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Standing Up to Sugar Cubes: The Contest over Ethnic Identity in California's Fourth-Grade Mission Curriculum

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# STANDING UP TO SUGAR CUBES

## The Contest over Ethnic Identity in California's Fourth-Grade Mission Curriculum

By Zevi Gutfreund

**ABSTRACT:** In the 1960s and 1970s, Native American and Chicano activists launched attacks against the romanticized depiction of the Spanish Past that was taught in California schools. Contests within and among the reform groups (and the eventual resolution found in today's educational standards) reveal a complex effort to shape children's perceptions of race and identity. By tracing the evolution of Native American and Latino activism on this subject and the responses of the state Board of Education, this article shows the symbolic significance of education debates in state politics.

On November 20, 2006, CBS aired an episode of *The New Adventures of Old Christine* titled "Mission: Impossible." Christine (played by Julia Louis-Dreyfus) is a single working mom who doesn't have time to help her son, Ritchie, build a diorama of a California mission. The diorama will be on display at an upcoming open house at the posh Los Angeles private school where nine-year-old Ritchie is a new student. Christine learns too late about the different approaches to the assignment, in which students create a model mission out of material such as clay, cardboard, sugar cubes, milk cartons, Styrofoam, and tennis balls. In writing this script, the writers at Warner Brothers knew very well that the mission-



Claire Foster's fourth-grade mission project,  
an elaborate model of Mission San Luis Rey de España.  
*Courtesy of Ann and Wendell Foster on behalf of Claire Foster.*

diorama project is a formative moment in the fourth-grade California-history curriculum. But the potential for drama and humor does not come from the children for whom the assignment was designed. It is the stress that Christine feels in anticipation of how the other snooty class moms will respond to Ritchie's project that makes the mission diorama worthy of a network situation comedy.<sup>1</sup>

As the fictional "Old Christine" discovers on television, the mission diorama inevitably sends California parents and teachers into a frenzy every spring. As in other life-cycle rituals, families go out of their way to help their children. Several years ago in Menlo Park, for example, a parent donated dozens of five-gallon drums of sheet rock plaster mud so that every student's mission could have stucco walls. Some schools have institutionalized parent participation in the mission-diorama project. In December 2006, Mrs. Kyneur of the Berkeley Hall School in Los Angeles sent a holiday letter to her fourth-grade parents telling them to save the date for the mission-diorama open house in March—three months later.

She included a list of diorama supplies, including four large boxes of sugar cubes, and urged the families to purchase everything before Christmas, "since every fourth grader in California is building some kind of mission, and the craft stores sometimes run out." The diorama is just one way that adults take an active interest in their children's education, but the Spanish missions are at the heart of an old battle about how schools should teach California history.<sup>2</sup>

What do students learn about the missions while their parents are mixing clay or gluing sugar cubes? The emphasis on dioramas and field trips teaches children a great deal about the missions' physical form but very little about what happened inside. The pastoral appearance of the renovated missions, as well as representations in dioramas and children's books, has left generations of California children with the impression that the missions were idyllic sanctuaries for the Catholic padres and Indians who lived there. In fact, this idealized image of a Spanish fantasy past was a conscious creation by Anglos—an image that southern Californians have continually developed and reshaped since the first bucolic mission paintings by William Keith and Edward Deakin in the 1870s and the popular novel *Ramona* by Helen Hunt Jackson in 1884.

Indian and Chicano activists in the 1960s and 1970s used the fourth-grade California-history curriculum to challenge the romanticized impression of history that the mission diorama creates. The resistance they met from Anglo educators, in classrooms and in courts, showed a complex web of identities woven into the fabric of the Spanish fantasy past. In using the elementary-school curriculum to stake their own claims to either European or Native American ancestries, Chicanos and Indians converged and clashed in complex ways. The contests over textbook adoption reveal three conscious efforts to shape and re-shape youthful perceptions about race and identity. While the romanticization of mission history remained popular in many classrooms, the civil rights era inspired an effort to recast mission life as a colonial concentration camp. More recently, education reformers have sought a middle ground by offering a consensus curriculum that includes evidence from both the fantasy and victimization narratives and encourages students to interpret the past for themselves.

The moment that each ethnic group (Anglo, Mexican, and Native American) turned confrontational in the curriculum controversy shows that California politics was closely tied to national movements. In 1962, after two decades of white flight to the suburbs, California's middle-class Anglos embraced Max Rafferty, the state's new superintendent of public

instruction, and his romantic version of the Spanish missions as the cornerstone of his promise to restore traditional values to the classroom. Emboldened by the civil rights legislation of the mid-1960s, the American Indian Historical Society launched the first public protest of California-history textbooks in 1965. In 1972, the Mexican American Education Commission, along with a coalition of other ethnic groups, brought the textbook case to court. However, as younger Chicano activists grew more militant, Mexican Americans became divided over the relative success of the movement. These factions grappled with their dual loyalties to both Indian and Spanish ancestries. By tracing the evolution of Native American and Latino activism on this subject and the responses of the state Board of Education, the policy-making body in California's Department of Education, this article shows the symbolic significance of education debates in state politics.

A closing examination of recent mission assignments indicates the lasting influence of these curriculum debates. Today, teachers have a range of alternatives to the still popular mission diorama, which casts white Europeans as the true founders of modern California. Fifty years ago, some Mexican Americans accepted this romantic rendering to assert that the fantasy past belonged to their *Californio* forbears and, in so doing, claimed a common bond with the state's white majority. Meanwhile, Indian and Chicano activists aggressively replaced the Anglo mission myth of paternalistic Catholic priests and happy Indians with a revisionist history of genocide and the rapid devastation of the state's native population. None of these efforts produced a curriculum that presents a fully accurate view of the mission past on its own. A comparison of several recent lesson plans, however, explains the recurring controversy over Spanish missions in the California-history curriculum. The classroom remains a battleground for political power, but current textbook content reveals the partial victories of the 1960s protest efforts. The revisions proposed forty years ago were more than political campaigns; they represented particular visions about ethnic heritage in a pluralist society. The voices behind these assertions of identity reflected competing attitudes about the best route to political power. Current standards seek to avoid debate by offering teachers and parents a range of possible interpretations, from romanticization to victimization, and by introducing instruction materials from multiple perspectives to provide more historical complexity of racial interaction in mission-era California.

Historians have not adequately examined Indian and Chicano responses to California's Spanish heritage. Instead, they have focused on

the ways in which southern California Anglos shaped that heritage into a foundation myth that suited their own commercial interests and sense of superiority. In 1946, Carey McWilliams was the first to question the missions' romantic legacy as "havens of happiness and contentment for the Indians, places of song, laughter, good food, beautiful languor, and mystical adoration of the Christ." McWilliams credited the rosy image of the padres to Charles Lummis' Association for the Preservation of the Missions (the "Landmarks Club"); Frank Miller's Mission Inn at Riverside; and John Steven McGroarty's *Mission Play*. Phoebe Kropp's 2006 work, *California Vieja*, argues that planting Spanish fantasy icons such as red tile roofs and stucco walls in the built environment helped Americans appropriate southern California as a sanctuary for whites. Using mission-style adobe bricks in metropolitan architecture, William Deverell cleverly suggested in 2004, enabled Anglos to literally "whitewash" rapidly expanding cities like Los Angeles. McWilliams, Kropp, and Deverell made convincing cases that the fantasy past was a tool that white boosters used to distinguish themselves from the native heritages of Indians and Mexican Americans in California. But their accounts overlooked the ways in which people of color responded to this socially constructed myth. As the California-history textbook controversy will show, by the late 1960s those two ethnic groups had obtained central roles in the debate over the Spanish fantasy past, resulting in a mission curriculum that has room for critical thinking and multi-ethnic perspectives.<sup>3</sup>

#### CAST OF CHARACTERS

This essay will follow several activists who were at the center of the textbook debates. Although no leader could speak for an entire group, three educators championed ideas that reflected broader concerns about race relations and ethnic self-interest. Max Rafferty, the state superintendent of public instruction from 1962 to 1970, spoke for white suburban values. Rafferty relied on cold war rhetoric, using scare tactics to call for a return to patriotism through traditional education. Rafferty defended the romantic mission stories that publishers loved to print. Rupert Costo, who founded the American Indian Historical Society in 1964, demanded greater emphasis on California Indians in fourth-grade history. Costo's campaign to change the mission curriculum radicalized after Rafferty refused to work with him. He came to view the missions as places of genocide and insisted that only Indians could truthfully tell what had happened there. Julian

Nava, the first Latino elected to the Los Angeles School Board in 1967, was an “elder statesman” of the state’s Mexican American community. As one of the few minorities in California’s educational administration, he tried to assert ethnic identity without alienating his Anglo colleagues. As a textbook author himself, Nava turned to pastoral mission tales that venerated Spanish Catholic priests, who could be heroes to whites as well as to Mexican Americans. The Mexican American Education Commission disagreed with Nava. Representing the new generation of Chicano militants, the MAEC protested traditional textbooks for demeaning minority groups. The multiple interactions between Rafferty, Costo, Nava, and the MAEC revealed each group’s approach to enhancing its status and authority through the discourse of public education.<sup>4</sup>

#### ANGLOS CREATE THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY CURRICULUM, 1920–1965

Understanding these strategies requires background knowledge about the origins of the state history curriculum. The state-approved textbooks prior to 1965 reflected more about twentieth-century white values than they revealed about early California history. As Frances FitzGerald argued in her critical analysis of history textbooks, *America Revised* (1979), publishers shifted the emphasis on religion in 1800s textbooks to race and culture in the 1900s. White educators shared patriotic assumptions about American progress that glossed over racial barriers and inequalities still dividing the nation in the twentieth century. Phoebe Kropp (2001) and John Pohlmann (1974) examined how the Spanish fantasy past influenced state history textbooks from 1920 to 1965. Max Rafferty won the bitter 1962 campaign for state superintendent because he embraced the language of the romantic past. His new office gave him the power to appoint like-minded Californians to the Curriculum Commission charged with compiling the list of textbooks for the state Board of Education to consider. The recurring themes of civic pride and heroism in state history texts facilitated Anglo appropriation of Spanish heritage by promoting patriotism as a white value in suburban California during the cold war.<sup>5</sup>

The state legislature mandated the teaching of California history in 1923. Promoting an integrated curriculum that met the needs of individual children with an array of activities, student projects, and field trips, according to Phoebe Kropp, California called for educators to teach more local subjects to generate a sense of citizenship. Thus, in 1925, Los Angeles

reformers urged educators to instill state identity by teaching students a “California State Pledge” in which each child would declare, “I love the brave old pioneers who made us what we are.” Perhaps the greatest measure of state pride came in the glorification of Junipero Serra as California’s first pioneer. Many textbook authors romanticized Serra, founder of the first California missions, by reminding students that he was memorialized in Washington D.C.’s Statuary Hall. In 1937, one author instructed children to “make a list of the good qualities Father Serra possessed” and then write a plan to incorporate his admirable traits into their daily lives at school. Educators in the 1920s and 1930s seemed more interested in teaching children how to behave as good citizens than they were in teaching about the past. In doing so, their lionization of Serra confirmed the cheery image of the Spanish fantasy heritage that students saw in red-tile roofs.<sup>6</sup>

John Pohlmann’s 1974 dissertation traced California’s mission myth into the textbooks of the civil rights era. Although politically correct textbook authors in the 1960s were more sensitive to Indian experiences than earlier educators, they still romanticized the past. Pohlmann argued that David Lavender’s *The Story of California*, which became the official state-adopted text in 1971 (and later the focus of a court case about racial stereotypes), was more sympathetic to Indians than to the Spaniards. But Lavender still devoted forty-five pages to missions or padres, and, while he referred to the neophytes as slaves, he mentioned only in passing the diseases that had devastated California natives. Even UCLA historian John Caughey, who promoted civil liberties for blacks, embraced the Spanish fantasy past. Writing for fourth graders in his 1965 *California’s Own History*, he described the missions as the state’s “first schools,” where Catholic padres “Christianized” the neophytes. Pohlmann postulated that Caughey wrote the “first schools” section out of “special care not to offend the many Californians who still cherish” the mission myth. While Lavender’s slave comparisons showed how protest movements influenced children’s books in the 1960s, Caughey’s mission school analogy was a reminder that textbook authors still had an obligation to quench the thirst for stories of adulation of the state’s white pioneers.<sup>7</sup>

The most outspoken advocate for hero worship in schools was Maxwell Rafferty. He started a public-education controversy in 1961, just three months after becoming superintendent of the suburban La Cañada School District, with a speech titled, “What’s Happened to Patriotism?” Rafferty claimed that schools were obligated to prepare children to navigate the dangerous uncertainties of the cold war. They could learn those skills by





Max Rafferty, California State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1962–1970. *Courtesy of the California History Room California State Library, Sacramento, California.*

studying the examples of past military leaders like John Paul Jones and Andy Jackson. Recalling earlier “Mugwump” histories and their emphasis on famous individuals, Rafferty lamented, “[E]ducation during the past three decades has deliberately debunked the hero.” Applying colorful language to post-Sputnik scare tactics, he insisted, “[I]f it is ugly to teach children to revere the great Americans of the past, to cherish the traditions of our country, to hate communism and its creatures, then I say let’s be ugly.” Although he did not address California history in particular in this speech, Rafferty’s plea for patriotic history lessons strikingly resembled the romanticized mission curriculum. Proudly declaring his membership in the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Rafferty may have struck a chord with Californians who promoted Spanish mission monuments to replace all evidence of the Golden State’s history as a multi-ethnic frontier with a whitewashed narrative celebrating Catholic priests with the patriotic reverence often reserved for the heroes of the Revolutionary War. For example, Rafferty referred to the Revolution’s most famous spy when he recalled the recent trial of an American in “Soviet Russia” in the context

of “the Dream for which Nathan Hale died.” While padres like Junipero Serra were absent from such connections between military heroes and current cold war events, Rafferty used other romantic pasts (in this case, the Revolutionary War) to stir up a rousing patriotism that turned the forty-four-year-old district superintendent into California’s leading right-wing educational reformer.<sup>8</sup>

Rafferty’s role as conservative spokesperson swelled after he was elected state superintendent of public instruction in 1962. An obscure English teacher just a year before the election, Rafferty defeated highly favored Democrat Ralph Richardson, a UCLA professor and president of the Los Angeles School Board, by two hundred thousand votes. Although Richardson had the coveted California Teachers Association endorsement, he made the mistake of debating his Republican rival forty-five times. Rafferty’s brash wit not only won a narrow majority with 2.5 million votes, it also drove *The Nation’s* liberal editors to label him the “New Hope of the Far Right” and the successor to Richard Nixon as California’s best old-fashioned orator. Indeed, Rafferty partially owed his electoral triumph to the state’s reactionary constituents from new suburban regions such as Orange County, where the John Birch Society and other “kitchen-table” radicals found his call for patriotism appealing. Rafferty’s election gave Republicans a powerful voice in state education and may have induced John Caughey to include the traditional view of the Spanish fantasy past in his 1965 textbook.<sup>9</sup>

In Sacramento, Rafferty found his brand of emotional patriotism challenged in a series of California textbook debates. His uncharacteristic public silence regarding another Caughey publication illustrated the racial tensions that plagued textbook adoption during the civil rights era. Although the elected members of the state Board of Education made final decisions on publishing contracts, they could vote only on a list of textbooks submitted by the Curriculum Commission. Appointed by the superintendent, the commission reflected the ethnicities and interests of Rafferty’s suburban constituents. The only time Rafferty clashed with the Curriculum Commission came in 1966 when he opposed *Land of the Free*, the first U.S. history textbook of the civil rights era, edited by Caughey, John Hope Franklin, and Ernest May. After reading the textbook’s short biographies of abolitionists, African Americans, and Native Americans, Rafferty’s consultant and friend, USC professor Emery Stoops, had expressed concern that the book was “slanted toward civil rights.” Rafferty ignored the racial implications of his advisor’s comment and insisted that he opposed

the textbook because of eighty-one factual errors. When the Curriculum Commission overrode his corrections, Rafferty quickly moved to adopt *Land of the Free*. While it is possible that the superintendent took this step because he did not share Stoops' suspicions of the civil rights movement, it is also possible that he viewed the incident as a political defeat. In the ensuing years, he hardened his relationship with the Curriculum Commission, especially in textbooks about local history. After allowing the adoption of *Land of the Free* as a textbook that emphasized past restrictions of civil liberties for African Americans, Rafferty resolved that textbooks about California history by Caughey (and others later) should emphasize romantic tales of Spanish padres and mission "schools."<sup>10</sup>

This first textbook controversy swung the superintendent further to the right. In his 1966 reelection campaign, Rafferty concentrated on the conservative constituency that Ronald Reagan was building in southern California. During Reagan's first successful race for governor, the Hollywood icon casually commended the "flourishing manner" in which Rafferty spoke about education. Reagan's rise to governor and the triumph of conservatism in California propelled flamboyant politicians like Rafferty to new levels of popularity among the state's growing suburban population. In fact, Rafferty would later ride Reagan's right-wing coattails to win the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate in 1968 before losing to a Democrat in the general election. Rafferty's passionate campaign to restore traditional patriotism to the classroom disgusted liberals but made him a darling of the "New Right."<sup>11</sup>

In 1965, however, the superintendent's divisiveness was still uncertain. Before the *Land of the Free* fallout, Rafferty considered participating in an Indian-run textbook-reform movement. Seeing the political benefit of working with minority leaders, as the next section will demonstrate, he asked Native American activists to help him change textbook presentations of California Indians. As in the *Land of the Free* incident, the superintendent kept his personal views toward Native Americans to himself. In contrast, the Indians he sought out attempted to publicize their alliance as much as possible. Much to Rafferty's chagrin, those he recruited dismissed the Anglo narrative of California history as passionately as he preached patriotism. These activists pressed for a truly revolutionary reform of the fourth-grade curriculum. As people of color, the Indians were not interested in debating which padre was the greatest hero in early California—they wanted to end the idea of the padre hero once and for all.

## INTRODUCING AN ENTHUSIASTIC INDIAN:

## RUPERT COSTO CONFRONTS MAX RAFFERTY, 1964–1967

Although the two Native Americans Rafferty targeted could not speak for the entire California Indian community, their shift from integrationist rhetoric to ethnic tribalism resembled many other activists of the 1960s. Rupert and Jeanette Costo, a Cahuilla man and Cherokee woman, were mainstream liberals when they founded the American Indian Historical Society (AIHS) in 1964. The Costos were urban cosmopolitans who could move in both white and native circles. Rupert had played semiprofessional baseball and graduated from college in the 1920s. After establishing himself as a civil engineer and Cahuilla spokesman, Costo focused his energies toward integrated education. In the 1950s, he lobbied for the University of California to establish a campus in Riverside, because, according to a fellow founder, he “appreciated what education could do to remove the barriers of race and place.” In 1964, one of the three initial objectives of the AIHS was to “inform and educate the public at large concerning the history of the American Indians.” That year, the Costos recruited five academic consultants to help publish *The Indian Historian*, a for-profit magazine that lasted eighteen years and reached tens of thousands of readers. To find even wider audiences, they published the *Weewish Tree*, a magazine for Indian children, for ten years. When Rupert Costo accepted Max Rafferty’s appointment as chairman of the state’s Indian History Study Committee in 1965, the Costos appeared to have secured an influential voice for Native Americans in the California establishment.<sup>12</sup>

In 1965, Rafferty and the AIHS began what they hoped would become a mutually beneficial relationship. Declaring that California history textbooks were “filled with the grossest misrepresentations and in many cases with lies about our history and our people,” Costo urged Rafferty to form a committee to examine the treatment of Indians in state-adopted textbooks. A year before his reelection campaign, Rafferty saw this as an opportunity to build a coalition with liberals and minorities. Capitalizing on free publicity, he told *The Indian Historian* that “the history of the California Indians, as reflected in the textbooks of our school system, leaves much to be desired.” This continued his attack on books that had “debunked” the heroes of American history. Declaring that “this whole matter has been in my heart for many years,” Rafferty gloated that he finally had the power to take action. The politician not only gave the AIHS its ultimate sound bite, he also named Costo chairman of the Indian History Study Committee, which consisted of seventeen Native Americans. Costo was elated that his

people would have a voice in the textbook process. But the superintendent had won something as well. When Costo praised him for making “national history” by creating an all-Indian committee, Rafferty enhanced his image as a leader concerned about justice for all his constituents. With civil rights issues making headlines almost daily in 1965, this was an attractive political strategy.<sup>13</sup>

When the AIHS first considered the purpose of textbook reform, it simply wanted to affirm the existence of California Indians. The Indian History Study Committee’s 1965 report to the Curriculum Commission proposed “a full measure of absorbing and intellectually exciting, provocative, stimulating materials of Indian history . . . ALIVE and breathing.” The report included instructions that textbooks include Indians in “every phase” of California history while rejecting widely held misconceptions that Indians were “lazy, immoral, dirty and unsanitary.” The Costos did mention that Spanish missionaries invaded California Indians’ land and subjected them to forced labor, but their report blandly requested that textbooks describe the “true relationship between the Spanish-Mexican-American colonists who came to this area, and the Indian people who occupied it.” Rather than argue about misconceptions of missions, however, most of the report’s eleven criteria made practical demands, such as a request that textbooks cite individuals by tribe and name rather than generic phrases such as “an Indian led Anza through the desert.” This criterion allowed Costo to mention his own ancestor, suggesting that authors revise the sentence to read, “Anza was led through the desert by Sebastiano Costakik, or Costo, as the white man later wrote the name.” Rupert Costo wanted to work with Max Rafferty to insert his Cahuilla tribal heritage into the fourth-grade curriculum. This first attempt at textbook reform did not show signs of dismantling the popular Spanish fantasy past.<sup>14</sup>

Rafferty’s courtship of the AIHS lasted only through the election season, enough time for the Costos to see the obstacles blocking the textbook reforms they desired. During two summer meetings in 1965, the Indian History Study Committee met Rafferty for an introduction to California’s adoption procedures. The Curriculum Commission submitted an initial list of textbooks for each grade to the Board of Education, which voted on the proposals. If textbooks were approved, the superintendent would finalize contracts with the appropriate publishing houses. Identifying the ultimate power brokers, Costo targeted the politically appointed body that controlled the book list. On July 16, with KRON-TV of San Francisco taping, the Indian History Study Committee adopted Costo’s report, which consisted



Native American activist Rupert Costo fought to reform how Indians were portrayed in state-approved textbooks and curricula. *Used by permission of Special Collections & Archives, University of California, Riverside Libraries, University of California, Riverside, CA.*

of eleven “Criteria for the Curriculum Commission of the State of California as to the role of the Indian in State-adopted textbooks.” The next month, the Curriculum Commission unanimously accepted the eleven criteria. By October 1966, the Indian History Study Committee appeared to be making progress. One publisher had pledged to remove a painting of two Indians scalping a white woman and the director of publications and textbooks for the state Department of Education had agreed to check that two others would revise textbooks adopted for elementary school use. Weeks later, Rafferty blew away his opponent. He won over three million votes in his reelection bid, more than twice the total that launched Ronald Reagan to the governorship. As Rafferty settled into his second term in January 1967, the AIHS increased distribution of *The Indian Historian* to accommodate its growing readership. The alliance had aided both parties.<sup>15</sup>

The Costos' crusade to reform elementary school history textbooks shows how native protests rapidly spiraled from consensus politics to almost militant radicalism. After three years of submitting detailed reviews to the state Board of Education and sending requests for revisions to publishing companies, the Costos lost their earlier optimism in the Indian History Study Committee. In 1968, they launched their own curriculum campaign. As they grew increasingly frustrated with their inability to reach a mainstream readership, the Costos' interpretation of California history grew more extreme. This led them to call the Spanish missions "concentration camps," a label that remains controversial today. Although the genocide thesis was not accepted by most California Indians,<sup>16</sup> who lived in rural communities with localized economic concerns, the Costos gained influence by mailing their publications to urban activists across the country. Living in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, they inspired the Indians who occupied Alcatraz in 1969 to propose an education center on the island. As educators, they saw the symbolic takeover as an opportunity to teach Indians a new version of California history. The relationship between the AIHS, Max Rafferty, and textbook publishers explains why the Costos, the most vocal Indians about fourth-grade California history, eventually decided that changing the mission curriculum was the best way to undermine the Spanish fantasy past.

In less than a decade after Costo's appointment as president of the IHSC, he and his wife had become political separatists. As with the activist publications of other minority groups of that era, the Costos' magazines grew increasingly radical. In 1973, they introduced *Wassaja*, a journal representing "The Indians' Signal for Self-Determination." The Indian Historian Press also reprinted a select group of titles, beginning in 1977 with *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation*, by Donald Grinde, a Yamasee descendant. Grinde's "Iroquois Influence" thesis had popularized the notion that only Indians could write Indian history. In 1987, the Costos published their own history, *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. This culminated their conversion from integration advocates to tribal self-determinationists. It is no fluke that this evolution coincided with their numerous reviews of textbook depictions of the Spanish missions from 1965 to 1972. Rafferty's dismissal of all requests for textbook revision from the Indian History Study Committee pushed the Costos toward a more radical interpretation of the most popular topic in the fourth-grade curriculum.

INDIANS INCENSED: THE RADICALIZATION OF  
RUPERT AND JEANETTE COSTO, 1966–1969

The Costos soon saw that Rafferty had exploited the partnership for his own gain. This was the same lesson African American historians had learned in the *Land of the Free* controversy. As the Costos monitored California's elementary school textbooks for the next six years, they found that the director of publications never carried out his promised revisions. Realizing that Rafferty was unlikely to discipline his staff for these oversights, the Costos appealed directly to the Curriculum Commission and publishing houses in a fierce letter-writing campaign from 1966 to 1972 which they published as *The American Indian Reader*, a six-volume series of educational perspectives. As people in power continued to ignore or reject their letters, articles, and curriculum proposals, the Costos' tone in these documents grew more strident.

Costo's wife, Jeanette Henry, launched a more aggressive reform agenda by concentrating her commentary on the mission curriculum. In her 1967 article, "Our Inaccurate Textbooks," Henry reflected on the errors she sought to correct in the forty-three textbooks from the Indian History Study Committee report. Textbooks barely mentioned American Indians, she found, except in terms of their relations to government agencies. She vowed to confront textbook neglect with a comprehensive campaign. To improve the curriculum, the AIHS would publish "numerous documents, bibliographies, guides for teachers, and suggestions as to utilization of better materials." AIHS worked with linguists, anthropologists, archaeologists, and other native scholars to circulate scholarly knowledge to its readership. Henry argued that Indian history was especially suited to elementary-school education. "We can give the child the proud and unique heritage which belongs to the history of the American Indian," she insisted. "We can learn much from the Indian philosophy of human relations, the respect for one's elders, and the intense love for one's historic past." Henry's faith in the power of her heritage was so strong that she believed the AIHS could win back Superintendent Rafferty and make substantive textbook revisions. After all, the Indian History Study Committee was still working directly with the Curriculum Commission and, by extension, the publishers. It was with this spirit of optimism that the two civil rights activists launched their letter-writing campaign. The Costos' correspondence about two textbooks reveals an evolution from cordial critiques to dark denunciations.<sup>17</sup>

Rupert Costo wrote Rafferty directly about a fourth-grade textbook, *Stories California Indians Told*, by Anne Fisher. She dedicated her book



to "all boys and girls who like Indians and animals." Costo pointed out that Fisher's "stories" were coyote legends that California tribes told to instill moral values in their adult members. Arguing it was "downright silly to make a whole book of phony coyote yarns," he demanded that the publisher at least revise Fisher's demeaning dedication. Costo also asked Rafferty if, as Indian History Study Committee chair, he could use Department of Education letterhead for the textbook evaluations he was submitting to the Curriculum Commission. This 1966 letter showed that Costo still saw himself in partnership with Rafferty. Further, Costo was confident that he could make positive changes within the state bureaucracy.<sup>18</sup>

Costo was disappointed by the response from Rafferty's associate five weeks later. The superintendent would not release the department's letterhead to non-state agencies for legal purposes. He also attached a correspondence between a Curriculum Commission member and the president of Parnassus Press, which had published Fisher's book. The president defended Fisher's dedication as a show of "respect for *all* human beings and her deep affection for the world of nature." He did not think Fisher's phrase was offensive, and it was Parnassus Press policy that the author could write her own dedication. The publisher added that an anthropology professor had confirmed Fisher's authenticity, and he included an excerpt from a favorable review in *Library Journal*. This response satisfied Rafferty and the Curriculum Commission, which had already adopted *Stories California Indians Told*. As far as the Department of Education was concerned, Costo's complaint had been heard and answered. He would have to use his own letterhead to protest further.<sup>19</sup>

Undeterred by Rafferty's henchmen, Costo took future objections straight to publishers. His next target, Helen Bauer, had powerful backing in southern California. After eighteen years with the library and textbook section of the Los Angeles City School District, Bauer had secured a lucrative contract with Doubleday to publish supplemental books for the fourth-grade California history curriculum. Bauer penned the first three books in the 1950s, *California Mission Days*, *California Rancho Days*, and *California Gold Days*. As the titles indicate, the *California Days* series celebrated the romantic fantasy past. Although it was more difficult to focus on Spanish heritage in a story primarily about Indians, Doubleday found a range of experts to promote *California Indian Days*, Bauer's final installment, in 1963. With a flare for romance, a curator from the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History exclaimed, "Mrs. Bauer's sympathetic study has brought the vanished picture of aboriginal California vividly to life."

An anthropology professor went further, praising her work as “highly useful, interesting and valuable reading for elementary students,” adding, “It even has information of great use at the high school or college level.” Doubleday had invested a lot of money in Bauer’s California history series, and it intended to confirm her expertise with these reviews.<sup>20</sup>

But two roadblocks disrupted Doubleday’s plan. The first was funding. Although the Curriculum Commission had adopted *California Indian Days* in 1964, a year after publication, the state legislature did not appropriate sufficient money to purchase all supplementary textbooks. Second, Doubleday did not expect to encounter Rupert Costo. In 1966, the Indian History Study Committee singled out *California Indian Days*, because, they argued, Bauer had written with “misinformation, misinterpretations of Indian life and culture, and errors of historic fact.” Since the book had to be re-qualified for statewide adoption after the 1964 funding mishap, the Curriculum Commission forwarded the AIHS complaints to Doubleday. Bauer made revisions, and *California Indian Days* underwent a second printing in 1968. When the AIHS continued to challenge the book, Doubleday grew concerned. In 1969, the senior editor of Doubleday’s Books for Young Readers division wrote to Costo. He emphasized the effort that Doubleday had put into revising Bauer’s book and asked for a copy of the report that the AIHS would submit to the Curriculum Commission. This request put Costo in the position of power that Rafferty had enjoyed in the debate over Anne Fisher’s book, *Stories California Indians Told*.<sup>21</sup>

Recalling his frustration and humiliation regarding Fisher’s dedication and sensing that he had long since lost Rafferty’s support, Costo refused to compromise. Rather than sending the editor an advance list of complaints, Costo simply said that the next issue of *The Indian Historian* would evaluate *California Indian Days* and four other Doubleday books in preparation for the Curriculum Commission’s next state-adoption meeting. Costo explained that a list of errors would be insufficient, because the AIHS objected to Bauer’s tone throughout the book. A full review of Bauer’s inaccuracy, Costo warned, “would necessitate an essay on what is wrong with almost all books about the American Indian in general and about the California Indian more specifically.” Costo explained that Bauer needed “close personal knowledge” of anthropology, ethnology, sociology, and history before she could satisfactorily revise her book. He concluded by chastising Doubleday for failing to recognize the scholarly standards of the AIHS. “If you cannot see what is wrong with these books,” Costo wrote, “then a complete system of re-educating the publishers themselves,

together with their entire editorial staff, is in order." Costo knew such a statement would sever ties between the AIHS and Doubleday. But he had already concluded that working with publishers, the Curriculum Commission, or the superintendent of public instruction was getting him nowhere. With this harsh renunciation of the textbook bureaucracy, Costo took the AIHS into its most aggressive phase: curriculum reform.<sup>22</sup>

#### INDIANS INITIATE MILITANT MISSION CURRICULA, 1970–1971

Two textbook critiques and two curriculum guides show that Costo had become more provocative by the early 1970s. Surprisingly, he submitted six pages of corrections for *Land of the Free* by Caughey, Franklin, and May. It is interesting that the book that Max Rafferty had questioned in 1965 for its "slant" toward famous African Americans also failed to satisfy Costo in 1970, who by then was solely concerned with California Indians. He wrote an even longer inventory of objections to *The Story of California*, by David Lavender, which the Curriculum Commission would adopt the following year. In addition to his usual list of objections and detailed explanations, Costo denounced Lavender's "absolutely grotesque oversimplification." Desperately, he pleaded that it was an unwise investment to adopt such a "BAD BOOK" for the state-mandated six-year term. Costo predicted ominously, "[T]his kind of a book is just not good enough for the children of California, and will result in more misconceptions, more prejudice, and more conflict between the ethnic groups of this State, than already exists today." To support this claim, the AIHS declared that the "degrading and derogatory manner" of Lavender's writing turned the story of California into "the story of a POLLYANNA-like world, in which people are not real people, but mere dummies jumping to the foolish and unsuccessful maneuverings of an unscholarly book which is trying to ride all sides of the road at one time." The *Land of the Free* critiques and the indignant Pollyanna reference in 1971 were far cries from the eleven criteria that the Indian History Study Committee had submitted to the Curriculum Commission in 1965, when Rupert Costo had hoped his forbear Sebastiano Costakik might someday appear in a California history textbook.<sup>23</sup>

Exasperated with non-Indian historians, the Costos created their own curriculum. Their initial efforts excluded the California missions. When *The Indian Historian* published the eleven criteria for the Curriculum Commission in 1965, it included a six-page supplement of curriculum suggestions from Rupert's sister Martina Costo, a fourth-grade teacher in

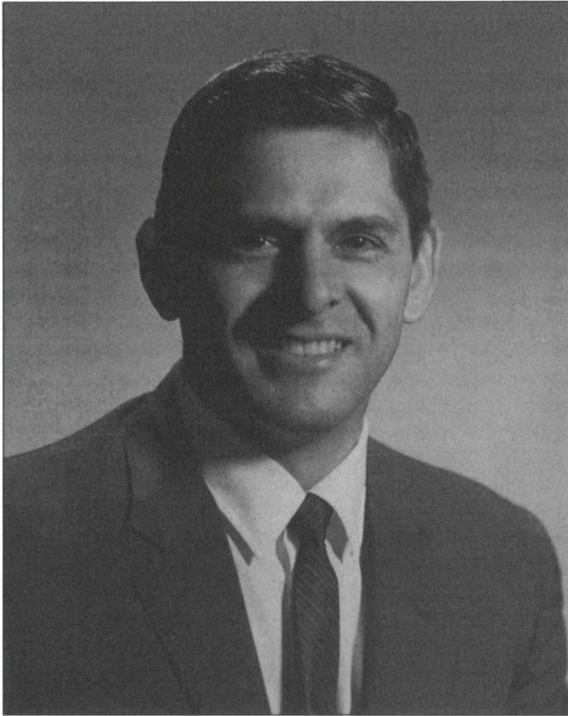
southern California. Martina's proposals reflected the initial optimism that her brother and sister-in-law shared in the wake of their alliance with Max Rafferty. She limited her lesson plans to activities about California Indians before the Spanish and Mexicans arrived. Drawing basket designs, weaving mats, and creating nature myths were fun ways to study a lifestyle that had changed dramatically in the eighteenth century. With missions conspicuously absent, Martina's curriculum guide avoided Indian contact with non-native groups and portrayed tribal life in California positively.<sup>24</sup>

Five years later, however, her brother used the missions to promote a more controversial lesson plan. His role-playing game, "It Happened in California: You Are There," had three historical settings. Unlike his sister's curriculum guide, each of Rupert's role-playing scenarios was about Indian contact with outside groups. The first two were about the missions, and neither was very positive. One game was set in a historic site inland from the San Diego Mission. The students role-played village Indians who were tricked and captured by the missionaries and made to endure forced labor at the mission. Costo reminded students that, in addition to demanding backbreaking work, the padres would separate Indians from their families and many would be vulnerable to disease. The student-Indians had to select one of four courses of action:

1. You could run away, because the guards are not always watching.
  2. You could organize a REVOLT to overthrow the people who are controlling you.
  3. You could accept what has happened to you and try to do the best you can.
  4. You could poison the missionary.
- REMEMBER: You are not armed. The Spanish have guns. Discuss among your group.<sup>25</sup>

All four choices had sad outcomes, especially the option to submit. The "revolt" and "poison-the-missionary" options did not significantly change the student-neophyte experience. The only way to achieve freedom was to run away, and that involved risk. This was a clever way to insert Costo's own interpretation of Indians and the California missions into the classroom.

Although the lesson recreated past moments of tension and indecision for his native ancestors, there was nothing uncertain about Costo's present attitude toward the Department of Education. Rafferty's five years of silence had driven the former semipro ballplayer from Riverside to adopt the revolutionary rhetoric that was becoming popular in his new Haight-Ashbury neighborhood. For Costo, the traditional mission curriculum



Julian Nava, a history professor at San Fernando Valley State College (now California State University, Northridge), was elected to the Los Angeles Board of Education in 1967. *Julian Nava Collection. Urban Archives Center. Oviatt Library. California State University, Northridge.*

symbolized the removal of indigenous identity from children's studies of California. But not all groups with native bloodlines objected to this erasure. Many Mexican Americans believed that teaching missions tied their heritage to state history in a powerful way.

MEXICAN AMERICANS ASSERT  
A CALIFORNIO CONSENSUS, 1967–1975

Prospects for an Anglo alliance were brighter for Mexican American politicians than they were for Rupert Costo. In contrast to the small Indian population, there were more than five million Mexican Americans in California by 1970. Further, while Costo criticized the Spanish missions, older Mexican Americans glorified them. The California-born generations claimed the heroic legacy of Catholic priests and *Californio* dons who converted the golden valleys from wilderness to agricultural oases. Latino politicians broke into public life by forming coalitions with white liberals, especially in Los Angeles, which elected a Mexican American, Edward

Roybal, to Congress in 1962, the same year Max Rafferty first won the suburban vote for superintendent. Two of the community's distinguished leaders were educators: Julian Nava and Rodolfo Acuña. These "elder statesmen" wanted to weave Mexican culture into the city's political fabric, but they also clung to the legend of "Californio" distinctiveness. They believed that accepting the mission myth forged ties to white privilege that Rafferty had denied to Indians. While Nava endorsed the Spanish fantasy past as president of the Los Angeles School Board, Acuña and others promoted the mission myth in children's textbooks. In their efforts to improve public education for Mexican Americans, Nava and Acuña both insisted on the validity of the traditional mission curriculum.<sup>26</sup>

Although they romanticized California history as much as many other textbooks approved by Rafferty's Curriculum Commission, Nava and Acuña never partnered with the superintendent of public instruction. This was primarily because, much like Rupert Costo, Max Rafferty's politics had grown even less temperate since his initial outreach to the AIHS. In 1968, his reactionary rhetoric helped him upset the moderate Republican incumbent in the Grand Old Party's U.S. Senate primary. But that spring and summer, as Californians watched political assassinations and violent demonstrations, they grew increasingly distrustful of extremist positions. Rafferty lost the general Senate election and, in 1970, failed in his bid for a third term as superintendent. Preferring to work where his sharp wit would be more welcomed, Rafferty became dean of education at Troy State University a year later. Although he moved to Alabama, he never made peace with old opponents. In 1982, a month before he passed away, Rafferty ridiculed Wilson Riles, his former deputy who had succeeded him as superintendent, by saying, "[A] cigar store Indian could have done a better job than he has." While this comment was not aimed at Rupert Costo, its hostile tone reflected Rafferty's decision to reject all adversaries, including Indian activists with whom he had briefly worked on textbook reform.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to Rafferty, building inter-ethnic educational alliances came naturally to older generations of Angelenos who had grown up in diverse communities. Although he became one of the city's most successful Latino leaders, Julian Nava viewed himself as more than simply a Mexican American teacher. He was born in Boyle Heights in 1927, before it had become a barrio for Mexican immigrants. Having grown up with Jewish, African, and Asian Americans in East Los Angeles, Nava comfortably appealed to an array of ethnic groups in 1967 when he became the first Latino ever elected to the Los Angeles School Board. Then a history professor at San

Fernando Valley State College, Nava used the textbook controversy to identify with other ethnic groups.<sup>28</sup> While the Costos were fighting for Indian agency in state textbooks in the mid-1960s, the Council on Interracial Books for Children also began questioning the ethnic, racial, and religious biases in juvenile literature. Nava participated in this united effort to present a multicultural view of American history. In 1970, he wrote an informative booklet, *Mexican Americans: A Brief Look at Their History*, published by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League (ADL). This alliance, and others, forced “elder statesmen” like Nava to make certain choices about their Mexican heritage and the teaching of history in California.<sup>29</sup>

Nava’s first political defeat taught him that he needed to market that heritage to white constituents. He entered the 1970 race for superintendent of public instruction against Rafferty, the highly vulnerable incumbent. But the Democratic Party’s white liberal fundraisers threw their financial backing behind Wilson Riles. Although Nava came in third, he won enough votes to force a Riles-Rafferty run-off. The election showed that Nava had to continue his mainstream philosophies if he harbored future political ambitions. One likely reason the Democratic brass chose Riles was because, as an African American, he was best suited to challenge Rafferty’s questionable position on civil rights that had emerged during the *Land of the Free* crisis in 1966. Looking for ways to make his ethnic heritage appeal to white Californians, Nava emphasized the Mexican community’s religiosity in his textbook. As a predominantly Catholic people, Mexicans had experienced religious discrimination to which his Jewish publishers at the ADL could relate. But he could also claim ties to the Spanish fantasy past in appeals to white Protestants. Nava hoped that teaching about Junipero Serra and the *Californio* dons would unite Chicanos and Anglos and make his candidacy more viable in future state elections. Toward this end, in 1975 he recommended two fourth-grade textbooks that used the traditional mission curriculum to tell the story of Mexican Americans.<sup>30</sup>

One of the books, *Our Mexican Heritage*, by Gertrude Brown, applied Rafferty’s plea for patriotism to Chicano culture. Although she devoted one chapter to proving that Mexicans were “very proud of their Indian ancestors,” Brown spent more time on the Spanish fantasy past. She credited the origins of modern agriculture in the Southwest to one of Junipero Serra’s padres at the California missions. Brown book-ended her four-page explanation of the missions with a biography of Father Serra, gracefully opening with his birth on the Spanish island of Majorca and concluding with the two statues of the “Gentle Conquistador” in Washington D.C.

and Majorca. In a textbook focused on “our Mexican heritage,” Brown emphasized that California citizens raised the funds for these monuments to show that Latinos shared the legacy of a Spanish pioneer with their white neighbors. Singling out her juvenile readers of Mexican, Japanese, African, and English descent, Brown concluded the book by urging them to be proud of their immigrant heritages. Rather than marking independent peoples, Brown intended these anecdotes to incorporate Mexicans and other minorities into the American mainstream.<sup>31</sup>

Gertrude Brown won mixed reviews for her children’s textbooks. In addition to Nava’s endorsement, *The Latin American Research Review* praised *Our Mexican Heritage* as “a textbook in the truest sense of the word” in 1976. Missing Brown’s intention of sharing Mexican culture with a multicultural classroom, the reviewers recommended the book for Chicano children looking for an “appreciation of their unique past.” Rupert Costo, however, did not approve of Brown’s textbooks. In his initial report to the Curriculum Commission, Costo had singled out Brown’s fourth-grade basic text, *California—Our State Today*, which was adopted for classroom use in 1965. His wife, Jeanette, expressed frustration that Brown described Jewish synagogues, African Americans, Spaniards, Mexicans, and missions, but not Indians. She lamented that the author depicted “the missions without even mentioning the Indians who peopled them, built them, worked for their padres and the Spaniards, and gave up their land for them.” Rupert advised the Curriculum Commission to “rewrite or replace this book.” He might have said the same thing about *Our Mexican Heritage* seven years later. In her latter textbook, Brown was willing to write in glowing terms about Mexican contributions to the Spanish fantasy past, but there was no room for Indians in this story. As Julian Nava’s approval showed, that was all right with leading Chicano scholars.<sup>32</sup>

Nava’s respected colleague Rodolfo Acuña wrote his own elementary school textbook in 1969, *The Story of the Mexican Americans: The Men and the Land*. The “dean” of Chicano studies exalted another Spanish padre, Eusebio Kino. Just as Serra was Brown’s “Gentle Padre,” Kino was Acuña’s “Padre on Horseback.” Acuña glorified Kino, explaining that, in addition to spreading the gospel in what is today Arizona, this “soldier without a sword” taught the Indians how to speak Spanish, raise livestock and plant crops, and make clothes and candles. He followed this section with the loaded critical-thinking question, “How was a mission like a school?” Acuña attributed the poor quality of early mission architecture to a lack of building materials, bad weather, and “warlike Indians.” He credited the



beautiful churches constructed amidst such hardships to the fact that “the style of these churches was brought from Spain.” Even more than Gertrude Brown, Acuña used California missions to dismiss Mexican American ties to Indians in favor of the Spanish fantasy heritage that Anglos like Brown had come to admire.<sup>33</sup>

As he finished writing the traditional mission story for children, Acuña was also joining the new scholarship of the Chicano movement. He helped found the Chicano Studies Department at California State University, Northridge (formerly San Fernando Valley State College) in 1969, while helping his friend Nava run for state superintendent. The new department tripled the school’s Chicano population—from fifty to one hundred and fifty students—that year, but that was still less than 1 percent of the entire student body. But Acuña and the five other faculty members are not recognized as the founding fathers of the department on its current website, which cites the East Los Angeles walkouts as the inspiration for the campus Chicano movement. The confrontational students who walked out of seven high schools in 1968 presented a challenge to the traditional educational policies of the university establishment. Rather than appealing to a wider Anglo audience, as Nava and Acuña did, these Chicano youths angrily rejected the Spanish fantasy past. Turning to their Indian heritage as a marker of minority status, Chicano radicals rode the wave of protests that swept into cities across the country in 1968.<sup>34</sup>

#### CHICANO ACTIVISTS LEAD A LEGAL CHALLENGE TO THE CURRICULUM, 1968–1975

The factions in the 1968 walkouts explain the disagreements about the mission curriculum that arose within the Mexican American community. The Chicano youths used confrontation to combat discrimination rather than build alliances with Jews and Anglos as Julian Nava hoped to do. The Mexican American Education Commission (MAEC) brought the walkout’s revolutionary overtones to school board meetings. Promoting a history of victimization, the MAEC followed Rupert Costo’s model of textbook reform and insisted that publishers remove European voices from the story of American minority groups. This stark contrast to the glorified mission myth in Acuña’s textbook highlights the inherent tensions of the Mexican American *mestizo* heritage in which Indian and Catholic customs compete. While the Chicano student generation celebrated Aztec traditions in their militant protests, older Mexicans proudly asserted their *Californio*

legacy by endorsing the Spanish fantasy past. The contrast between the allies that Chicano activists chose in a 1972 court case and Nava's conventional coalitions reveals the Mexican American divisions at the end of the civil rights era.<sup>35</sup>

When fifteen thousand students walked out of school in March 1968, they were protesting the quality of education for Chicanos, who then composed 23 percent of the students in the Los Angeles City School District. They were convinced that the Los Angeles Board of Education's ban on Spanish-language learning would continue to limit their English-language reading skills. Although Julian Nava was on the school board, the fact that he had been elected by a majority of white voters (and that he had future political ambitions) prevented him from helping Spanish-speaking students. The Chicano students were aware of Nava's limitations when they formed militant groups like the Brown Berets at five eastside schools, including Nava's alma mater, Roosevelt High. During the walkouts, one Roosevelt student showed disdain for the school board's lone Chicano representative: "Dr. Nava came to 'LOOK' over our school, took one look at our gym, turned around and reported the new gym is beautiful. But, did our Dr. Nava look at *all* our school? Did he notice our *crowded classrooms*, lousy food, closed restrooms? Does Dr. Nava still condone swats for silly reasons?"<sup>36</sup>

This direct attack on Nava showed that radical Chicanos were no longer willing to wait for the political process to run its course. In 1969, the school board hoped to appease the protestors by forming the MAEC. Although the unelected commissioners owed their appointments to the school board, they were quick to challenge the status quo. They identified social studies textbook adoption as one of the first ways to reform the public school system. The buildup to the MAEC's textbook lawsuit, *Gutierrez, et al. v. State Board of Education*, demonstrated widespread interracial solidarity of ethnic minorities against the Anglo Curriculum Commission. However, when the *Gutierrez* decision ruled against the MAEC, the Chicano commissioners and the school board had very different reactions. Julian Nava's reluctance to support the ambitious agendas of the advisory committee he himself had appointed showed that the Chicano community remained divided over the state of education in California.<sup>37</sup>

The MAEC formed a coalition different from the one Nava had tried to build during the 1970 superintendent race. In that campaign, Acuña had accompanied his colleague to appeal to a committee of white liberal philanthropists who wanted to nominate Wilson Riles instead. While

Nava and Acuña failed to foster elite Anglo support, the MAEC's alliances reflected the demography of the nation's most diverse city. A month after Riles' victory over Rafferty (and Nava), Chicanas Raquel Galan-Gutierrez and Kay Gurule approached the Black Education Commission (BEC) to plan a survey of more than five hundred textbooks submitted for adoption by the state board of education. Essentially, they were recreating the survey conducted by the AIHS five years earlier, only on a much larger scale. The women from the MAEC and the BEC in Los Angeles invited feedback from all ethnic groups, asking for instances in which the textbooks violated one of four sections of the state education code. Like the Costos, they published and distributed their findings widely, only with more success than the Indian activists had enjoyed. By the end of 1971, the state Board of Education had formed an Ethnic Task Force to review fifty social studies textbooks that the Curriculum Commission wanted to adopt. The twelve task force members were scholars of Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and Native American history. One scholar of Native American was Dr. Lowell Bean, an anthropology professor and frequent contributor to *The Indian Historian*. As the task force scholars set to work, they believed, as the Costos had in 1965, that their evaluations would effect change in California's social studies classes.<sup>38</sup>

Their power predictably diminished, but, unlike the AIHS seven years earlier, the network of agencies backing the Ethnic Task Force organized to revive the reform efforts. Like the militant Chicano youths, these agencies were voluntary organizations skeptical of the politically appointed state Board of Education. Although there were minorities on the board, there were no Chicano, Asian, or Native American representatives on the Curriculum Commission that submitted textbooks for the board to approve. In January 1972, the Ethnic Task Force found that the Curriculum Commission had authorized only minor revisions and concluded that "the underlying racism of the books was intact and the damaging effect on children had not been diminished." From its Los Angeles headquarters, the MAEC mounted a legal attack to halt the textbook-adoption process. In March, MAEC lawyers filed *Gutierrez, Gurule, Hirano and Salinas v. State Board of Education*. A superior court judge in Sacramento granted a temporary restraining order to prevent the board from signing contracts with the publishers. After three continuations of the restraining order, the state assigned the case to another judge, who ruled that the state Board of Education had ultimate jurisdiction on textbook adoption. Thus, the board adopted thirteen of the forty-five textbooks proposed by the Curriculum

Commission. As had the AIHS, the MAEC ultimately lost its bid to reform California's history textbooks. But the efforts it made to mobilize the Ethnic Task Force revealed a broad multicultural initiative that the Costos had not had in 1965. In blocking thirty-two of the forty-five books from adoption, the MAEC had gained a degree of influence over state curricula that had eluded earlier reform efforts by Julian Nava and Rodolfo Acuña, and even the Costos.<sup>39</sup>

The guidelines that the MAEC proposed for publishers to follow had implications for classroom instruction that went beyond textbook content. These stipulations stemmed from the general principle that "no material should be demeaning from the Mexican-American child's point of view" because "his identity as a worthwhile human being must be affirmed." This meant that Latinos needed to learn about their communities in the Southwest on positive, sensitive terms that did not obscure or isolate the realities of Latino life from other peoples in America. But the MAEC went beyond the textbook changes that Rupert Costo had advocated for seven years. It also found that teachers, by clinging to a "myth of American righteousness," were even more responsible for projecting a negative image of Latinos onto their students. It urged teachers to undergo "attitude retraining," visit their students' homes, join community groups, and learn to speak Spanish. It suggested that teachers draw on the people, parks, and resources in their school districts to integrate Chicano pride into the school curriculum. These diverse teaching methods represented a radical turn away from the hero worship that Max Rafferty had preached.<sup>40</sup>

While the MAEC set lofty goals for classroom education, its attorney used the state education code to prove that textbooks that did not meet such criteria were not only unjust but unlawful as well. The two most important sections of the California Education Code were 9035 and 9002, which required the board to approve only "textbooks which correctly portray[ed] the role and contribution of the American Negro and members of other ethnic groups" and prevented it from "adopting any textbook which contain[ed] any matter reflecting adversely upon persons because of their race, color, creed, or national origin of ancestry." Citing these laws, MAEC lawyer Joseph Ortega argued that reading unfavorable descriptions of their ethnic heritage gave children "concepts of worthlessness of their groups, a loss of self-esteem and as a consequence squelche[d] and lessen[ed] any motivation" students had "to learn and to become part of the mainstream of American life." To avoid such damage, the state education code compelled the board to make all American history textbooks up for adoption

available in two hundred public libraries across the state for at least sixty days. The law provided a two-month window of opportunity within which to launch a concerted attack on the Curriculum Commission's proposed textbooks, and Chicano activists led the way in seizing the moment.<sup>41</sup>

The MAEC's Kay Gurule coordinated the effort, mailing textbook evaluations to other ethnic agencies, including the Costos' AIHS. Gurule attached a memo from Joe Ortega informing the scholars how to find fault with sections 9305 and 9002. Ortega wanted specific details, and he suggested a few generic examples. To prove that a minority group's contribution was inaccurately portrayed (section 9305), he would write, "Textbook Y in Chapter 1, pp. 13–26 . . . portrays the Indian incorrectly in that it states they were uncivilized and had no religion or government when in fact they had religion and government." To demonstrate adverse reflection on a particular heritage (section 9002), Ortega could argue, "Textbook Z at page 13 contains a statement that Mexicans were lazy and bloodthirsty." If he could show these conditions, the textbooks would violate the state education code and thus render the board's publishing contracts "an illegal expenditure of the tax money." Using this systematic approach, Ortega took the radical fault lines found by the Ethnic Task Force scholars further into the legal process than Rupert Costo had ever gone.<sup>42</sup>

The combined critiques from a diverse array of ethnic scholars made the individual arguments more persuasive and morally compelling. Whereas Rupert Costo's view of the Spanish missions greatly differed from Rodolfo Acuña's, the new Chicano and Native American scholars complemented each other's protest points. In his deposition, Mexican American professor Porfirio Sanchez lamented the "irreparable harm" done to society when a textbook "leaves majority and minority children culturally isolated and therefore is a major contributing factor to the maintenance of ethnic prejudices." Building on Sanchez' sympathy for minority children, Native American Studies professor Jack Forbes laid the burden squarely on the shoulders of adult educators when he addressed the board directly in January 1972. He angrily reported that teachers tended to "recoil in hostility" when presented with the latest theories in multicultural studies because they had never learned them in school, "and when new information" emerged, they didn't know "how to fit it into their previous knowledge." Forbes' condemnation of teacher "mis-education" and Sanchez' "children-as-victims" theme seemed more persuasive when presented together. Unlike Acuña and Nava, who were trying to reach the mainstream from within the educational infrastructure, or the AIHS, which had tried to

reform the system by itself, these militant scholars got their opposition to state-adopted textbooks into the public record by launching a joint assault on the politically appointed state Board of Education.<sup>43</sup>

Such forceful language would become the legacy of *Gutierrez v. Board of Education*. But when a superior court judge granted ultimate jurisdiction to the Board of Education, the MAEC viewed the lawsuit as a failure. Although the case was a lame duck, Joe Ortega filed a writ of mandate in the California Supreme Court, and Kay Gurule threatened to file another petition if the first were rejected. However, if the ethnic advisory commission viewed the *Gutierrez* decision as a letdown, the case seemed like progress from Julian Nava's seat on the Los Angeles Board of Education. While Nava had supported the Spanish fantasy myth in his own textbook publications, he was also sensitive to the political ambitions of the Chicano activists. He stressed that three continuations of the restraining order was the furthest anyone (including Rupert Costo) had come to halting approval of social studies textbooks. Nava noted that the National Education Association was picking up on the trends started by the AIHS and MAEC and expected pressures to build at the local and national levels. The local school board's only Chicano knew that he could not reform textbooks or bring about Spanish-language learning on his own, but he viewed the MAEC's efforts more optimistically than Kay Gurule did.<sup>44</sup>

#### EPILOGUE: EVALUATING THE MODERN MISSION CURRICULUM, 1978–2006

Nava's cheery review of the *Gutierrez* lawsuit exposed the complex racial discourse wrapped up in the California history curriculum. The MAEC had emerged out of the crisis created by the East L.A. walkouts in 1968, when a Chicana student had publicly criticized Nava at his alma mater. Seven years later, the school board president praised the MAEC for mounting a legal challenge to the state's textbook-adoption process. On what reforms did Mexican American statesmen and Chicano activists agree and disagree? How did their platforms differ from earlier protest movements launched by Indian militants? What roles did ethnic identity and political power play in reshaping the fourth-grade history program? A look at current class projects and textbooks about the California missions shows that the curriculum debates of the 1960s and 1970s left multiple legacies, all of which are accommodated by the state's revised social studies standards. Some students today learn that missions were horrifying places

where priests supervised forced labor and gender separation. But due to the many classrooms that continue to assign the mission-diorama project, many students leave fourth grade with sugar-coated images of colonial life in Spanish California. These lessons teach more about current conflicts over indigenous heritage than they do about the historical time period that students are supposed to be studying.<sup>45</sup>

In the late 1970s, some Mexican American educational advocates continued to promote the Spanish fantasy past through hands-on activities like the mission diorama. In 1978, Rueben Aguirre published *Teaching the Chicano/Mexican American Cultural Heritage in the Elementary School*. Two projects he suggested were making guacamole and building mission models. Just as he included everything from avocados to tortilla triangles, Aguirre advised teachers to have students work in sand or dirt boxes and design missions that showed "Indian quarters, missionaries' residence[s], barracks for Spanish soldiers, church[es], cemetery[ies], and garden[s]." Similarly superficial mission depictions appeared in *Latino Materials: A Multimedia Guide for Children and Young Adults*, written by librarian Daniel Flores Duran. In his *Guide*, intended as a resource for Latino families, Duran endorsed the writings of Leo Politi, who had earlier lionized Junipero Serra in his 1953 picture book, *The Mission Bell*. Duran recommended the Spanish translation of another Politi book, *Pedro, the Angel of Olvera Street*, because, as he remarked, "[D]espite the argument of some critics that the story is stereotyped, it continues to delight adults and children alike." *Pedro* was set in Olvera Street, a romanticized "Mexican village" built, in the 1920s with Anglo civic leaders' support, as a tourist attraction. Without denying that some Chicanos criticized the romantic story of Spanish California, Duran insisted that those images were still popular in the Mexican American community. Even seven years after the *Gutierrez* lawsuit, Latino educators still promoted stories and activities that would teach children the same mission myths that Rodolfo Acuña and Gertrude Brown had told in their textbooks.<sup>46</sup>

Today, Indian historians tell an entirely different story. Edward Castillo, a Cahuilla-Luiseño mission neophyte's descendant and author of several articles for the *AHNS* in the 1970s, has become the most vocal native mission scholar. In the preface to a 1996 children's book, *Missions of the Los Angeles Area*, by Diane MacMillan, Castillo advocated a new way of teaching the mission period to students. "Perhaps one of the key lessons to be learned from an honest and evenhanded account of California's missions," Castillo suggested, "is that the Indians had something important to teach the Spaniards." MacMillan's book describes the same story that

Helen Bauer told forty years earlier, but it emphasizes the experience of the neophytes more than the padres. It describes a planned Indian revolt in 1785 led by neophyte Nicolas José and a female shaman, Toypurina, who endured years of punishment after being caught by Spanish soldiers. Furthermore, the closing chapter, "The Missions in Modern Times," discusses how Helen Hunt Jackson and Charles Lummis used the restoration projects at missions San Gabriel and San Fernando to appropriate the Spanish fantasy past for Anglo Angelenos. It even refers to the debate that stemmed from Rupert Costo's "concentration camp" version of the missions. Castillo appears to approve the book's conclusion that "many Native Americans view the missions not as monuments but as places that caused death and suffering for thousands of Indians." A lifelong radical who was inspired by Costo to occupy Alcatraz in 1969, Castillo was happy to endorse a book that showed children images they would not see in diorama projects or picture books about mission bells.<sup>47</sup>

The persistence of Aguirre's lesson plans as well as Castillo's publication shows that California educators are still arguing about whether to remember the missions as places of romanticization or of victimization. Unlike the heated debate between Max Rafferty and Rupert Costo, however, these two interpretations currently coexist more peacefully in the classroom. In 1998, the state Board of Education revised the fourth-grade standards of the "Spanish mission and Mexican rancho periods" to combine the stories of the Indians, Mexicans, and Spaniards who had peopled the region. The standards largely avoided controversial questions with suggestions to describe "the Spanish exploration and colonization of California, including the relationships among soldiers, missionaries, and Indians" as well as "the daily lives of the people, native and nonnative, who occupied the presidios, missions, ranchos, and pueblos." These statements included native peoples in new ways, but their neutral tone also allowed educators to interpret the standards more loosely. Under these standards, for example, the traditional sugar-cube mission-diorama project was as acceptable as a diorama that depicted Indian labor and other scenes of daily life at the colonial missions. By writing the new standards in generic language, the state Board of Education created an amorphous policy that was not guaranteed to produce a curriculum about multiculturalism. However, there have been successful attempts to teach both the romantic and victimization versions of mission history at the same time.

One lesson guide in particular shows that it is possible to place the "concentration camp" mission narratives in direct dialog with the more



traditional romantic interpretation. In November 2006, UCLA's National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS) published *New Perspectives on the California Missions*. In justifying yet another fourth-grade mission unit, the NCHS stated its intent to go beyond the diorama assignment, because learning "how the California missions changed California's future and how they affected the lives of the Native American people" entails more than an art project. The NCHS used primary sources to let fourth graders take on the role of mission historians. Rather than ignoring stereotypical images, the curriculum guide presented postcards and promotional material "to explore the romantic view of the California mission period" with a critical eye. Following the "romantic" images, the next lesson included primary sources about the Spanish occupation of mission land. The third lesson combined a report by Junipero Serra about Indian life at Mission San Carlos Borromeo with images of the different buildings and fields that Serra described. This activity encouraged students to design a "mission landscape" out of a paper grocery bag and provided outlines of mission buildings and fields. Although this bordered on the traditional mission diorama, it was really an assessment to help students "translate" Father Serra's report about one mission onto a physical map. The fourth lesson gave students six original documents (three by Indians, two by priests, and one by a Mexican ranchero) and asked questions to help them "consider the mission period from different perspectives." This effort to include so many perspectives makes the NCHS guidebook less accessible to teachers who try to rush through the California mission curriculum in only a few days. However, for those who still make the mission project a centerpiece of the fourth-grade experience, the NCHS blend of primary-source analysis and hands-on activities presents the mission experience in a way that does not reflect the identity politics of any individual ethnic group.<sup>48</sup>

NCHS is just one of several distinguished institutions involved in a broader effort to reform the fourth-grade curriculum. While NCHS consulted the authors of the two most recent histories of California missions, Steven Hackel (2005) and James Sandos (2004),<sup>49</sup> for its *New Perspectives* manual, the state has given official educational authority to a former *Indian Historian* contributor. While NCHS was publishing *New Perspectives*, Edward Castillo was revising the fourth-grade Indian curriculum for the California State Librarian and the S.B. 41 Advisory Committee. The committee reportedly rejected the first revision as being full of factual errors, contradictory positions, and little new scholarship. Apparently, the only innovative aspect it accepted was a strong emphasis on the 1850 California



**“THANKS, MOM”**

A grateful acknowledgement of the hands-on involvement of parents in the traditional fourth-grade mission project. *Courtesy of Ann and Wendell Foster on behalf of Claire Foster.*

Indian Act as proof that California Indians were subjects of legal slavery under the American system. It may be ironic that, forty years after Max Rafferty and the Curriculum Commission "corrected" Rupert Costo's eleven criteria about the treatment of Indians in state-adopted textbooks, politicians in Sacramento are still snubbing the revisions of Costo's protégé. On the other hand, the fact that both parties are still in dialog after four decades reveals the enduring importance of the Spanish missions in the California history curriculum.<sup>50</sup>

The evolution of the mission curriculum suggests the relative success of the protest movements that emerged in the late 1960s. Latinos and Native Americans today can wield their identity for political purposes in ways that were unimaginable four decades ago. The radicalization of Rupert Costo as an indigenous scholar made future revisionist interpretations of mission history seem less extreme. Publishers who used to ignore Costo's complaints now accept his disciple's claim that mission Indians were victims of slave labor. Julian Nava, the first Latino elected to the Los Angeles Board of Education, may have finished third in the 1970 election for state superintendent, but the romantic impressions that he and Rodolfo Acuña promoted persist in diorama projects and Spanish-language picture books. Many Chicanos embrace these representations as passionately as Anglos do, but there are also many who do not. These militants have as much to celebrate as the Indian activists. Although the Mexican American Education Commission lost its textbook-adoption lawsuit in 1972, the MAEC, after more than four decades of existence, can now point to a spectrum of California history books that give children multiple perspectives about the mission period. The convergences and discrepancies between these three curriculum crusades capture the conflicting themes that triggered the textbook debate in 1965: power and identity.

The educators in this study believed that ethnic identity determined political power in the 1960s. All reformers sought access to the Anglo administrator who had the ultimate authority to adopt textbooks, Superintendent Maxwell Rafferty. Their curriculum proposals revealed different strategies to catch Rafferty's attention. Mexican Americans who wanted representation on the state Board of Education considered the Spanish fantasy heritage the perfect way to merge their ethnic pride with Anglos' patriotic sense of white superiority. By the 1970s, Indian and Chicano campaigns rejected the romantic past in a distinct departure from earlier promises of racial integration. The militants endorsed mission stories that presented their ancestors as victims and made their cultures more

authentic. All of these visions now appear together in new California history textbooks, sugar-cube diorama projects extended to include mission work sites, and multiple-perspective mission lessons and activities. Like the fictional Ritchie in *The New Adventures of Old Christine*, it may not occur to fourth graders when they build mission dioramas, but this assignment makes them part of a political process that has united and divided diverse communities in California for generations.

### NOTES

- 1 Linda Lyngheim, *California Junior Heritage Series: California Mission Projects & Activities* (Chatsworth, CA: Langtry Publications, 1993), 31. It is worth noting that all the characters in the episode were white.
- 2 Erik Wessler, interview with the author, October 25, 2006; Mrs. Kyneur to Fourth Grade Parents, December 2006. Berkeley Hall School, *N to 6th Grade Assignments*, [http://www.berkeleyhall.org/education/homework\\_1to6.html](http://www.berkeleyhall.org/education/homework_1to6.html) (accessed January 15, 2007).
- 3 Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 70; McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, 1973), 21–22; Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006); William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).
- 4 Julian Nava and Bob Barger, *California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts* (Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press, 1976).
- 5 Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), 76; Phoebe S. Kropp, “Sugar Cube Missions: Bringing the Spanish Past into the California Classroom,” paper presented at the 94th Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, April 2001; John O. Pohlmann, “California’s Mission Myth,” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974). Evidence of Rafferty’s position is to be found in his 1961 speech, “What’s Happened to Patriotism?” which I discuss on p. 8 [peg to wherever line 1 of p. 8 mention ends up, page-wise]. Although this came before Rafferty entered the race for state superintendent, I believe this controversial speech gave him the visibility and reputation he needed for a successful campaign.
- 6 Kropp, “Sugar Cube Missions,” 3–7.
- 7 Pohlmann, “California’s Mission Myth,” 507–12; David Lavender and the editors of *American Heritage*, *The Story of California* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1970); John and LaRee Caughey, *California’s Own History* (Sacramento: California Department of Education, 1965). John Caughey, who wrote *California’s Own History* with his wife LaRee, was Pohlmann’s dissertation advisor.
- 8 Maxwell L. Rafferty, “What’s Happened to Patriotism?” *The Reader’s Digest* (October 1961), 108–10. For an account of “Mugwump” and other textbooks, see FitzGerald, *America Revised*, 149–218.
- 9 Lawrence T. King, “California’s Fourth ‘R,’” *The Commonweal* (December 14, 1962), 306; Gene Marine, “New Hope of the Far Right,” *The Nation* (January 27, 1964), 89; Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 6.
- 10 “Rafferty’s Disavowal in the Textbook Case,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 1966, Rupert Costo Archive of the American Indian, Department of Special Collections, University of California, Riverside (UCR), Box 104.
- 11 McGirr, 203–204.
- 12 Costo Library of the American Indian, [http://www.americanindian.ucr.edu/unique\\_heritage/costo\\_library/index.html](http://www.americanindian.ucr.edu/unique_heritage/costo_library/index.html) (accessed February 26, 2007); “Minutes of the American Indian Historical Society Board Meeting,” July 14, 1964, Costo Archive, UCR (Box 12, Folder 9.1); Cheryl A. Metoyer-Duran, “Collection Overview: The Rupert Costo Archive of the American Indian,” December 17, 2002, vi–xi, <http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Download/9022000C.pdf> (accessed February 27, 2007).

- 13 Rupert Costo, "Indians & Books," *The Indian Historian* 2.8 (October 1965): 3; "Indians to Lead in Study," *The Indian Historian* 2.5 (May–June 1965): 2.
- 14 *The Indian Historian* 2.7 (August–September 1965).
- 15 Ibid. The AIHS dedicated this un-paginated edition to "teachers of America"; Costo, "Program for Correction" in *The American Indian Reader: Education*, ed. Jeanette Henry (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1972), 150–51; Mark Harris, "Gadfly on the Rump of Education," *The Atlantic* (December 1967), 96.
- 16 It is certainly possible that many Native Americans believed in the genocidal past and at the same time held concerns about the present and future. But the only California Indians I have found who explicitly embraced the "concentration camp" thesis were Costo, his wife, and, later, Edward Castillo. In October 2006, I corresponded with Professor Paul Apodaca of Chapman University on this subject. He wrote, "As I was raised and schooled in Southern California, I am aware of the diorama and mission projects used in schools for the past half century. These are largely the result of Anglo Protestant descriptions of Hispanic Catholic history and have resulted in stereotype[s]. California Indian populations with whom I have lived and worked for the past fifty years generally take pride in the missions as products of their ancestors' efforts and work to maintain them to this day and seek ways of being involved in touring and information dispersal. There have been radical approaches that have sought to create new stereotypes of California Indians and missions that have come from many sources and give yet another layer to the telling of this history."
- 17 Jeanette Henry, "Our Inaccurate Textbooks," *The Indian Historian* 1.1 (December 1967): 23–24.
- 18 Rupert Costo to Dr. Max Rafferty, January 23, 1966, Costo Archive, UCR (Box 104, Folder 1.1).
- 19 Herman Schein to Dr. Samuel C. McCulloch, February 18, 1966, Costo Archive, UCR (Box 104, Folder 1.1).
- 20 Quotes on book jacket of Helen Bauer, *California Indian Days* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968).
- 21 Ellsworth Chunn to Rupert Costo, February 16, 1966; Executive Council, American Indian Historical Society, to Dr. Samuel C. McCulloch, February 17, 1966; Thomas G. Aylesworth to Rupert Costo, July 25, 1969. All three letters in Costo Archive, UCR (Box 104, Folder 1.1).
- 22 Rupert Costo to Thomas G. Aylesworth, August 4, 1969, Costo Archive, UCR (Box 104, Folder 1.1).
- 23 Officers of the American Indian Historical Society, "Objections to the Fourth Grade Textbook *The Story of California* by David Lavender," n.d., Costo Archive, UCR (Box 32, Folder 7.1).
- 24 Martina Costo, "An Example of Teacher Aid: To Learn About Indian Life and How It Influenced the Development of Early California," *The Indian Historian* 2.7 (August–September 1965): 1–6.
- 25 "It Happened in California: You Are There," n.d., Costo Archive, UCR (Box 31, Folder 11.1).
- 26 Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972), 17.
- 27 Ted Thackrey, Jr., and Judith A. Michaelson, "Alabama Car Crash Kills Max Rafferty," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1982, B1; David G. Savage, "Max Rafferty Returns to Battle Riles," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1982, 22.
- 28 The college is now known as California State University, Northridge.
- 29 FitzGerald, *America Revised*, 39.
- 30 While Nava endorsed children's books that told the romantic story, he wrote a more academic account in his 1976 textbook, *California: Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts*. In chapter five, "The Spanish Mission Period," Nava described both the accomplishments of the padres in modernizing California as well as the disease and maltreatment experienced by the Indians. This account was more informative than fourth-grade textbooks, but photos of mission bells and Father Serra statues were remnants of the Spanish past.
- 31 Gertrude S. Brown with the advice of Dr. Manuel Guerra, *Our Mexican Heritage* (Lexington, MA: Ginn, 1972), 31, 89–92, 124. Dr. Guerra, a Chicano who grew up in San Diego, wrote the introduction.
- 32 Miriam Williford and Polly Timberlake, "Latin American Studies in the Schools: A Review of Materials," *Latin American Research Review*, 11.1 (1976): 234; Critical Review of *California—Our State Today* in "Textbooks in the Pilot Survey," *The Indian Historian* 2.7 (August–September 1965); Jeanette Henry, "Our Inaccurate Textbooks," *The Indian Historian* 1.1 (December 1967): 23–24.
- 33 Rudolph Acuña, *The Story of the Mexican Americans: The Men and the Land* (New York: American Book Co., 1969), 36, 24, 129. Interestingly, on page 45 Acuña asks his readers, "In what ways is a mission like a space station?" A year later, Acuña cast Chicanos and Indians in totally new perspectives in another children's textbook, *Cultures in Conflict: Problems of the Mexican Americans*. Rather than writing about history, *Cultures in Conflict* addressed how contemporary students might confront racial stereotypes in

- the Southwest. Acuña used a series of case studies to show how Anglo teachers confronted Chicano and Indian stereotypes with their students. While he was willing to include Indians in contemporary conflicts, Acuña's earlier textbook argued that the Mexicans held a unique place in the missions of the Spanish fantasy past.
- 34 For the history of Acuña's Chicano studies department, see [http://www.csun.edu/~hfchso06/historyofthe\\_department.html](http://www.csun.edu/~hfchso06/historyofthe_department.html) (accessed September 14, 2009). It is noteworthy that Acuña and Nava are still considered heroes to many Chicanos today. Nava became the first Mexican American Ambassador to Mexico in 1980 and served as pallbearer at Cesar Chavez's funeral. Acuña's seminal book, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, entered its sixth printing in 2006. Acuña started another debate in a 2003 lecture titled, "Is Antonio Banderas Latino?"
  - 35 Rudy Acuña, *Cultures in Conflict: Problems of the Mexican Americans* (New York: Charter School Books, 1970), 17.
  - 36 Quoted in Juan J. Inda, "La Comunidad en Lucha: The Development of the East Los Angeles High School Blowouts." Paper presented at the 29th Stanford Center for Chicano Research Working Papers Series, Stanford, CA, March 1990, 15.
  - 37 Acuña, *Occupied America*, 249; Inda, 3; The tension between Nava and the Brown Berets plays a minor role in the 2006 Home Box Office film, *Walkout*. Edward James Olmos, who directed the film, plays the part of Julian Nava.
  - 38 Acuña, *Occupied America*, 247–48.
  - 39 Kay Gurule, "Truthful Textbooks and Mexican Americans," *Integrated Education* (March–April 1973), 42.
  - 40 Gurule, "Truthful Textbooks and Mexican Americans," 38–39.
  - 41 Joseph C. Ortega, *Raquel Gutierrez, et al. v. State Board of Education 1972*, 3, 9, Costo Archive, UCR (Box 42, Folder 5.2). The MAEC was represented by Ortega, an attorney with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).
  - 42 Memorandum to School Textbook Lawsuit Participants from Joseph C. Ortega, April 12, 1972; Ortega, *Gutierrez, et al. v. State Board of Education*, 5. Both sources in Costo Archive, UCR (Box 42, Folders 5.6, 5.2).
  - 43 Ortega, *Gutierrez, et al. v. State Board of Education 1972*, deposition, 3–4; "Statement to State Board of Education by Jack Forbes," January 4, 1972. Both sources in Costo Archive, UCR (Box 42, Folder 5.2).
  - 44 Gurule, "Truthful Textbooks and Mexican Americans," 42; Julian Nava, "Educational Challenges in Elementary and Secondary Schools" in *Mexican-Americans Tomorrow: Educational and Economic Perspectives*, ed. Gus Tyler (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, published in cooperation with the Weatherhead Foundation, 1975), 131.
  - 45 Standard 4.2 in "California: A Changing State," *History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools, Kindergarten through Grade Twelve*, ed. Bob Klingensmith (Sacramento: California Department of Education Press, 2000), 13.
  - 46 Rueben E. Aguirre, *Teaching the Chicano/Mexican American Cultural Heritage in the Elementary School: A Teacher's Guide* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1978), 46–48; Daniel F. Duran, *Latino Materials: A Multimedia Guide for Children and Young Adults* (Santa Barbara, CA: American Bibliographical Center-City Press, 1979), 74.
  - 47 Dianne MacMillan, *Missions of the Los Angeles Area* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1996), 9, 38, 73.
  - 48 Dolores Hendricks, et al., *New Perspectives on the California Missions: A Unit of Study for 4th Grade* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, 2006), 1, 11, 24, 29.
  - 49 Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).
  - 50 Paul Apodaca, interview with the author, November 2, 2006. Castillo is working with American Indian historian Cliff Trafzer of the University of California, Riverside. The books by the two NCHS consultants are Hackel, *Children of Coyote* and Sandos, *Converting California*. In addition to the NCHS' *New Perspectives*, another mission unit with multiple viewpoints is "Early California Settlements: Rancho and Mission Life," a "teacher trunk" available from the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Education Division. Readers who want to see more recent traditional "sugar-cube" mission projects by Anglo educators can consult Linda Lyngheim, *California Junior Heritage Series: California Mission Projects & Activities* (Chatsworth, CA: Langtry Publications, 1993) and Randall A. Reinstedt, *Hands-On History Series: Tales and Treasures of California's Missions* (Carmel, CA: Ghost Town Publications, 1993).