminiscences," Typescript on file at the California Room, San Diego Public Library).

⁶ In the San Diego Union for November 6, 1890, fifty Indians from Campo were reported supplying San Diego households with decorated ollas. Bringing the pots by wagonload, these Indians filled the need for such items. When the Southern Pacific Railroad doubled the fee for transporting Arizona-made wares, the cost was prohibitive and the market from this source closed.

⁷ San Diego Union, October 13, 1872, 3:2.

⁸ In an oral interview conducted by Edgar Hastings on May 15, 1957, George M. Bidwell recalled the 1870's and 1880's and that M. Bruschi "was a very fine man and was particularly good to us kids." Page 9 of transcript.

⁹ Cleveland, San Diego Union, October 17, 1926, 9:3; 1860 census.

¹⁰ Mrs. Susan Davis Tiffany's reminiscences, "Memory Like the Ivy Clings," are on file at the Bancroft Library, University

of California, Berkeley, California. This citation is from Chapter 2, pp. 8-9.

¹¹ Julia DeFrate, in This Was Yesterday, (Vol. I, n.p.), recalls her childhood at Los Coches, the family ranch in El Cajon.

¹² Information here is also from Julia Defrate's This Was Yesterday, Vol. I, n.p.

¹³ San Diego Union, March 20, 1886.

¹⁴ San Diego Union, June 3, 1881.

¹⁵ The letter stated: "As we have failed to connect for some days with your post office, I don't know whether you have duly noticed the fact that William and George Lyons are employing a goodly number of Indians on their portion of the railroad line. They pay the men well, twenty dollars a month and board. I hear that no able-bodied men are now at the Conejo Rancheria, all off at work, as the demand is good. Respectfully, RKP," San Diego Union, January 30, 1881, 4:3.

¹⁶ San Diego Union, June 3, 1881, 4:3.

¹⁷ San Diego Union, June 3, 1881, carried an article expounding the good work performed by the Indians.

¹⁸ This citation is from the same article in the San Diego Union (June 3, 1881) and the editorial staff is determined to say the last word, negating all previous praise of the Indians.

¹⁹ Mary Ames, biography file, San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, quote from Julia DeFrate, n.p. A twentieth century explanation of how Indians perceived time is given by Peter Peretti in "Acculturation in Indian/White Relations": "Indian social and economic life is not geared to the fine points of time scheduling. If someone says that he will arrive 'about noon' no one takes it amiss if he appears at sundown, though an arrival a day late would call for an explanation. Work is not as in our tradition, a good thing in itself. Many Indians believe in working only as much as they need to," (p. 43).

²⁰San Diego Union, June 3, 1881, 4:2.

²¹San Diego Union, June 26, 1881, 4:2. Dr. Remondino was a prominent physician in San Diego. See footnote 39 in Chapter VI.

²²One example is in the San Diego Union, March 10, 1880, 4:3.

²³San Diego Union, March 10, 1880, 4:3.

²⁴San Diego Union, May 6 and 13, 1881, 4:2,4.

CHAPTER V

LEGISLATION

Numerous "Indian" laws and treaties had been passed, altered and broken by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs in other parts of the country prior to California statehood. Many of the laws that abrogated in the early nineteenth century were based on the assumption that tribal membership and United States citizenship were incompatible; tribes were considered as foreign nations. Elsewhere in the country, Indians of self-sufficient means, who held title to land, usually farmers and not residents of reservations, could apply for citizenship. Those without the status of land ownership and not associated with a tribe, or reservation, were considered indigents, and ultimately, the responsibility of no agency.

The small size of clans or tribelets that characterized California Indians was a detriment in obtaining recognition of any kind, either for the purpose of land ownership or basic justice in the courts of law. Not only size but apparent lack of unity prevented native Californians from commanding the attention necessary to gain the privileges of a sovereign state.¹ The power that held the group together, or that which can be identified as the "most constant feature of the tribelet unit probably was their unity and solidarity of spirit; the sense that they were one people with common fortunes."² Language also

served as a cohesive attribute which aided the solidarity of the group.

Federal regulations dealt mainly with reservation Indians and set up the Bureau of Indian Affairs with agents to carry out tasks. State-mandated laws covered Indians outside the jurisdiction of reservations. The Statutes of California 1850: An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, approved on April 22, 1850, delineated the guidelines for California's legal responsibilities.³

Sections of this act gave jurisdiction at the local level to the Justice of the Peace in all cases of complaints by or against Indians. The act allowed Indians already residing on land to continue unmolested in the pursuit of their usual avocations; stated that the neglect to feed or clothe a minor Indian was subject to a fine; provided that no white man could be convicted of a crime on the testimony of an Indian; required that to hire an Indian, a request had to be made before a Justice of the Peace; and protected Indians from being forced to work or move away from home.

San Diego citizens implemented, or on occasion ignored, these state-mandated laws when interacting with the native urban population. Benjamin Wilson, Special Agent for the Bureau of Indian Affairs assessed the Indian situation in 1852 as follows:

Many of them [Indians] are good citizens, in all respects, except the right to vote and be witnesses in the state courts, where others than their own race are

concerned. They are anxious to hold onto their little homesteads, and resist all offers to buy as steadily as they can. How long their limited shrewdness can match the over-reaching cupidity that ever assails them, is difficult to say. They lack thrift and prudent management, and are strongly inclining to dissolute habits; though they plant regularly from year to year. Some have a small stock of horses, cows and sheep.⁴

Five years after the statutes were enacted several of the sections were amended. An important modification to Section 6 changed it to read "Complaints may be made before a Justice of the Peace, by white men or Indians, and in all cases arising under this Act; Indians shall be competent witnesses, their credibility being left to the jury."⁵

Evidence to the contrary appeared in the San Diego Union in April 1872. A case was heard by Justice Rufus K. Porter regarding complaints brought forward by Mrs. William Cant that her husband had tried to kill her. "The case occupied the entire day, the testimony taken requiring the services of an interpreter to render it into English. The wife's testimony was not admitted: owing to the fact that she is an Indian."⁶ It is possible however, that her testimony was not considered because she was his wife but there is no evidence in the article to support this. Within a week the attorneys had arrived at a settlement which required the sale of Mr. Cant's property to pay their fee, totalling \$500, and provide for a \$25 per month alimony to Mrs. Cant.⁷

Beginning in the early 1850's, President Millard Fillmore attempted to pass legislation through treaties ratifying the allocation of lands to Mission Indians. The temper of the American populace in California was generally hostile to Indian ownership of property, and the consensus being that when the United States acquired California from Mexico the natives lost all rights provided for by previous governments.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, white residents in San Diego persisted in attempts to move the Indian population outside the city limits. As early as 1852, when Old Town was the hub of activity, the Grand Jury asked that all rancherias be moved across the San Diego River since they were not only "...an eyesore, but the hiding place of idle, pilfering Indians. None of these remnants of a degenerate age should be allowed on this side of the river...."⁸ At a city Council meeting July 7, 1862, it was "resolved that the Indian Rancheria be removed one-half mile from any town residence and an order issued by the board to the sheriff to execute the same."⁹

In the 1870's the Federal government strove to identify the remaining uncontained tribes in the American West from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean and place them on designated reservations, forcing a situation of isolation and dependency on the Indians. Locally, the nomadic society of urban Indians threatened Anglo security by resisting containment, but not to the degree that tribes

VIII. Chollas Rancheria, c. 1884

Photo, San Francisco.

B 1325 Indian Rancheria near San Diego.

in the northern part of the State had menaced white populations. This was evidenced in the fact that San Diego was not awarded monies to recoup losses incurred by "hostile Indians."¹⁰ San Diego citizens believed that although most Indians "were loyal members of their village tribe, a minority of the Indians were 'tramps.' This rover class was represented by small groups of rude huts scattered about this county in the vicinity of some town or white man's settlement."¹¹

In 1869, the fear of a recurring smallpox epidemic (such as the one in 1861-1862) led citizens to request the City Trustees to remove the Indians.¹² Gangs of Indians were reported prowling around the town by the City Marshal in 1873, and he asked that action be taken by the Board of Trustees.¹³ In the early 1880's petitions to pass ordinances prohibiting Indians within the city limits were repeatedly requested.¹⁴ By December 1884, the local government appeared to be no further along in determining the future of urban Indians; "the question of the local authorities having legal power over them appears a complicated one."¹⁵

Through the encouragement of advocates for Indian self-sufficiency, the Homestead Act was extended to Indians in 1875.¹⁶ This was followed by the Dawes Act of 1887 which allotted land to the Indians by means of a trust patent. Adults received 160 acres and children 80 acres. The prerequisite was an intent to become citizens, giving

IX. Chollas Rancheria, c. 1884

B 1326 Indian Rancheria near San Diego.

Photo by J. H. H. H.

up rights to any reservation land and generally eliminating the tribal element of their culture. Outright ownership would not be granted for twenty-five years. Since the Dawes Act required Indian lands to be divided into family-size plots, Indians not associated with a reservation, or who could not prove that they had been born in the United States, were automatically ineligible.¹⁷ Few Indians took "advantage" of this law in the Southwest. In California, with the secularization of the missions, Indians received occupancy and land use rights from the Mexican government, but not title. The Statutes protected these rights as long as they were uncontested.

In December of 1887, the City Trustees ordered those Indians "camped on vacant lots" within the Land and Town Company's addition to move to the northeast corner of the City Park (in the present vicinity of the municipal pool).¹⁸ With the passage of the Dawes Act, the citizens of San Diego once again applied pressure on city government to move Indians outside of the city limits before these natives tested their potential rights to land.

One year after the Dawes Act, an elderly Indian by the name of General Panblo (probably Pablo) Pine appeared before San Diego County Clerk Dodge and requested title to 160 acres of land in Mission Valley. He respectfully attempted to provide information that showed he was in compliance with the law. For thirty years during the Mission period, he had been chief and military commander of

the Mission Indians and both he and his father had lived all their lives on the land he wished to claim. The San Diego Union described the outcome of the hearing:

In order to prove his intention to become a citizen, General Panblo presented a document in court that created some amusement. It certified that the General and his two sons had dissolved their tribal relations. On the document were three imposing seals. One was the seal of the Board of Education of this city, another was the seal of the Commissioner of the State of Massachusetts, and the last was a notarial seal. The old General was very much dejected when he was told¹⁹ that the paper was of no account.

In the same year a case heard in the California Supreme Court, Byrne v. Alas, challenged Indian claims to land in San Diego.²⁰ Byrne wished to remove a group of Indians residing on his property. The lawsuit relied on two premises. The first assumed that the government could evict Indians from land at any time, for any reason, and by any method; and second, the right of occupancy granted by previous governments was not transferred. The Indians countered with the fact that they had never been subject to grants under previous rule and, although they had not filed with the land commission, they had continuously occupied the property. The decision of the court favored the Indians. Jose A. Estudillo, the grantee of the property prior to statehood, had filed the appropriate claims with the American government which transferred title in full and upheld the original agreement citing the Indians' right of

occupancy.

In the case of Harvey v. Barker in 1899, the decision was made against the Indians, although the circumstances appeared the same. Harvey had purchased land from J.J. Warner who held the property by grant prior to California statehood. Warner had also refiled his claim to the land and the grant was determined legitimate. But, different from Byrne v. Alas, reason for the unfavorable decision to the Indians was because "the land at the time it was granted [to Warner] was vacant."²¹ Without a protection clause in the 1844 grant, those natives who settled after 1844 were not allowed to continue residing on the land unmolested.

Section 15 of the Statutes of 1850 dealt with selling alcohol to the Indians. The city ordinance adopted on September 30, 1850 ordained:

That if any person or persons, his, her, or their servant, or agent, shall sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of to any Indians within the limits of the District of the City of San Diego, any Rum or spiritous liquors, such person or persons, so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the city a fine of twenty-five dollars to be recovered by²² the City Marshal for each offense.

A suggestion made by the Marshal in June 1851 requested that the fees for arresting drunks be reduced because they were excessive and a burden on the City Treasury.²³ In 1855, modifications to this section at the state level changed the penalties for furnishing

intoxicating liquors to the Indians. A fine of not less than \$20 and imprisonment of not less than five days increased to "not less than forty nor more than five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned not less than ten days, nor more than three months...."²⁴

Liquor provided another topic requiring regulation. During the 1860's, the Los Angeles Star printed the activities of San Diego in a section called "Letters from San Diego." Occasionally an arrest or fine made a line or two of passing information as "...A Californian whose name I have not heard was fined fifty dollars and cost of suit, for selling whisky [sic] to Indians...."²⁵ The San Diego Union, March 10, 1870, reported that the

reprehensible and illegal practice of selling liquor to Indians is carried on both in new Town and Old Town. Indians, male and female, may be daily seen in various stages of intoxication. By a law of this State there is a penalty of fifty dollars fine attached to this offense, one half of which goes to the informer. We trust that a few wholesome examples will be made,²⁶ which will put a stop to the traffic.

The Daily Bulletin for April 2, 1872, stated that travelers between Old and New Town were treated to the disgusting sight of a drunken Indian squaw. Newspaper articles related the misdeeds caused by intoxicated Indians but often ended on an admonishing note that the responsibility lay with the person who provided the liquor. "The safety and good order of our city demands that an example

be made of the miserable wretch who, for the sake of a petty quarter of a dollar, will jeopardize the lives of our citizens by selling Indians that which transforms them into fiends."²⁷

In 1873, the newspaper hinted that "certain persons in this city who are more than suspected, have been in the habit for some time past of selling liquor" to the Indians.²⁸ By the 1880's, the culprits were identified by name in the San Diego Union probably with the intent that by embarrassing them the practice would stop. "D.C. Hermann was arrested...for selling liquor to an Indian. He was brought before Justice Jones, arraigned, plead not guilty, and held in \$500 bond to appear for trial."²⁹ Also two Chinese men, Ah Aum and Ah Soon, were fined \$90 each for the same charge but landed in jail for ninety days when they defaulted.³⁰

Misdemeanors, often related to liquor, comprised the majority of offenses requiring police intervention. One of the first ordinances, adopted in 1850 by the City Council, attempted to curtail all rowdy behavior within the city limits without regard to race or group affiliation.³¹ Within six months the City Council unanimously passed an ordinance proposing "that all vagrant Indians found within the limits of the City without employment for more than 24 hours shall be fined....," put to work for three days on a public project, or, at the discretion of the Mayor, be hired out at the cost of fines to the person posting the

money.³²

Old Town retained a "wild" western character long after statehood. With the development of New Town, a barrio developed in that area along the waterfront. Disturbances by Indians occurred in the Stingaree block, around Fourth and "J" Streets; another near the residence of a Mr. Hinchman in Middletown, and at the "lower end of Fifth."³³

As time progressed, however, penalties for infractions of the law by Indians became stiffer. The city charged higher fines and offenders served longer jail sentences. An example of violation of human rights against the Indian was simply stated in the San Diego Union for April 3, 1887, "An Indian was yesterday brought before Recorder Monroe for drunkenness. He was bathed, vaccinated, fined \$10 and sent out to advise his neighbors to go and do likewise."³⁴

Similar to today's news reporting, publicity focused on violations of the law. Newspaper accounts alone gave a warped sense of the Indian. "Hundreds" of Indians lived at the rancherias, at one time or another, but only a small percentage made the newspapers; there were those that went home without incident after a hard day of labor. Unfortunately, little distinction was made between one Indian and another, and legislation ostracized them all.

As white residents continued to produce laws that encouraged segregation or at least separation, education of Indian children was an acceptable solution for

acculturating Indians to Anglo society in urban San Diego. With the children lay the hope that through education much of the crime and unacceptable behavior could be eliminated.

CHAPTER V NOTES

¹The sovereignty of the Indian nations throughout the United States was always a matter of convenience to the Federal Government. It allowed for treaty-making but Indians were not permitted to enter agreements with other nations and most often were subjugated to the status of wards. According to Peter Peretti in "Acculturation and Indian-White Relations," (p. 39), "Probably the most notable of the early Supreme Court decisions concerning Indian relations was Chief Justice Marshall's dictum that the Indians were not foreign sovereignties, but 'domestic dependent nations.' This was a new classification in law; domesticity and dependency are characteristics incompatible with the usual idea of nationality."

²Kroeber's "The Nature of Land-holding Groups...", pp. 99, 101.

³In Benjamin Wilson's Indians of California in 1852, p. 77, he recites the statute as: "1.)Justice of the Peace shall have jurisdiction in all cases of complaints by, for, or against Indians in their respective townships in the State; 2.)Persons and proprietors of lands on which Indians are residing shall permit such Indians peaceably to reside on such lands unmolested in the pursuit of their usual avocations for the maintenance of themselves and families, etc.; 3.)Any person having, or hereafter obtaining a minor Indian, male or female, from the parent or relation of such Indian minor, and wishing to keep it, such person shall go before a Justice of the Peace, in his township, [who] shall give such a person a certificate authorizing him or her to have the care, custody, control and earnings of such a minor, until he or she obtain the age of majority."

⁴Benjamin D. Wilson, Indians in California in 1852, p. 24. The homesteads referred to are not "legally" theirs but rather, in accordance with the 1850 Statutes, Indians were allowed to remain there unmolested.

⁵This amendment to the Act, passed April 28, 1855, also raised the fine for supplying Indians with liquor from no less than \$20 and 5 days imprisonment to no less than \$40, no more than \$500, and not less than 10 days or more than 3 months incarceration.

⁶San Diego Union, April 20, 1872, 3:2.

⁷ San Diego Union, April 26, 1872, 3:3; Mr. Cant's property, "sufficient horses and cattle," were ordered sold at a public auction.

⁸ Lewis A. Franklin, the foreman was quoted in the San Diego Herald April 17, 1852, 3:1.

⁹ Those council members present at the meeting were D.B. Kurtz, James Swycaffer and F.L. Brill. San Diego City Council meeting notes, July 7, 1862, p. 153, microfilm on file at San Diego Historical Society Museum and Archives, Balboa Park, San Diego, California.

¹⁰ See the following cases in the Statutes of California for information on allocations made to various cities for "Indian hostilities and Indian difficulties," 1857, Chapter 227, p.262; 1858, 134:102; 1858, 340:326; 1859, 168:173; 1859, 269:295.

¹¹ San Diego Union, October 17, 1926, 9:4. Article by Daniel Cleveland, based on his recollections.

¹² An excerpt from a San Diego Union article, May 26, 1869, asserts "If the City Trustees will only give the order to Chief of Police Young, he will make quick work of the Indians."

¹³ San Diego Union, February 11, 1873.

¹⁴ San Diego Union, February 11, 1873, 3:2; April 8, 1881, 4:2; November 14, 1884; November 22, 1884; and November 30, 1884. Although there are numerous mentions of infractions of the law, it appears that disturbing the peace was the most common. Reportedly (San Diego Union, April 12, 1881, 4:2) "Captain Bailey and James Russell are vigilant in their police duties, and the other officers are watchful. This accounts for the few crimes here, and the exemptions from robbery our citizens enjoy."

¹⁵ San Diego Union, December 2, 1884.

¹⁶ James Officer, "The American Indian and Federal Policy," (The American Indian in Urban Society, Boston: Little ,

Brown and Cole, 1971), p. 32.

¹⁷ The Dawes Severalty Act is contained in the Statutes At Large for 1887 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office).

¹⁸ San Diego Union, December 20, 1887, 5:2. On December 3, 1887, the Union reported "A petition was presented by a number of citizens on Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets, in the southeastern part of the city, asking that the Indians camped in that vicinity might be compelled to fold their tents and steal away for sanitary and moral reasons" (5:5).

¹⁹ San Diego Union, March 28, 1885, 5:6; locating this particular case is a difficult task. The Pioneer Room at the San Diego County Law Library claims that most local records prior to 1900 have been turned over to the San Diego Historical Society's Archives. The difficulty arises in trying to locate what may have only been a preliminary hearing. General Pine apparently was either his own counsel or had very bad counsel for the case was never appealed. He does not appear as plaintiff or defendant in any state cases, or if appealed was denied further action. An undocumented tale appears in Richard Pourade's Glory Years as follows: "Strolling the town among the gamblers and sporting women, and yet retaining a dignity they did not seem to have, was Pablo, an Indian Chief. Pablo wore a plug hat several sizes too small perched atop his head and around which was a bright red band with the letters "Big Chief." His coat had gaudy epaulets, a row of homemade tin medals, and a wide sash of many colors. Very popular with all the Indians of the county, he was much respected by San Diego authorities," (p. 205). This may be Panblo [sic] of the Mission Indians. A photograph of the Big Chief at the San Diego Historical Society Archives was taken approximately in the 1880's.

²⁰ Byrne v. Alas was heard in the State Supreme Court as a result of an appeal to the judgement passed there. Facts as stated in the opinion of the Court are in Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California, 1888 (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co.). Volume 74, pp. 628-641.

²¹ Harvey v. Barker is found in Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of California, 1899 (Volume 126, pp. 262-279). Donald G. Shanahan, Jr., in his article "Compensation for the Loss of Aboriginal Lands of

the California Indians," (Southern California Quarterly 57:297-320) discusses the decline of land-holdings through the court processes well into the twentieth century.

²² Ordinance is stated in the San Diego City Council Notes for September 30, 1850, p. 41.

²³ San Diego City Council Notes, June 5, 1851, p. 83.

²⁴ The increased penalties were approved April 28, 1855, and appear in the Statutes of California, Sacramento: B.B. Redding, State Printer, 1855.

²⁵ Los Angeles Star, June 6, 1868.

²⁶ San Diego Union, March 10, 1870, 3:2.

²⁷ The account continues in the May 11, 1873 San Diego Union, 3:3, that Marshal Gassen had pursued two very drunk Indians travelling along D Street, "shouting and swearing and using the foulest mixture of English and Spanish." One managed to race across the Plaza and hide; the other was taken to city jail. Earlier in the evening the Marshal had confiscated and destroyed two bottles of liquor found on them when they loitered in the vicinity of Sixth Street.

²⁸ San Diego Union, May 11, 1873.

²⁹ San Diego Union, January 30, 1884.

³⁰ San Diego Union, October 27, 1881, 3:2.

³¹ San Diego City Council notes for September 30, 1850 (pp. 40,41) ordained "Sec.1st. If any person or persons shall be guilty of making any riotous or disorderly noise by firing guns, pistols, or otherwise, or shall ring the bell or bells belonging to the Church in this City, or in any other manner shall disturb the public peace, each and every person so offending shall forfeit and pay to the City a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars and not less than fifty dollars for each offence, at the discretion of the Mayor of the City."

³²A Mr. Blackburn proposed this ordinance, identified as Number 7 and passed February 20, 1851, p. 65. It appeared in the City Council Notes for that date.

³³San Diego Union, October 19, 1881, reported at the Stingaree block; November 10, 1881, noted the incident near Mr. Hinchman's residence; and December 6, 1881, 3:1, cited the "lower end of Fifth"; and for January 1, 1887, 3:3, an Indian woman was attacked while dining at a chop house on Fifth and J.

³⁴San Diego Union, April 3, 1887, p. 5.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL CONDITION: EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Formal education has been one of the main sources for instilling urban values. Attempts at "civilizing" the Indians were rarely directed at the adult population. Household servants had the benefit of learning the more refined Anglo ways and mannerisms, possibly even learning to read if the head of the household permitted or encouraged this training.

Prior to 1821, Indian children were educated at the Mission. During the Mexican Period, Padre Antonio Menendez, a Dominican chaplain of the Presidio, conducted school for a short time from 1828 to 1829. The school resumed briefly during 1833 and 1834.¹ Those Indian children living in or near Old Town, or employed as domestics in households there, attended the Old Town schoolhouse.

Even after California became an American province and eventually a state, the village at Old Town San Diego changed very little. More Americans moved in but the townspeople remained bilingual (English and Spanish) and "the social life was still in the old tradition.... Bullfights, horse races, cock fights and rodeos."²

The Civil War served as a distraction and no major legislation was passed to either benefit or hamper the social and educational welfare of the Indian. During the

1850's and 1860's, Indian children were contracted into white households. The rules for governing this transaction were provided for in the Statutes of 1850. Section 3 of the Statute allowed for this indenture but not without a legal transaction or contract taking place.³ E.W. Morse obtained several young girls for San Francisco families and frequently served as manager of such exchanges.⁴

In 1862, A.J. Chase wrote to Morse from San Francisco requesting an Indian girl because "Mrs. C. called on a friend of hers---a few days since---who has got an Indian girl she thinks the world of her....Of course, an Indian girl you must get or suffer the loss of reputation as a procurer..."⁵

Morse did acquire a young Indian for Chase, named Emma, sometime between October 16, 1863 and May 17, 1864. Frequently these children were referred to in terms of objects or baggage as Chase asking when will the Indian "be ready for shipment?"⁶ But then this era advocated that the child should be seen and not heard. Mr. Chase's intentions appeared honorable as in the following May he wrote, "We want the Indian girl until she is of age---we wish to treat her well and give her a good education. We should not consent to any dictation from her father---as to the mode of her education either domestic or religious."⁷

Shortly after she arrived Chase informed his friend Morse that she was "getting along finely - improving very fast in Yankee frases(sic)."⁸ Several months later he

reported that "Emma is well and has learned all her letters and can spell - a very little."⁹ The child was considered part of the family, attended church with them, and required very little punishment.

When times were difficult, Indian children were sold into bondage. This practice, which continued into the twentieth century, served two purposes: first, provided monetary relief to the Indian household and second, obtained a ranch or household servant for the purchaser. It may have been very traumatic for these youngsters to be uprooted and transported not only many hundreds of miles from home but also into a different culture. Indian parents sold their children during hard times in the next century. Delfina Cuero gave up her son to a Mexican family after she had been widowed. This transaction occurred without benefit of a contract.¹⁰

After the Civil War, off-reservation schools had been instituted. The idea was attributed to Lt. Richard Henry Pratt who felt the establishment of these schools would force, or aid, assimilation. His particular philosophy gained popularity at this time and advocated "Kill the Indian and save the man." He put these beliefs into motion at his Carlisle school.¹¹ One perspective of the Indians' condition presented in an 1874 Executive Document and delivered to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of the Interior observed that California Indians

...in former times, especially when under the Mexican government, were prosperous

and well advanced in civilization, are now outcasts from their former homes, which have been appropriated by white settlers, and that they are wanderers among the towns, depending upon the charity of the whites and such employment as they may be able to obtain, for which they receive little or no compensation, and that their condition in general is wretched.¹²

With this shift of Indians to the City, their children attended the city schools, albeit sporadically.

In the 1870's, more and more complaints were lodged by white families about Indian children attending the public school in Old Town.¹² By the 1880's, off-reservation boarding schools were receiving financial assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In the 1890's, the BIA negotiated with local school districts to take responsibility for Indian education.¹⁴

The first Indian school at San Diego was established in 1881 by Mrs. Crothers. Enrollment totalled eleven, and the San Diego Union solicited sympathy and funds from the city populace advising:

"Mrs. Crothers ought to receive every encouragement in her efforts to instruct these young heathen. It should be the object of every community to educate the children of all classes. Nothing pays better; it is economy. It is cheaper to expend means liberally in making good citizens of the 'rising generation' through the medium of increased intelligence than it is to incur the cost of prosecuting and imprisoning them as criminals. There is nothing that appeals more forcibly to the pity of a good man or woman than an ignorant, degraded person."¹⁵

At the school the children were taught to read, write, add, multiply, and memorize poetry. Cleanliness and good conduct were emphasized and all proved to have gratifying results. Enrollment grew from eleven to a total of approximately seventy children receiving instruction at the school in the first year of operation.¹⁶ One year after the Indian school began federal aid was withdrawn.

Organized in 1882, a group called the Indian Aid Society created their organization for the purpose of educating young Indians. This group, funded solely by the citizens of San Diego at the onset, later sought government help for the Indian school.

When the short-lived government funds ceased, the society adopted the resolution "That in view of the necessities of school, the citizens of San Diego be asked to subscribe the sum of twenty-five (25) dollars per month, for rent, books and other expenses incident to the work."¹⁷ The ladies of the Indian Aid Society responded with solicitations for private subscription.¹⁸ The resolution was implemented by Mrs. George Geddes and Mrs. J.S. Gordon who comprised the Finance Committee.

Father Antonio Ubach, pastor of the Catholic Church since 1866, made an appeal in person to the Reverend Mother of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondolet, to send several of the Order to teach the children at San Diego. Although at first the Reverend Mother thought San Diego extended

farther west than the community ought to go, Father Ubach's request was granted. In May 1882 the school, dedicated to Our Lady of Peace, began in a little wooden house located near Second and "G" Streets.¹⁹ Funded solely by donations, the four Sisters started with \$50 given to them by the priest. Rent for the house cost \$15 per month.²⁰ Fund raising activities by the Indian Aid Society provided monies to purchase a "small organ and a number of new 'Readers,' greatly needed in the school."²¹

Again the Federal government provided only sporadic financial aid leaving private monies to maintain the school, often with very little notice. Articles discussing private and government funding continue through the 1880's.

Initially, seventy children attended the school and reports of their progress were positive.

Owing to the frequent breaking up of camps and removal of families, from the necessity of seeking employment or food elsewhere, there has been great fluctuation in the attendance...[but] it has been fully proven that these Indians are capable of greater improvement than was first supposed.²²

Indians were taught, trained, and badgered into being white-like; when they failed it was their fault, if they succeeded they were good Indians.²³

The Indian Aid Society was followed by another, the Indian Aid Association established in 1884, and later headed by Father Ubach. Early in 1884, a call was made for all persons interested in the establishment of an

Industrial Home for Indian children and a meeting set at the Presbyterian Church.²⁴ Previous appeals made by Father Ubach to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on behalf of the "Presbyterian ladies of this place" were ignored. The women had been commissioned to start the Indian school but after three years of erratic federal policy and funding admitted defeat and requested that the Commission give the authority for running the school to the priest.²⁵

Prompted by renewed federal involvement and funding, and the need to prove permanent intent in order to receive the funding, a Board of Managers was set up. Elected as president for a one year term beginning February 1884, Mrs. C. Perry led the group. Rev. A.D. Ubach, Mrs. E.W. Morse, Mrs. J.D. Carrothers, Mrs. J.S. Gordon, Mr. G.W. Marston and Mr. C.S. Hamilton served as members.²⁶ The New Town school had outgrown its little wooden structure so the Sisters purchased a whole block with a house on it located at Third and "A" Streets. While construction of new buildings progressed, the residence of the Sisters served as school and convent.²⁷

Not without problems, children were recruited for attendance. Within six weeks of the Indian Aid Association's establishment, requests were made of Mr. Joseph Mannasse to speak on behalf of the Indian parents who wanted their children home in the evenings.²⁸ The Indian school required that the children stay during the week.

A proposal made by Father Ubach in December 1885 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs outlined his plan for an Industrial School for the Indians in Old Town. Two of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Sister Hyacinth Blanc and Sister Teresa Ortiz, would ride down to Old Town daily to teach at the large house donated to serve as the school.²⁹

By 1886, St. Anthony's Industrial School was the responsibility of Father Ubach. The Catholic Church, under his direction in San Diego, was an ever-present force in the education of Indian children. Not limiting himself to souls within the city bounds, he considered his parish to be the entire county. Traveling to the rancherias at Pala, Temecula, and other outlying communities he brought back children between the ages of 6 and 18 to attend the Indian school under the tutelage of the Sisters of St. Joseph. The emphasis was not just to educate a few Indians, but rather all Indian children including those within the urban limits.

By the 1890's, rancherias no longer existed in the city and children living in camps at the edge of town were often overlooked when student recruitment for the school took place. In late August 1890, forty children had returned to the Government Mission School located in Old Town. Most all of these children came from the outlying reservations. The Sisters anticipated an enrollment of

- X. Saint Anthony's Indian School, Aguirre
Adobe, prior to 1891

seventy-five and had government approval to increase the size to ninety-five.³⁰ "This is the largest number the school has ever had, but Father Ubach says no applicant will be turned away. He will pay for such himself, as it is his desire to have all the present generation of Indians in this county educated."³¹

As enrollment increased Father Ubach needed more help. Traveling between Old Town and New Town, he said Mass at the Indian school four days a week and Sunday services at both churches. In September 1890, Father Joseph Gernier joined the parish as resident priest for the church in Old Town. On September 21, he said a High Mass at St. Joseph's Church "in a voice of power and sweetness."³²

As much from pressure by city officials to move the Indian school out of Old Town as from the need for more space, Father Ubach planned

to remove the St. Anthony Indian school from Old Town to the more expansive grounds of the Mission farm, six miles up the valley, that was a century ago filled with the rancheries [sic] of these children's ancestors. When the government contract was renewed for a fifth year some months ago it was understood that the Sisters of St. Joseph would soon be in a position to give the boys practical farm work, and the girls instruction additionally in floriculture and horticulture. The consent of the bishop was gained for the occupancy of a now unused portion of the Gray Friars' farm, and on Monday the contractor began moving out the two-story frame building used as the boys' school and dormitory. It is being located just east of the Mission ruins and will be reopened by September 1. West of the ruins, where the zealous Padre Junipero and brother

- XI. Saint Anthony's Indian School, Mission San
Diego de Alcala, 1891-1908

*San Diego Mission
and Indian Schools*

Franciscans began the pioneer work of christianizing the Indians of Alta California, is being erected a three-story brick structure for the girls, a portion being reserved as a convent for the sisters. This is³³ to be taken possession of in November.

At the end of June 1891, St. Anthony's Indian School at Old Town conducted commencement exercises for the fifth and final year before moving to the Mission grounds.³⁴ On November 1, Mass was celebrated in honor of the opening of the new school.³⁵ Course work taught at the school by the Sisters, as well as lay teachers, included music, farming, and shoe-making for the boys and, for the girls, sewing and domestic work.³⁶

In 1898, most of the Indian children from the reservations were instructed at the mission. Those being taught at the Old Town school were children of families living in or near the city. Susan Davis Tiffany, who lived in the Bandini House in Old Town at the turn of the century, reflected that

In San Diego seventy-five years ago [1898] no one had heard of "segregation" and "integration" as we have known them since then. There were a few private schools, but we children went to whatever public schools were available with anyone and everyone. There were Mexicans and Indians and descendants of aristocratic Spaniards. There were mixed ancestral lines, as families freely intermarried.³⁷

Besides education, health was another major concern to the citizens of San Diego. Dr. Peter Remondino was a

- XII. Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondolet
with Indian Students, c. 1906

sympathetic physician who provided free services to Indians from the City Infirmary building located on the southeast corner of Columbia and "F" streets. He and Dr. T.C. Stockton practiced medicine with the selfless motto "Patients from every nation will be admitted within its walls." Both doctors held the responsible position of City Health Officer, Dr. Remondino served on the Board from 1875 to 1921, and Dr. Stockton assisted wounded Indians³⁸ as well as those wounded by Indians.³⁹

Dr. Remondino arrived in San Diego in 1873 and immediately involved himself in civic activities. Within two years he was appointed City Physician, and doctored the rich as well as indigent. Since he had spent part of his childhood in Minnesota amongst the Sioux, Dr. Remondino was not unfamiliar with nor unsympathetic to Indian causes.⁴⁰ He served as Father Ubach's physician until the priest's death in April 1907.

During the 1880's, there evolved an Indian defense movement headed by clerics and intellectuals to promote the welfare of the Indian. Helen Hunt Jackson, in 1882, helped in the formation of the Indian Rights Association, a large lobbying group. After publishing A Century of Dishonor, Mrs. Jackson accepted the position of Special Agent for the Department of the Interior. Along with Mr. Abbot Kinney, she traveled to southern California in 1882 and documented the history and location of the various Indian tribes. The "Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians

of California," made by Special Agents Helen Jackson and Abbot Kinney, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs is comprised of a general information section citing specific details about location and instances of abuse to the Indians.⁴¹

H.H. Jackson's novel Ramona was based on information accumulated for this report and, for the most part, is factual "in all matters of importance."⁴² The novel created a myth about southern California Indians which locals enjoyed sharing with relatives in the East. In addition, the story promoted the tourist industry, "selling" the romantic and noble native to visitors. A delightful tale further encouraged the myth as reality in a letter written by Henry H. Mason, a resident of San Diego, to a friend of his mother on January 29, 1892, from "Ramona," California:

This is a lovely place named after the famous Indian Maid of that name, made historical celebrity given her by the great author H.H. I saw the noted Ramona, who is still alive, smiling and happy as when first made a blushing Bride at the old Mission by Allesandro. She is so much sought after that she is rather spoilt and coquettish but quite a good hearted Indian. After all I have known her for 17 years together with her husband Allesandro.⁴³

Ruth Cairn's reflecting on her childhood in the 1880's, recalls her father, a local pastor, who received a visit from Mrs. H.H. Jackson.

Father took her [H.H.] to interview Father Ubach, the old priest whose church

stood, alone, on the brow of the hill on Fourth Street. They talked always of Indians and the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of white people, until my hands would clench and I would think, 'If I could only help Mrs. Jackson. She is going to do something for them.'⁴⁴

Just after the turn of the century, the Sequoia League formed under the direction of Charles Lummis. The League's main objective promoted better treatment of Indians and encouraged legislation giving financial aid to evicted Indians. The group's success was seen in land obtained for the ousted Warner's Ranch Indians.⁴⁵

It is easy to be skeptical of literature produced in favor of the Indian at the turn of the century since much of it was fraught with maudlin emotionalism. The influence of H.H. Jackson was apparent in such statements as "They are the remnants of tribes, once powerful..."⁴⁶ Those who opposed equal rights for Indians encouraged convoluted legislation or outright racism. Education and social reform provided encouragement to the Indian to become homogeneous with the white population, but legislation and economic opportunities indicated a less than equal treatment.

CHAPTER VI
NOTES

¹See Mss. at San Diego Historical Society by Ben Dixon on "A History of School District Number One - San Diego, California, 1850-1870," 1949, 96pp. and "The Indian Frontier in Southern California - Notes from San Diego History Class handbook," n.d., n.p.

²DeFrate, This Was Yesterday, Vol. I, n.p.

³Section 3 of the Statutes of 1850 states "Any person having or hereafter obtaining a minor Indian, male or female, from the parents or relations of such Indian minor, and wishing to keep it, such person shall go before a Justice of the peace in his Township, with the parents or friends of the child, and if the Justice of the Peace becomes satisfied that no compulsory means have been used to obtain the child from its parents or friends, shall enter on record, in a book kept for that purpose, the sex and probable age of the child, and shall give to such person a certificate, authorizing him or her to have the care, custody, control and earnings of such minor, until he or she obtain the age of majority. Every male Indian shall be deemed to have attained his majority at eighteen, and the female at fifteen years."

⁴Letters from A.J. Chase, San Francisco, to E.W. Morse between 1862 and 1868 discuss many of the transactions to obtain children. E.W. Morse file, Mss. #341, Box 1, Files 7,9,10,14, and 23; at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

⁵E.W.Morse file, Mss. #341, Box 1, File 7, Letter #8 "A.J. Chase to E.W. Morse," San Francisco, July 5, 1862, at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁶In a letter from A.J. Chase to E.W. Morse dated 10-16-1863 he asked "When do you think the Indian girl will be ready for shipment?" (Sent from San Francisco; in E.W. Morse file, Mss. #341, Box 1, File 9, Letter #13, at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

⁷E.W. Morse file, Mss. #341, Box 1, File 10, Letter #14, "A.J. Chase to E.W. Morse" from San Francisco, dated May 17, 1864.

⁸Morse file, Box 1, File 10, Letter 18, June 6, 1864.

⁹The letter continues: "She has learned to sing quite a number of tunes - when she first commenced I thought she had no ear for music. But the children have beat the sounds into her. She attends church with us and in fact is, we consider one of the family and a very good girl. She seldom need (sic) punishment. Once in a great while wife sends her to her room - which is the greatest punishment for her which she can have." [Chase to Morse, San Francisco, 11-7-1865, Box 1, File 14, letter #7]. On Sept. 2, 1868, Chase reports to Morse that Emma "was very dull in learning the alphabet but is getting along much better now." (Box 1, File 23, Letter #2).

¹⁰Delfina Cuero, Autobiography, p. 56.

¹¹David Adams, "Schooling of the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917," in Pacific Historical Review 48(3), p. 337; and Everett Gilchreast discusses "Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of Assimilation and Movement." (Ph.D dissertation, Yale University, 1967).

¹²I concur with Special Agent Ames that they deserve generous treatment because of their fidelity to the Government, standing, as some of them have done, as a defense to the settlers of Southern California, against the fiercer tribes of Arizona, with whom they have steadily refused to unite for purposes of plunder, and they ought not to suffer, in comparison with others of their race, in consequence of their more peaceable conduct and disposition; and further, that the Government has been very remiss heretofore in the case of the Mission Indians. (E.P. Smith, p. 2).

¹³San Diego Union, February 3, 1874, 3:2.

¹⁴James Officer, p. 36.

¹⁵San Diego Union, July 28, 1881, 3:2.

¹⁶San Diego Union, March 8, 1882, 2:2.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸San Diego Union, July 11, 1882, 3:1.

¹⁹San Diego Union, May 10, 1882.

²⁰Father Dennis Clark, "Anthony Dominic Ubach (1835-1907)," Master's Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1965, p. 77.

²¹San Diego Union, May 14, 1882, 3:2.

²²San Diego Union, March 8, 1882.

²³This was a manifestation of Lt. Richard Pratt's, "Kill the Indian, save the man."

²⁴San Diego Union, January 29, 1884, 3:1.

²⁵Clark, "Anthony Dominic Ubach (1835-1907)," pp. 53-54.

²⁶San Diego Union, February 3, 1884, 3:3.

²⁷Clark, "Anthony Dominic Ubach (1835-1907)," p. 77, the new buildings were completed in 1887. "In the meantime, in 1885 they opened St. Joseph's school which remained for many years the only Catholic school for boys in San Diego."

²⁸San Diego Union, March 20, 1884, 3:2.

²⁹Clark, "Anthony Dominic Ubach (1835-1907)," p. 56.

³⁰San Diego Union, August 31, 1890, 5:3; and San Diego Union, September 1, 1890, 8:2.

³¹San Diego Union, December 19, 1890, 5:3; the article continues that "Banning has now over 100 at the new school, and the one to be opened at Perris next year will enable all to have Instruction." True to his work, Father Ubach brought other Indian children and in January 1891, there were 97 children at the government school. San Diego Union, January 11, 1891, 5:1.

³² San Diego Union, September 22, 1890, 8:2; Father Gernier, a native of France, "is pleased with the region, this being his first sight of it in a four years residence in the United States. He is a very interesting narrator of experiences undergone in Africa, and also as Chaplain of a French regiment in the Crimea." Also see the San Diego Union, September 21, 1890, 8:2.

³³ San Diego Union, August 21, 1891, 1:6. "For twenty-six years the descendants of the Luisenos and Diegenenos [sic] have had but one guide---this faithful priest---whose annual or quarterly visits have been to marry and to baptise, to instruct and to counsel them, and to whom they look as the sole guardian of their children. If Father Ubach is able to carry out his designs, the new mission will make him as blessed of memory to the coming generations as Padre Junipero's is to this." Also see Savage, p. 289.

³⁴ San Diego Union, June 6, 1891, 5:3.

³⁵ Sr. Mary Lucida Savage, The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondolet (2nd Edition), St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1927, p. 288.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 289.

³⁷ Susan Tiffany's, "Memory Like Ivy Clings" (unpublished ms. at Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California), Chapter 5, p. 19.

³⁸ San Diego Union, June 3, 1873, 3:4.

³⁹ A Frenchman named Debat, owner of a butcher shop on Fifth was the object of an attack by a drunk Indian. San Diego Union, October 19, 1881, 3:1.

⁴⁰ A good biography of Dr. Peter Charles Remondino appears in Clarence McGrew's City of San Diego and San Diego County, the Birthplace of California, Vol. II, p.11-21. and Hensley Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 471. Dr. Remondino was born in Torino, Italy, Feb. 10, 1846. His ancestors were celebrated people back to the twelfth century. He came to the U.S. with his father at the age of 8 and part of his childhood was spent in Minnesota among French Canadians and Indians. There he learned the Sioux language and dialects of French and Italian. He had led a very full life prior to 1873 when he

arrived in San Diego. In 1875, he was appointed City Physician, "being 1st president of the City Board of Health, a position that he occupied, off and on, since then, his last term of office in that capacity for four consecutive years having only expired within the past year, in 1921. He was a surgeon of the California Southern Railroad Company, now the Santa Fe Company, and the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, and for many years was the surgeon of the U.S. Marine Hospital Service at this port. For eight consecutive years he was the County Physician and for twenty-five years physician and surgeon to St. Joseph's Hospital in San Diego conducted by the Sisters of Mercy," p. 20.

⁴¹"Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California.." appears as an appendix in the 1885 edition of A Century of Dishonor, H.H. Jackson.

⁴²"She did, however, modify or illuminate any scene or action that would add to the over-all effect of the novel. Without any hesitation she moved a whole tribe from a valley, because that particular valley was perfect for another scene. She follows the facts of the various incidents, but she has no compunction about shuffling those facts about a bit to obtain the desired picture. Considering the fact that Mrs. Jackson was a woman with a battle to fight, it is to her credit, then, that the story is essentially an accurate account of the Indian in his dealing with the government." From John Byers, Jr., "Indian Matter of Helen Hunt Jackson's Ramona: From Fact to Fiction," American Indian Quarterly 2(4):345.

⁴³Letter is in the Mason File at Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

⁴⁴Ruth Cairns, "Children of San Diego in the Eighties," ms on file at San Diego Historical Museum and Archives, p. 12.

⁴⁵Walton E. Bean, "The Slow Retreatment of Racial Intolerance," in California: An Interpretive History, p. 509-510.

⁴⁶Rev. John G. Ames letter to the Secretary of the Interior, 1874, p. 3, attachment to E.P. Smith's letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report of the special agent appointed to visit the Mission Indians of southern California. House of Representatives. Executive Document 91 (43rd Congress, 1st Session), January 24, 1874.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

It is the underlying thesis that, as is typical in societies where a technologically advanced or economically advanced people are dominant over native or less developed cultures, the increasing dispossessed native culture becomes marginal. As such, a once self-sufficient native population is forced to assume subservient economic roles as domestics, servants or common laborers for dominant employers. By 1870 this pattern was well-developed in San Diego following over 100 years of forced submission, not necessarily acculturation and assimilation. Although it may not appear in the archaeological record and has not been developed as a major theme in San Diego history, contemporary primary sources clearly indicate that Native Americans were an integral part of the labor force in and around Middletown and New Town.

"When the Indians began to experience the white man's characteristic of individualism and competition, there began to be a disregard for kinship ties and tribal unity."¹ The urban rancharia served as a buffer for the Indian leaving the back country or reservation and approaching the strange and large city comprised of White culture.

Because of the prejudices that were common in nineteenth century San Diego, an Indian who could pass as non-Indian might do so to obtain employment or enjoy other liberties usually denied him. Initially, they would have been apparent

in the population but as they became anglicized and intermarried, first with the Spanish and then the Mexican population, these people were less visible and most likely unaccounted for in the censuses.

By 1900, no rancherias remained within the Middletown or New Town areas. Development had made its impact, progressing at a steady pace, so that most Indians retreated to reservations or moved south into Lower California. Those Indians who remained in urban San Diego became inconspicuous through intermarriage and acculturation.

Since the 1930's numerous sociological studies have been conducted with urban Indians which include interviews and questionnaires. The thrust of these studies has been to assess the assimilation of American Indians into the white dominated urban setting. Milton Gordon, in his *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, developed during the early 1960's a model that identified the stages and relative involvement of an Indian in white culture.² Beginning with the first stage, "cultural or behavioral assimilation," which is an acceptance of observable traits, to the seventh level, "civic assimilation," where there is no longer any cultural conflict and acculturation has been achieved, Gordon defines gradual steps which are not inevitable nor time-specific.³ During the nineteenth century, the cultural patterns of the Native American in San Diego never progressed beyond the cultural and behavioral modifications which were limited and separate

from those of the Euro-Americans.

Simply stated there existed three "classes" of Indians in urban San Diego during the second half of the nineteenth century: those employed in households, those hired as day laborers, and all others. The last category included drifters, street urchins and beggars. The first two groups were relied on heavily by merchants, businessmen, and households of the city, and seemed to have kept a low profile. As a result, this marginal population has been undocumented. Because of the lack of specific reporting, information about them is still scarce, but enough evidence has been uncovered to show that these native Americans lived and worked in San Diego. Additional research, based upon this study, may serve to make their story even more complete.

CHAPTER VII
NOTES

¹Peretti, "Acculturation and Indian-White Relations," p. 39.

²See Milton Gordon's Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York: Oxford Press, 1964); Edward Spicer's Cycles of Conquest (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1968); and Bruce A. Chadwick's and Joseph H. Stauss' "The Assimilation of American Indians into Urban Society: The Seattle Case," Human Organization 34(4): 359-370.

³Gordon, as synopsized in Chadwick and Stauss, "The Assimilation of American Indians into Urban Society," identifies the seven stages of assimilation/acculturation as 1) cultural or behavioral assimilation; 2) structural assimilation, "the opening of primary group relations by the dominant society to the minority group,...includes entrance into organizations, clubs;" 3) intermarriage; 4) identificational assimilation, or the minority's self-inclusion in the majority group; 5) attitude receptional assimilation, absence of prejudice; 6) behavior receptional assimilation, absence of discriminatory behavior; 7) civic assimilation, the "absence of value or power conflicts over public or civic issues." p. 360.

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APPENDIX

Death of "El Capitan"

The venerable old Indian, Manuel, better known by his popular appellation of "El Capitan," who has so long been one of the "characters" of San Diego, died yesterday about noon. He was the head of the Indian ranchería on the outskirts of the city, hence his title of "Captain". A very interesting sketch of this well-known old man is given in a paper on the Mission Indians, recently read before the San Diego Lyceum of National Sciences, by Hon. Benjamin Hayes, which we here subjoin:

MANUEL

By this name he is commonly spoken of. His family name is Hatam; by baptism, José Manuel Polton, this last appellation being added from his godfather, a Christian Indian so named. Manuel was born at Santa Catarina. When a young boy he was sought of his parents by Padre Manuel, one of the founders of the frontier missions, to be baptized, and become one of the Santa Catarina Mission. Many years ago Padre Feliz sent ten Descanso boys and ten from Santa Catarina (of which last Manuel was one) to work at Los Angeles as vaqueros and in other employments. He worked there for Don Dolores Sepulveda. The past fourteen years together with one daughter, the only survivor of his ten children, he has lived at San Diego. During most of this time he has been Capitan of the ranchería of this place, and

nearly all of the Indians here, like himself, are Abajeños.

He thinks he must be near one hundred years of age; but this can scarcely be so. He keeps a good watch over his people, few of whom ever come under the notice of the civil authorities.

He speaks the Santo Tomas tongue, and says that this is the language of all the Indians from Santo Tomas north of our line and from the Pacific coast to San Rafael and into Santa Catarina mountain. Below Santo Tomas, from San Vicente to Rosario, and back to San Pedro Martir, Valle de la Trinidad, etc. the language is wholly different. And all are widely different, he thinks from that spoken by the Dieguíños [sic] of this county. Manuel says that he understands but a word here and there of the Dieguíño language.

Like the Indians in the rest of these rancherías, he disavows relationship to the Cuchans (Yumas); although the frequent resemblance of words seemingly tends to establish such relationship, or at least a former intimate communication between them.

Manuel, old as he is, is generally seen upon the street "lively as a cricket." In his manners he is "polite as a dancing master;" and especially full of smiles for any little gifts, which his old acquaintances often make in acknowledgement of his actual, if humble, services to the community.

He observed to me seriously, and in good faith I do not doubt, that he has "always persuaded the other Indians to

become Christians and bury their dead instead of burning them." "Soon, too, I shall go," he said pointing above.

From: San Diego Union, December 11, 1875, 3:2.