

The Mischief Record of “La Gobernadora” Amelia Stone Quinton, Charles Fletcher Lummis, and the Warner Ranch Indian Removal

By

Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi

In 1902, conditions were grim for the Indians living on the Warner Ranch in northern San Diego County. A decade-long legal battle over their eviction had ended the year before with a ruling from the United States Supreme Court ordering them from their ancestral homes. Since that ruling, they had been visited by a steady stream of government officials, Indian advocates, and concerned individuals. Most of the attention was focused on Cupa, the home of the Cupeño people at Warner Hot Springs and the largest village on the ranch.¹

Early in May, Amelia Stone Quinton, the president of the Women’s National Indian Association (WNIA),² visited the village, and met with the Cupeño leaders to discuss their options. An inspector



Amelia Stone Quinton (1833-1926), co-founder of the Women’s National Indian Association, had a hand in Indian Rights controversies across the country for more than four decades. Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

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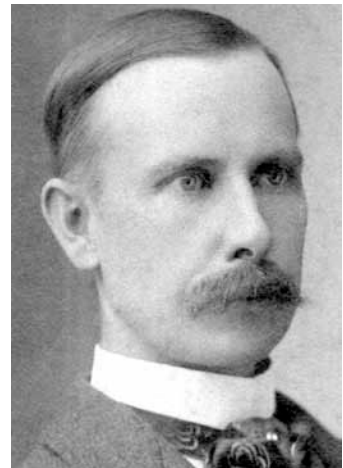
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Charles F. Lummis (1859-1928) was a spirited defender of Indian Rights and a prolific author—but sometimes his enthusiasm got the better of him. Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

from the government Indian office had already recommended that the government purchase 3,300 acres of the Rancho Monserrate as a reservation for the displaced villagers. But others had objected, notably Charles Fletcher Lummis, the influential editor of the *Land of Sunshine* magazine, published in Los Angeles. Through his political connections, he was expecting to be appointed to a special commission to review other possible reservation sites and make a new recommendation to the government. Lummis was angry when he learned of Quinton's visit. He believed she was trying to interfere with his efforts. He was especially unhappy to hear that she had suggested that a delegation from the Cupeño visit Washington, DC, in hopes of meeting with President Theodore Roosevelt.

On May 23, 1902, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a front page article attacking Quinton and her work. That same day, Lummis wrote to Quinton, warning her to be cautious. His letter did not catch up with her until ten days later. She quickly replied, defending her actions and correcting many points in the *Times'* fierce account. In the meantime, others entered the war of words, including Josephine Babbitt, the government school teacher at Cupa,³ Dr. Lucius A. Wright, the Mission-Tule River Indian Agent,⁴ and Horatio N. Rust, the former agent.⁵ Five of their letters are reproduced here, along with the original newspaper attack on Quinton. They offer an interesting insight into some of the personalities and politics that lay behind the Warner Ranch Indian removal. Who would speak for the Indians? Who had their best interests at heart? Would the Cupeño take part in trying to solve their troubles, or simply be left on the sidelines while others decided what was best for them?



Dr. Lucius A. Wright (ca 1854-1933), a San Jacinto druggist, served as Indian Agent for the Mission-Tule Agency from 1897-1903. Courtesy of Marnie Wright Barnhorst.

By the time Amelia Stone Quinton visited Warner Hot Springs in 1902, she had already spent more than two decades in various capacities directing the activities of the WNIA. She was no stranger to controversy, adroitly handling difficulties with secretaries of the interior, commissioners of Indian affairs, and Indian agents. Her tiff with Lummis was minor compared to others she had already weathered.

The WNIA had been founded in 1879 in Philadelphia by Quinton and Mary Lucinda Bonney, who organized massive petition drives on behalf of the Indians during the first few years.⁶ Then, after the founding of the male-dominated Indian Rights Association (IRA), these energetic women concentrated their efforts on missionary work which ultimately brought Quinton to California a number of times. The association's California work had begun in 1886 at the Round Valley Reservation in Northern California. Other missionary projects soon followed at the Hoopa Valley Reservation and in Greenville where they sponsored a boarding school. In the southern part of the state they worked among the so-called Mission Indians at Cahuilla, Soboba, Morongo, El Potrero, Martinez, and at Warner Hot Springs, where they hoped to build a hospital. While the proposed hospital never materialized, from 1892 to 1899 the WNIA, with the major funding coming from the New York City Indian Association auxiliary, supported Dr. Rebecca C. Hallowell as a medical missionary, and extended some support to Julia M. French, the government field matron. In January 1899 the WNIA's "Agua Caliente" mission was transferred to the Moravian Church.⁷

Quinton's first visit to the village of Cupa had been in 1891 during an exten-



Josephine Babbitt (1852-1940) and her students at the government school at Cupa in 1898. Roscinda Nolasquez (1892-1987) is the shy little girl, fifth from the left. From Land of Sunshine, April 1899.



Salvador Nolasquez (1861-1933) served as Captain at Cupa in the 1890s, and traveled with the Warner Ranch Indian Commission in 1902 to look at prospective reservation sites. ©SDHC #19101.

sive tour of western states organizing upper-and middle-class white women into local auxiliaries of the WNIA. At that time she viewed the village's hot sulphur springs and concluded the site would be an ideal location for an association-sponsored hospital – an idea also held by Mission Indian Agent Horatio N. Rust.⁸ She returned again in 1895 and in 1902. On May 5 of that year, Quinton, accompanied by Reverend William H. Weinland, a Moravian minister, and his wife, left Hemet to visit Warner Hot Springs.⁹ They arrived at the village on the evening of the following day. Quinton found much had changed since her first visit in 1891. Now she found better homes and a new schoolhouse with comfortable living quarters for the teacher, Josephine Babbitt. Babbitt had begun her long tenure at the village

in 1890, and was described by Quinton as a “Christian woman, who is not only teacher, but truest mother, friend, adviser, and moral instructor to her attached Indian friends.”¹⁰

The Cupeños welcomed Quinton, and met with her in the schoolhouse on May 7 to discuss their impending removal. “All was conducted with decorum,” she wrote, “but the hushed tones, and the spirit of sadness that pervaded the assembly were eloquent of the sorrow shadowing all.” The tribal leaders told Quinton, “This is our home, we wish to stay here; we do not wish to consider any other home.” The village captain and others said they thought they should go to Washington to tell President Roosevelt what was in their hearts. “This is *our* affair; it is about our home,” they told her. At first, Quinton discouraged them from trying to send a delegation, but later she changed her mind.¹¹

The Cupeño's fear and frustration had been growing for decades as they watched other villages in San Diego County disappear one by one. Their homeland around the hot springs had briefly been set aside as a reservation by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1875 but revoked by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1880 when a later government survey determined that the hot springs was part of the vast Rancho Vallé de San José, better known as simply the Warner Ranch.¹² By the 1880s, it was

owned by former California Governor John Gately Downey, and in 1892 he filed a lawsuit to remove the Indian "trespassers" from his land.¹³

The suit of *John G. Downey vs. Alejandro Barker et al.* was first heard in San Diego County Superior Court in July 1893.¹⁴ The Federal Government provided two attorneys to represent the villagers, Shirley C. Ward and Frank D. Lewis.¹⁵ A few years before, Ward had successfully defended the Soboba village near San Jacinto in a similar eviction suit. He argued that under Spanish and Mexican law, the villagers had a possessory right to their homes, and that the United States Government had pledged to uphold all existing property rights in California in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded the area to the United States at the end of the Mexican War in 1848.¹⁶

The case dragged on for years. Downey died in 1894, and his nephew, J. Downey Harvey was substituted as plaintiff. San Diego County Superior Court Judge George Puterbaugh eventually disqualified himself for conflict of interest, due to his involvement in the plans to develop the water resources of the Warner Ranch—something that could only be done after the removal of the Indians. Finally, on December 29, 1896, Judge W.L. Pierce ruled that the Downey interests owned the land, and the Indians would have to go.¹⁷ Immediately elderly Cupeños confided to Babbitt their fears of "being ejected from their homes."¹⁸ While the Indians lamented their loss, a *San Francisco Chronicle* article described their removal as "a good thing for Southern California." Their presence had kept "27,000 acres of excellent land... out of the hands of home builders and has contributed little to the sum of progress."¹⁹

Denied a request for a new trial, Ward and Lewis appealed to the California State Supreme Court, with the IRA putting up the money for the appeal bond. Ward, convinced of success, had written Herbert Welsh, IRA founder: "Personally, I have no doubt as to the case being decided in our favor both by the Supreme Court of this State and the Supreme Court of the United States. The question involved is purely a question of law," he confidently wrote.²⁰ Because of a backlog, the California Supreme Court did not hear arguments until April 19, 1899. Unfortunately since the days of the Soboba case, several new justices had been appointed and, in October 1899, the court upheld the verdict on a four to three vote.²¹

An application for a rehearing was turned down, but by now, the case was attracting national attention, prompting the United States Attorney General's office to carry a final appeal to the United States Supreme Court. But once again, the verdict was the same. On May 13, 1901, the Supreme Court ruled that the Indians had no right to their homes.²² Members of the IRA were keenly disappointed, as was Quinton, who remarked to Welsh that "the case of the Agua Caliente Indians has been a great grief."²³

Because J. Downey Harvey refused to sell just the hot springs and, instead, offered the government a full 30,000 acres of the ranch for \$245,000—a price considered too high by the government—in November 1901 Commissioner of Indian Affairs William



The hot springs at Cupa were used by Indians and tourists alike in the late 19th century. ©SDHC #82-13438.

A. Jones sent James McLaughlin, one of their most experienced inspectors, to look for a new home for the displaced villagers. McLaughlin's eventual recommendation was to purchase the Rancho Monserrate near Bonsall, in northern San Diego County and set it aside as a reservation.²⁴

It is at this point that Charles Lummis entered the story. In 1901 he had organized his own Indian rights group, the Sequoia League, primarily a West Coast-based Indian rights organization intended to work with the government on common-sense policies with Indian consent. He promoted the League through the pages of his *Land of Sunshine* magazine (soon to be renamed *Out West*).²⁵ The first order of business for the League was to help the Cupeños who were facing eviction from their village. With that in mind, Lummis personally surveyed the Rancho Monserrate, finding insufficient water and a \$70,000 price tag that was more than twice what the land was worth. Josephine Babbitt agreed. She had written Lummis in February that she had learned from others that the place was "unfit and unsuited in all respects," with no wood, dry pastures, and a dry river during much of the year.²⁶

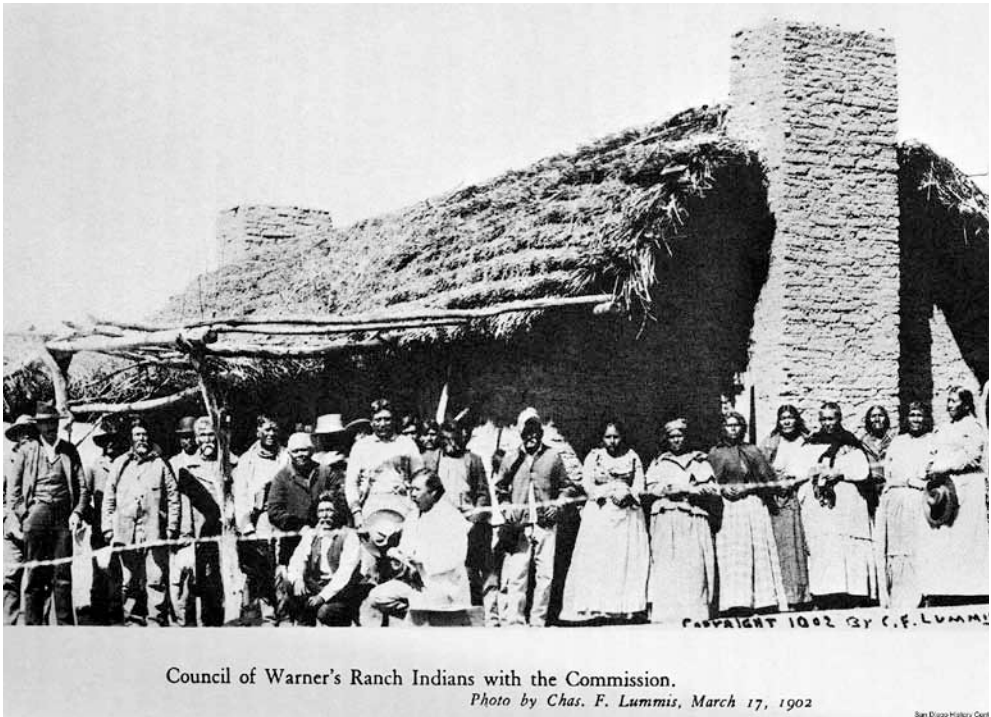
Lummis next turned to fellow-Harvard student Theodore Roosevelt to intervene. With his support, Congress established the Warner Ranch Indian Commission to make a new recommendation for a reservation, and authorized \$100,000 for its purchase and the removal of the Warner Ranch Indians.²⁷ Lummis, of course, would serve as chairman, assisted by Charles L. Partridge and Russell C. Allen.²⁸ Lummis had visited the hot springs in March 1902, and held his first meeting with the Cupeños,

trying to explain that he only wanted to help them. But there was some delay in the final approval and appointment of the commission, and it was during that uncertain time that Quinton had made her visit.

Lummis seems to have played a role in the May 23, 1902, *Los Angeles Times* article attacking Amelia Stone Quinton. He is quoted in the article, calling her "an obscure woman" who was only adding to the anguish of the Indians like other "meddlesome or ignorant persons."²⁹ Besides his letter to Quinton, written that same day, he also wrote demanding more information from Mission Indian Agent Lucius A. Wright, and schoolteacher Josephine Babbitt. He wrote Wright that he assumed it was Quinton, and not Babbitt, who was responsible for the "recent underhanded work that you and I have felt sure was being done there" in "getting the Indians in a bad frame of mind."³⁰

Lummis' letter to Quinton was addressed to her at Warner Hot Springs, but as she had left two weeks before, Josephine Babbitt forwarded the letter to her California home at Val Verde, near Perris,³¹ and sent her own response to Lummis. In fact Babbitt corresponded with Lummis several times. On April 23 she had informed him that the village captain and his interpreter wanted to consult him as a "friend to the Indians," not as a member of the commission, about "the advisability of their going to Washington" to plead their case before the president. They had already collected more than enough money to fund their own trip and had asked her to accompany them. She had agreed to go. They were all waiting for his "verdict."³² Shortly thereafter, Lummis did meet with the village captain and five others, advising them "it would be useless and that there was no hope whatever for them to keep their present homes."³³ Disappointed, in late June the captain and another Cupeño went to San Bernardino to consult Attorney John Brown.³⁴ Babbitt tried unsuccessfully to explain to them that by doing so they "were doing themselves an injury, and going contrary to the wishes of their real friends." Then when she explained that she would not be accompanying them to Washington because "it would be useless," they decided she had joined "the ranks of those that are trying to get them away from their homes."³⁵

In the meantime, former Mission Indian Agent Horatio Nelson Rust entered the fray with a letter to the *Times* attacking "my old arch enemy" Quinton as an "unprincipled woman who sought to stir up the Warner ranch Indians" against the good work of Lummis and the special commission. Rust painted a grand picture of his own Indian work, taking great liberties with the facts. He claimed, for example, that Quinton had only come to California in 1891 on his invitation, when in fact she had come as part of her campaign to establish auxiliary branches of the WNIA throughout the West. He also claimed Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan had encouraged him to establish a hospital at Warner Hot Springs, and that he had selected the location and drew up the plans, when in fact it was Quinton who first approached Morgan



Lummis held his first meeting with the Cupeño leaders in March 1902. The two men kneeling in front are Cecilio Blacktooth, then Captain of the village, and Ambrosio Ortega, lay reader at the little chapel. ©SDHC #19101.

about a hospital. When the WNIA failed to get a hospital built, Rust complained that “My plans were all frustrated, my promise to the Indians broken.”³⁶

Rust ended his letter on a strange note, citing the case of a female “fortune teller” from Colton whom he described as a liar and a “bad woman” who had been visiting local villages during his days as agent. He said he had ordered the Indians “to tie her to a tree and flog her.” It was “very easy for a bad woman to deceive the Indians,” he added. His veiled threat shows the depth of his dislike for Quinton, who had been critical of him in the past. Clearly, men like Rust and Lummis did not appreciate an active, assertive woman infringing on what they considered “their” struggle for the Indians.³⁷

Four days after Rust’s letter, Reverend William H. Weinland, who had been with Quinton on her disputed visit to the hot springs, came to her defense, telling the *Los Angeles Times* that she did not create “but found already existing, the dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives concerning their removal.” What’s more, he added, she had not criticized Lummis or his commission.³⁸

Quinton’s response to Lummis, dated June 3, 1902, was accompanied by a seven-page explanation of her actions which she had asked him to forward to the *Times*.

Despite the critical tone of his letter, the vitriolic letter from Rust, and the abusive *Times* article which started it all, Quinton's letter is measured, respectful, and calm. But in her reply, she was clever enough to quote Lummis' own description of his meeting with the Cupeños a few weeks before hers where he noted that if the Indians "could say in Washington what they said to me, as they said it, they would need no advocate."³⁹ Because Quinton's lengthy explanation never appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, it can be assumed that Lummis put the original away in his files.

In addition to her long explanation to Lummis, Quinton also defended her actions in a speech before the Pasadena Women's Missionary Union, where she explained that the Cupeños were already talking about sending a delegation to Washington before she arrived. Although she had informed them that a trip to Washington was both a waste of time and money, she did offer them some advice as to which men might best represent them if they chose to send a delegation.⁴⁰ To further explain her position, she followed up with a lengthy article that appeared in *The Indian's Friend* that summer.⁴¹

In July, Quinton and Lummis finally met face to face in Los Angeles, and Lummis announced that "her motives at Warner's ranch, which appeared so insurrectionary at the time, were misunderstood," that she had convinced him of "her devotion to the cause," and that he was sorry to have the head of a national organization "discredited without cause."⁴²

The struggles over the removal of the Cupeños, and the squabbles between the individuals trying to help them, continued for another year. During that time, Lummis seems to have crossed swords with almost every other player in the drama, including the Indians' attorney, John Brown, reporter George L. Lawson,⁴³ and Special Inspector James E. Jenkins,⁴⁴ who was ultimately assigned the thankless task of carrying out the removal – a role Lummis had initially expected to fill.

Lummis had become convinced that the Indians could only be moved by a show of force from the U.S. Army, and insisted that troops would be needed. Fortunately, Jenkins took a more peaceful tack, relying more on patience and diplomacy. In the end, a group of Cupeño leaders even had the chance to meet President Roosevelt during his visit to Southern California in the spring of 1903, just days before the removal began. But while the president received them, they were not given an opportunity to plead their case.⁴⁵

Finally, on May 12, 1903, the wagons rolled, and the Cupeños set out on their three-day march to the new reservation at Pala. When they finally arrived, grown men wept openly. The land was barren and brushy, and the only accommodations were a pile of tents the Indians had to set up for themselves. Later, flimsy portable houses were brought in, which the Cupeño dubbed "coffin houses." Their life on the reservation had begun.⁴⁶

Los Angeles Times, May 23, 1902

POOR INDIANS VICTIMIZED.

Female False Pretender Among Them.

Holds Out Hopes That Set Aflame.

Woman on Warner's Ranch May

Cause Trouble for the Commission.

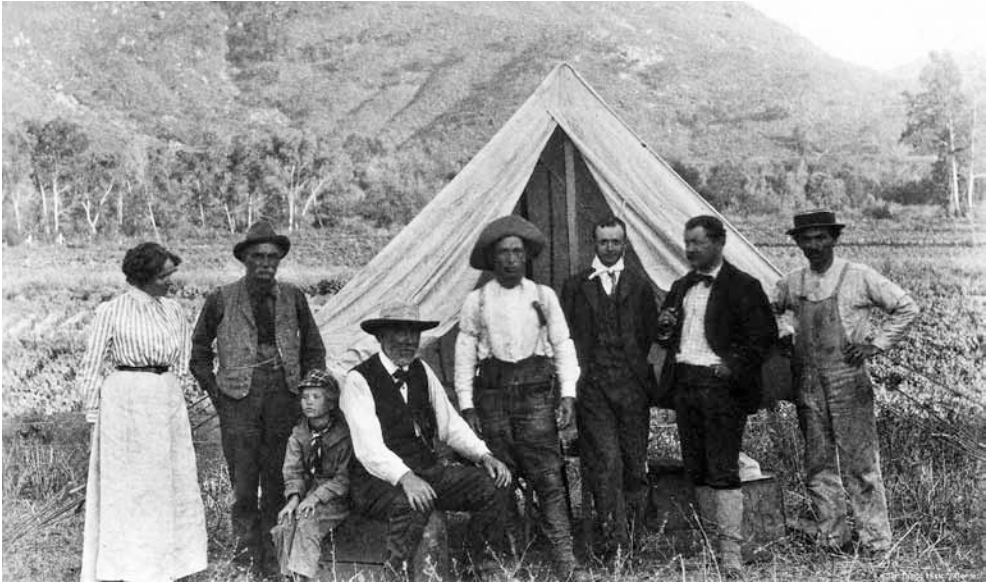
A new phase of trouble has been developed in the already complicated matter of providing new homes for the Indians who are to be evicted from Warner's Ranch, and if it is not checked immediately, it may mean that this little handful of hitherto gentle sufferers, aroused now at the moment of their most acute agony of spirit, will either have to be moved to a new reservation by armed men, or will flee into the mountains, there ultimately to starve.

It appears that a wild-brained person by the name of Mrs. Quinton, whose authority to be on the reservation of the Warner Ranch Indians is not known by well-informed people here, has started in on a crusade at this critical moment to upset the almost perfected plans of the Southern California Indian Commission, has proclaimed to the Indians that she is a "gobernadora," or she-governor; that the three well-known citizens of Southern California comprising the commission are bad men, scheming to inveigle the natives off their land; and has assured them that if they will disbelieve in the commission, which she says has no power at all, and go to Washington as she directs to present their case, their present homes will be saved to them. The result is that the Indians, after having come to believe in the sincere men who, without compensation, have planned to go out and provide the tribe with a suitable new home, have turned to this delirious woman in their last despair because she tells them just what they want to believe – that they can stay where they are.

FALSE PRETENTIONS.

This turbulent condition of affairs has just come to light through communications received from Indians who have smelt a rat in the woman's head, and from other well-informed people on that spot.

They state that she is holding out these hopes to the poor Indians, telling them that the men of the commission are not their friends, but are fakers without authority; while she is a "gobernadora" with power at Washington, and offers to send a certain number of them to



The Warner Ranch Indian Commission camp on the Monserrate Ranch in June 1902. Lummis is standing fourth from the right. ©SDHC #19101-7.

Washington if they will resist the good offices of the commission. The letters state that the people are beginning to believe in her, and murmur against the men who are to move them, and that in their doubt, they are brewing trouble.

It is, indeed, a mean person or a fool who would make a disturbance at a funeral; for these Indians have been patiently reasoned by their true friends into outward resignation at the burial of their hopes, struck dead by the unchangeable decision of the Supreme Court which willed their homes from over their heads; and they had come to believe in the few friends who are trying to help them to the best under the circumstances, though the best – the transplanting – is the heart-rending chapter of the whole of this poor folk's tragedy.

SERIOUS, SAYS LUMMIS.

Speaking of this unfortunate turn of affairs, Charles F. Lummis, whose efforts have largely brought about the appointment of the commission, said last night: "While the off-hand talk of an obscure woman is not intrinsically important, it must be borne in mind that the Indians of Warner's ranch are now in the actual agony of fear and sorrow over the prospect of leaving their ancient homes, and that the stirring

up of doubt or resistance by meddling or ignorant persons may become an actually serious matter. It is evident to any who stop to think that in this unhappy case it is literally necessary that the Indians shall trust their only real friends. Even then, the transfer will be something of a tragedy, and if led to believe that their real friends are trying to take advantage of them, the matter may become most complicated and dangerous. One need only to know the difficulties of securing favorable legislation by Congress in such a case as this to realize what might happen if the commission's work, for which so long and hard a fight has been made, were undone. Except for this commission, the Indians would long ago have been removed from their present homes by force onto the Monserratte [sic] Rancho. It has only been by the persistent efforts of their friends, through the Sequoia [sic] League, that the fixed decision of the Indian Bureau to purchase the Monserratte [sic] Rancho has been delayed, and the commission has been agreed on by the authorities to try to settle the matter more agreeably to the Indians, and more in accord with a just and business-like policy."

THEY WANT TO KNOW.

Mrs. Quinton has gone at her revolutionary work in a secret and underhanded way, and has warned the Indians to tell no one what she has said, but to act as she directs. Those, however, who do not know whether to believe in the self-proclaimed "Gobernadora" Quinton or not, have appealed by mail in pathetic phrases to those in whom they formerly trusted here for an explanation of the enigma with which they are confronted.

Mr. Lummis visited the Indians not long ago, and persuaded them that to trust in the work of the commission was the only thing to be done now. But it is easier for them to believe this woman, who tells them that she is greater than the Supreme Court, and that the men who are to move them are wicked.

Some time ago, after this conference, ten of the principal men of the tribe, including the chief, Capt. Blacktooth,⁴⁷ came all the way up to Los Angeles to consult Mr. Lummis again, showing that they valued his counsel. He noticed even then, however, that they had been tampered with, for they were imbued with the quixotic idea of going to Washington to plead their case.⁴⁸ He could not find out who had been advising them, but before they left he had again convinced them that



The village of Cupa at Warner Hot Springs in the late 1890s. A number of these adobes still stand. ©SDHC #80_6689.

the Washington idea was ignorant and silly and that any statements to the contrary which they had heard were false. He explained to them that the decision of the Supreme Court could not be changed, and that by going to Washington they would waste time and money, protract their own pain, and give pain to those who had to listen to them. They were so advised by all their influential friends, including the Indian agent, Dr. Wright, and Bishop George Montgomery, to whose flock they belong.⁴⁹ In spite of their sorrow, and false hopes, Mr. Lummis stated yesterday, they recognized the argument, and the little band turned back to its homeless region submissively, but sorrowfully.

GOOD WORK HAMPERED.

After all this patient endeavor with the grief-stunned and ignorant minds, yesterday's letters divulging the dissatisfied state of affairs on Warner's Ranch, where most of the good work seems to have been undone by an underhanded, short-sighted woman of no authority, were naturally an unpleasant shock.

It is well known that the President sent for Mr. Lummis last November especially to consult him on Indian matters in general, and on this case in particular; and agreed to the appointment to the commission in

question of the three reputable citizens of Southern California already named in *The Times*. It is an entirely unselfish work, the commissioners receive no compensation while in the field.

Now comes this she-governor, proclaiming them bad and lustful men—one of them a bishop⁵⁰—and exciting the Indians to a pitch where the endeavors of the commission threaten to be frustrated if the bewildered natives are not set right in the matter.

The commission, which expects to start almost any day, intends to take a picked number of the Warner Ranch Indians along on its tour of the interior in search of a suitable tract, so that they may have an equal hand in the choosing of their future homes. In the beginning it was difficult to persuade any to accompany the expedition, as they shut their eyes, as it were, against the idea of moving until the very last moment arrives. They say, "We have no choice, except where we are."⁵¹

Now they doubt the authority of the commission, and it will be still more difficult to persuade them to go on the land hunt.

That they will turn at bay and strike when the moment of eviction comes if the Quinton doctrines continue to be preached to them, men who are not alarmists, nor ignorant of their subject, believe very probable. Either the commission must not be molested in its patient endeavors, or needless and serious trouble will cap the climax of the tragedy of the Indians of Aguas Calientes [sic].

It is thought that Mrs. Quinton has a mission at Aguas Calientes [sic], though the only teacher who has authority on the reservation is Mrs. Babbitt, the head of the government school.⁵²

Charles Fletcher Lummis to Amelia Stone Quinton

May 23rd, 1902

Mrs. Quinton,
Warner's Ranch, Cal.
Dear Madam, —

I beg you to be judicious and friendly to the Indians and not to fill them with ideas which in the present state of the case may be very disastrous to them and to all concerned. The reports that I have from there are to the effect that you are telling them things which can only result in their greater distress and suffering. If these reports are accurate, you are doing the Indians and yourself a great injustice and

you should not pursue such a course in ignorance of the facts. If there were any possibility that by going to Washington the Indians could aid their cause, I would not only favor their going but would go with them and take them to the President, but everyone of common sense knows that neither the President nor Congress nor anyone else can reverse a decision of the Supreme Court. While you may not be familiar with the work that is being undertaken by competent people who are devoting themselves to the cause of the Indians, I can assure you that everything will be done in this case that human patience, knowledge of the facts, and official authority can do and while it may not be what we would like best, it will be the best that is left under the circumstances.

I trust that on reflection you will see that it is unkind to the Indians to fill them with vague and misleading ideas now. The Commission will come to see them at the outset of its work and will give them an authoritative statement of the facts.

Sincerely yours,
[C.F. Lummis]⁵³

Lucius A. Wright to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Mission Tule River "Cons" Agency
San Jacinto, California, May 26th 1902.
Mr. Chas. F. Lummis
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Mr. Lummis:

I am just in receipt of your favor of the 23rd inst., making inquiries concerning Mrs. Quinton, in reply I will say that this Mrs. Quinton is at the head of what they call the Indian Rights Association with headquarters in Philadelphia.⁵⁴ Mrs. Quinton, in company with the missionary, Weinland, have both been to Agua Caliente where they remained some days and no doubt stayed at the school house with Mrs. Babbitt.

Mrs. Babbitt is Mrs. Quinton's right bower in this country and belongs to the said Indian Rights Association. These people have considerable power in the East, but it has always appeared to me that they are a hindrance rather than a help to the work. I have all along maintained

that Mrs. Babbitt has by ill advice kept the Indians in a state of unrest and discontent and made it almost impossible to deal with them. She is hand in glove with this Mrs. Quinton; they understand each other thoroughly.

I was glad to see the roast they got in the paper the other day. I understand that Mrs. Quinton has left Warner's ranch.

No doubt what you heard concerning her doing there was correct for these same people have made life a burden for me ever since I have been agent.

Hope to see you soon, Very Truly,

L.A. Wright,
U.S. Indian Agent⁵⁵

Josephine Babbitt to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Warner Cal.

May 25, 1902.

Dear Mr. Lummis,

Although knowing your dislike to get letters I must trouble you with still another. In the times [sic] of May 23rd appears an article headed "Poor Indians victimized." I wish to state that it is misleading in every way, and false from "start to finish." I was present at both the meetings in which Mrs. Quinton addressed the Indians, and can vouch for the fact that in no single utterance was there a word inimical to the commission; her visit here was a friendly one in every respect, and when she arrived, she with every one else thought a trip to Washington futile; none understanding better than Mrs. Quinton how matters go in Washington, and the inability of Indians to accomplish anything where all those in power had failed; but while here the article appeared in which it was stated that the appropriation had been "cut out," and that no commission would be appointed, and that "Monserrate" was a foregone conclusion, and witnessing the fear, sorrow, and anxiety of the Indians and hearing their reasons very pathetically expressed, for wanting to plead their own case, and hear from the "Great Father" in

person that he might tell them; and hearing them wish to leave nothing in their power untried to secure their homes to them, in view of all this, her advice to them was to select two of their best men and go, that no harm could come of it, and as a last hope to make their own hearts lighter in the future by knowing that they had left nothing undone which they might have done, it would be well for them to go. Still with all this advice to go there would necessarily be an interval before their going for the reason that it was their wish that I accompany them; and that could not be without the consent of Hon. Commissioner [of Indian Affairs] Jones;⁵⁶ and of course while waiting for his letter, if a commission were to serve? it would be known and appointed, and in that case the Washington plan would be abandoned. Mrs. Quinton explained to the Indians very clearly that the verdict of the Supreme Court could not be gone behind nor changed in any way; she also told them she had no power whatever in Washington, but that she could and would help them with letters to those in power who would assist them after they reached there; she advised secrecy only in so far as white campers were concerned, as they would garble her words and statements (as they undoubtedly have) and make no end of trouble. As for speaking against the men that were spoken of as expecting to act on the Commission, that she did not do, they were all strangers to her. After she was gone came the word that the appropriation had been restored, and the Commission would be appointed, then came a letter to the Indians from Mrs. Quinton advising them to send their men with the Commission to look at the lands examined and be in position to understand what was best for them; and if after all was through and all advised the Indians to go to Washington to be ready with their own money to do what would be decided best to do. I would be very much pleased if you would correct the statements in the Times, for they are unjust and untrue in every respect.

Yours faithfully, Josephine H. Babbitt⁵⁷

Josephine Babbitt to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Warner Cal.

May 28, 1902.

Mr. C.F. Lummis

Los Angeles Cal.
Dear Mr. Lummis

Your letter of May 24th and the magazines rec'd; the pictures are excellent and the article forcible; you will please send me another magazine; one of the Indians asked me for one this morning. You will have already received my letter in regard to Mrs Quinton. She is the President of the Womans [sic] Ind[ian] Association, and has always striven to help the Indians in every way, is well and favorably known in the Indian Office at Washington, and works in harmony with the Hon[orable] Commissioner Jones. She did not while here say or do aught but what was perfectly honorable and "above board." She never mentioned "sect" in any way, and when you come the Indians will tell you the same, they are much distressed over the published account, and you will do us a great favor by telling us from whom the letter came and what Indian wrote or had such a letter written? Francisco Chutnicat [sic] (one of the men that called upon you in Los Angeles)⁵⁸ has heard from some source, that it is said he wrote it, he wishes me to ask you to please state whether his name was used or signed to the letter? Your letter rec'd last evening by the Capt. and written in Spanish, has not been read yet, as none of the men read Spanish except in a very limited way, Ambrosio not at all.⁵⁹ The Indians are much disturbed over that part of the article in which it is stated that they will resist when the time for their removal arrives: they have never for one moment had such a thought, for they realize the situation and know how futile such resistance would be, even though they wanted to rebel which they do not; nor would any one in sane condition advise such an act. I thank you for having written me on this subject, and trust you will do so whenever a disquieting rumor reaches you, that I may give you, as far as lies in my power, the true facts.

Yours most earnestly,
Josephine H. Babbitt.⁶⁰

Amelia Stone Quinton to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Val Verde, Cal. June 3rd
(Tuesday) 1902

C.F. Lummis, Esq.

My dear Sir,

Your letter of May 23, forwarded by Mrs. Babbitt, has this moment reached me. But she writes me that you have already received hers, informing you of the utter falsity of the malicious report published in the Los Angeles Times of May 23d, which has already been answered by several friends conversant with my work & record, & my intense interest in everything that can help the Indians of our country for whom I have worked without pause for 23 years. I enclose a sketch written by a well known Boston literary woman regarding the work of "The National Indian Assoc'n" (formerly The Women's Nat'n'l Ind. Ass'n) & of which I have the honor to be president, as for the last 15 years, as also I was its gen'l sec'y the 8 years previously & from its inception.⁶¹

On Sunday June 1st I wrote the enclosed article, as many friends thought I should reply to so gross a personal attack, & I commit it to your care to present, if you please to the Los Angeles Times, & trust it will prove to you that I am "friendly to the Indians," that I am as far as possible from giving them "ideas" that may be "disastrous" to them (or to any,) & that I am not the author of either "vague" or "misleading ideas," or of their wish to see the President in Wash'n.

No soul can rejoice more over any good you can achieve for the Cupeños, or aid it, (to the extent of my ability) more sincerely, or work more earnestly for the harmonious, combined efforts of all friends of Indians of all types, without reference to creed or politics, than the subscriber. I hope the way may open for a conference with you on this whole subject.

I hope my article will be printed entire as its quotation from Lieut. Weber is important as I will explain when I see you.⁶² The article from Maj. Rust is as false as brutal & needs no reply, as it condemned itself. With most earnest wishes for all indeed good to the Indians.

Yours sincerely,
Amelia S. Quinton

Enclosure

Mrs. Quinton's Reply, To the Slanderous Report of May 23d

A sad visitor, May 7th & 8th to Warner's Ranch, summoned there by the repeated invitations of my friends of eleven years, the Cupeños or Agua Caliente Indians, & Mrs. Babbitt their friend and teacher for twelve years, I met them in their grief-full dread of eviction from the only home earth holds for their hearts.

They asked me to talk to them – “No,” I said, “Let me hear you.” Then they told out their hearts as Celsa Apapas – our bride of an April Sunday in 1895 when we visited our mission there & our missionary, a Moravian clergyman, performed her wedding ceremony in the presence of the Indians,⁶³ Hon. A.K. Smiley⁶⁴, the teachers, the writer & others – told them to C.F. Lummis, as recorded on page 475 of the May number of “Out West.” The response in the brain & heart of the writer is revealed if not described on page 477 of the magazine above named which says: “If any of the people who have oppressed these Indians had ever talked with them, as man to man – they never would have oppressed them, that's all, whether Washington jurist, or politician, or land-claimant.

The oppressor is invariably the man who never found out how human his slaves are – & not even a fool could help finding out if he talked with them, eye to eye.” The surge of sympathy, compassion, & the revolt of the justice sense are by no means concealed in this quotation.

It developed in our interview that the Indians had had hope (sic) that some group of their friends would put forth earnest effort to invent or discover some plan of which at least the 900 acres on which they are settled & have built their homes might be purchased for them by [the] Government rather than some strange ranch. An inspector had promised to urge in Washington their plea, but he had recommended another plan instead of this.⁶⁵ Other earnest friends, though confessing & emphasizing the justice of their plea seemed to them only to try to reconcile them to the idea of a new home & to seek a new home for them while the one cry of their hearts seemed as far as ever from being heard when (sic) only it could be answered. “So,” they said “we have decided that we ought to go to Washington, & tell the President ourselves what is in our hearts & see if he might help us or move Congress to find some way to buy our own home for us if the Commission to find us a home is not appointed. If it is appointed we will wait till we see what it can do.” This plan was already settled in their minds & was not the invention of

the writer of this article & as she told the Indians, when she first heard it – it had seemed a hopeless plan to her.

Lieut. J.H. Weber, U.S.A., retired, then seeking health at Warner Hot Springs,⁶⁶ had sent a letter to the writer dated April 22d 1902, which said:

"Mrs. Weber & I have come to the conclusion that you ought to know that these Indians are in great distress of mind, & that now is the crucial time when all their friends should rally to their support. They look to you to help them, & only yesterday some of them wished you were here. For some time past they have held meetings to consider the advisability of sending two of their tribe to Washington to say their case before the President & the Indian Office, & yesterday (April 21) they decided to do so.⁶⁷ But someone must be there to advise and guide them; someone who commands the respect of those in authority, & you are the one they look to for help." The letter then unfolded the plan in the mind of its writer, which, he said, "if carried out would elevate the Indians in So. Ca. materially & spiritually, & would in the near future settle the Mission Indian question." His plan was for [the] government to buy the whole of Warner's Ranch at \$245,000; "place all Indians now on small isolated reservations" on it, "distribute a certain amount of the land to the Indians under certain regulations;" teach them self support, letting the springs belong to [the] government etc. etc. The letter closed with "I hope you will make every effort to go to Washington & aid the delegates there. If I were a member of your society I should say "You must go." To this letter I had replied that it would be impossible for me to go to Washington, & then the journey seemed to be a hopeless one, as I told the Indians later.

But now I was looking into their faces, nay into their hearts; seeing them eye "to eye," as did the writer in "Out West;" and that happened to me which happened to him. The Indians in substance said: "This is our affair; it is about our home, & we want no other. We think we should go to the President ourselves, & speak for our home." Was not that sane, natural, just? Again, we agreed with C.F. Lummis when he said, page 409 of the April number of "Out West:" "If these harried people could say in Washington what they said to me, as they said it, they would need no advocate." So when they demanded to know my thought what could I answer but this? "If you feel it a duty to go it would be right; & if it accomplished nothing you could at least have the satisfaction of having done all you could to save your home. I could not go with you; & I have no power to help, save by giving you letters of introduction."

Could you, oh reader safe under the shield of home & property rights, & with a sure grasp upon all that makes your roof true home, have responded otherwise? But the Commission is now appointed, & we will hope that the gentlemen of whom it is composed may find some happy solution of the problem confronting them. Again in answer to the query of our friends the Indians we advised their acceptance of the invitation to accompany the Commission in its quest of light upon the



A general view of the Monserrate Ranch in 1902. Lummis was determined to find another reservation site for the Warner Ranch Indians. ©SDHC #2963.

clouds which now sorrowfully encompass them.

I know not surely who wrote the libelous report of the above visit, or whether it was made in malice or ignorance. But the allegations of the asserting of power, the guile, the slanders against the probably Commission,—for it was not yet appointed we were told,—& the then proposing the journey to the seat of government were every one false, as was the reported spirit of the interviews. The Cupeños are a people among whom the National Indian Association, over which I have had the honor to preside for fifteen years, had for six years an industrial & medical mission, though the hospital could not be built as the land was then in litigation & no title could be gained. But the work was of great interest; much was done for industry & sanitation, & the members of the Association still feel deeply for that wronged group of men & will watch with keen solicitude the outcome of the Commission's work on their behalf.

Amelia S. Quinton⁶⁸

NOTES

1. The village of Cupa was also called Agua Caliente. The Warner Ranch area is interesting because it was occupied by villages from four different tribal groups. Most of the Cupeño lived at Warner Hot Springs, with a few other families living with the Cahuilla people on the Los Coyotes Indian Reservation. Puerta la Cruz and La Puerta, on the northwestern side of the valley, were Luiseño villages. Mataguay and San José were Kumeyaay (Diegueño) villages. Kumeyaay people also lived on the San Felipe Ranch, southeast of the ranch; their village was included in the same eviction order. For a summary of all these tribal groups, see the *Handbook of North American Indians - Volume 8, California* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) 550-63, 575-609. William Duncan Strong's *Aboriginal Society in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929) is also still useful.
2. See Helen M. Wanken, "Woman's Sphere and Indian Reform: The Women's National Indian Association, 1879-1901," Ph.D. dissertation, Marquette University, 1981; Valerie Sherer Mathes, "Nineteenth Century Women and Reform: The Women's National Indian Association," *The American Indian Quarterly*, Winter 1990, 1-18; Sarah Northrop Romeyn, "A Sentimental Empire: White Women's Responses to Native American Policy, 1824-1894," Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 2003, especially her chapter entitled "Building a Political Empire: The Early Women's National Indian Association, 1875-1885," 140-80; and Daniel L. Ragsdale, "'Civilizing the Savage': The Women's National Indian Association, 1879-1901," Masters thesis, Southwest Missouri State University, 1994.
3. Josephine Harlan Babbitt (1852-1940) was born in Illinois, the daughter of a prominent attorney. Around 1869 she married Henry W. Babbitt, the son of Pennsylvania Congressman Elijah Babbitt. Henry worked for many years as a clerk for the Department of the Interior. By 1884, Josephine was already teaching at a government Indian school on the Omaha and Winnebago Agency in Nebraska. Martha Ingersoll Robinson, a prominent San Diegan, described her as "a woman of unusual refinement, culture and education, Mrs. Babbitt has exerted an untold power for good among the people with whom she has chosen to live and work." See *San Diego Union*, April 5, 1903, 7. One of her students at Cupa, Roscinda Nolasquez (1892-1987) later recalled, "She came here [to Pala]. She came with the people and she stayed with us. But then she went back. She was a great friend." (Interviewed by Phil Brigandi, August 7, 1985). Babbitt may well have been transferred because of her involvement in the Warner Ranch removal. She had accompanied them to Pala and continued teaching at the Pala Indian School for a short time. She then transferred to the Santo Domingo Pueblo as a field matron, see Lisa E. Emmerich, "To Respect and Love and Seek the Ways of White Women: Field Matrons, the Office of Indian Affairs and Civilization Policy, 1890-1938." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1987, 142, 172. In a January 10, 1910, letter to association officials, Babbitt explained she was working at Algodones, New Mexico among over five hundred Indians, see National Indian Association (NIA), "Missionary Exigencies," *The Indian's Friend* (March 1910), 8. (In 1902 the WNIA changed its name to the NIA and allowed men to join). In later years, Babbitt lived in the Canal Zone in Panama, where her son worked for the Federal Government, see "Mrs. Josephine Babbitt," *Los Angeles Times* (July 14, 1940), 33.
4. Born in Ohio, Dr. Lucius A. Wright (ca. 1854-1933) came to California in the early 1880s and ran a drug store in San Jacinto from 1890-1909. He served as Indian Agent from 1897-1903 when the Mission-Tule Consolidated Agency was dissolved. For an obituary, see *The Hemet News*, April 14, 1933, 5.
5. Rust had been serving as secretary of the Los Angeles branch of the Indian Rights Association when he became agent on August 7, 1889. For a brief biography, see Jane Apostol, "Horatio Nelson Rust: Abolitionist, Archaeologist, Indian Agent," *California History*, Winter 1979-80, 304-15.
6. According to Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1979) 88, women adopted the long established tradition of petitioning because at that time it was viewed "a proper and feminine tactic" not requiring "women to step out of the normal circle of their private lives." See also Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, & Women's Political Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
7. For WNIA work at Warner Hot Springs, see chapter 8, "WNIA at Agua Caliente and Martinez," in Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas

- Press, 1990), 140-62. See also WNIA, *Sunshine Work* (December 1894), 14-24; *Missions of the WNIA for 1895* (Philadelphia 1895), 11-14; and "The Mission of the New York City Indian Association," *Our Missionary Report for 1897*, 29-34.
8. Amelia Stone Quinton, "Through Southern California: Letter Number Seven," *The Indian's Friend* (October 1891), 6. In his first annual report two years earlier, Rust had recommended the hot springs for a hospital, with an agency physician in charge. See Horatio N. Rust, "Report of the Mission Agency," October 28, 1889, in *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 125.
 9. Rev. Weinland was employed by the WNIA as their missionary in what the association called their Ramona Mission. Although initially hoping to begin his work on the Cahuilla Reservation, near Anza, the Indians were reluctant to authorize the land for the mission, so he began his work at Soboba and El Potrero, on the Morongo Reservation. For a time he supervised all their missionary work in Southern California. For more on Weinland see Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy*, 121-27, 131-35, 138-40, 142, 146-50, 152, 154.
 10. Quinton, "Through Southern California," 6.
 11. NIA, "At Agua Caliente," *The Indian's Friend* (July 1902), 2.
 12. Jonathan Trumbull Warner (1807-1895), a Connecticut Yankee, came to California in 1831, became a Mexican citizen, and received a 48,000-acre land grant in 1844. After being burned out during the Garra Uprising of 1851, Warner and his family left the valley, and over the next decade he gradually lost his land piece by piece. Today the property is still known as the Warner Ranch. According to local residents, the original boundaries of the old Mexican grant had been drawn far south of the springs; newer surveys had continually pushed the line until the springs and hence the entire village eventually was considered Downey's property, see WNIA, "Association News and Notes," *The Indian's Friend* (October 1892), 3.
 13. Beginning around 1870 John Gatley Downey acquired part of the ranch and by the spring of 1880 was in possession of the entire property. Downey, an Irish native who made his fortune in real estate and ranching, had served as California's governor from 1860 to 1862.
 14. The Barker lawsuit covered the village of Cupa at the hot springs, and the Luiseño village of Puerta la Cruz. A separate suit, *John G. Downey vs. José Quevas et al.*, was filed against the Kumeyaay villages of Mataguay and San José in the southeastern part of the valley, and the Luiseño village at La Puerta, near modern Lake Henshaw. The two cases were combined for all the court proceedings to come. At their annual meeting in December 1892 the WNIA called on Congress to provide an immediate appropriation to cover the expense of defending the Indians' rights, see WNIA *Annual Report* (Philadelphia, December 1892), 33. For a general discussion of the case, see Phil Brigandi, "In the Name of the Law – The Cupeño Removal of 1903," www.socalhistoryland.mysite.com/article_12.html.
 15. Ward (1861-1929), the son of former Mission Indian Agent John S. Ward, had been appointed Special Assistant U.S. District Attorney for the Mission Indians in 1886, see Ward to A. H. Garland (U.S. Attorney General), March 16, 1886, Letters Received #8672-1886, Special Case 31, Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter cited as SC, OIA, RG 75, NA, W.) For a brief biography, see "Shirley C. Ward," *History of the Bench and Bar of California*, ed. Oscar T. Shuck (Los Angeles: The Commercial Printing House, 1901), 1084-85; and "Shirley C. Ward," *History of the Bench and Bar of California*, ed. J. C. Bates (San Francisco: Bench and Bar Publishing Company, 1912), 543-44. His obituary appears in the *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1929. Lewis notified Indian Commissioner Thomas Jefferson Morgan that an action had been brought before the California superior Court by Downey, see Lewis to Morgan, September 10, 1892, LR #33961-1892, SC, OIA, RG 75, NA, W. Lewis was originally appointed an attorney for the Legal Defense Commission of the Lake Mohonk Conference in 1888 to prepare groundwork for legal cases and give assistance in any cases where the protection of the Federal Government was lacking. By 1891 he had been appointed a United States Special Attorney for the Mission Indians. In October 1892 he appeared before the annual convention of the Lake Mohonk Conference with details of the case, see Lake Mohonk Conference, "Report of Committee on Mission Indians," *Proceedings of the Tenth*

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- Annual Meeting* (LMC, 1892), 111-113. In 1903 he represented Riverside County in the California State Assembly. For a biography, see Elmer Wallace Holmes, *History of Riverside County, California With Biographical Sketches* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1912), 575-76.
16. The Soboba suit was filed as *Matthew Byrne vs. Antonio Alas et al.* in San Diego County Superior Court in 1883 (Riverside County was not formed until a decade later). The Superior Court ruled against the villagers, but in 1888 the California State Supreme Court overruled their decision and upheld the Indians' possessory rights to the land. The government was later able to purchase the area and it is now a part of the Soboba Reservation. For more on Soboba and the Byrne suit, see Van H. Garner, *The Broken Ring: The Destruction of the California Indians* (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1982), 75-95, and the *San Diego Union*, April 29, 1888. The decision (74 Cal 628; 16 Pac 523) is available online at www.sandiego.edu/nativeamerican/PDF/byrne%20v%20alas.pdf.
 17. "The Indians Must Go," *San Diego Union*, December 30, 1896. For the WNIA's reaction to the verdict, see WNIA, "A Most Unjust Decision," *The Indians' Friend* (February 1897), 3.
 18. "Lands Where their Fathers Were Born," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 27, 1897, 25.
 19. "Indian Changes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 31, 1896, 6.
 20. Ward to Welsh, June 19, 1897, *The Indian Rights Association Papers* (Microfilming Corporation of America), Reel 13.
 21. "Indians Must Go. Warner's Ranch Case Settled," *San Diego Union*, October 11, 1899, 6; "Ancestral Lands Lost," *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 1899, 10. The decision (126 Cal 262; 58 Pac 692) was published in *The Pacific Reporter*, 58 (St. Paul: West Coast Publishing Co., 1899), 692-99, and is also available online at www.sandiego.edu/nativeamerican/PDF/harvey%20v.%20barker.pdf.
 22. "Warner's Ranch Case Finally Decided," *San Diego Union*, May 14, 1901, 8. 181 U.S. 481, published in *The Supreme Court Reporter*, 21 (St. Paul: West Coast Publishing Co., 1901), 690-98.
 23. Quinton to Welsh, Herbert Welsh Collection (#702), Box 41, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
 24. McLaughlin's report, along with a summary of the events that led up to it, may be found in E.A. Hitchcock, "Letter from the Secretary of the Interior with a copy of a Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a Draft of a Bill for the Relief of Certain Mission Indians in California," 57th Congress, 1st Session, House Document #319 (1902). See also "An Agent's Mission," *San Diego Union*, December 9, 1901, 5.
 25. Frances E. Watkins, Charles F. Lummis and the Sequoia League," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, (June-September 1944), 99-114, See also C.F. Lummis, "A New Indian Policy," *Land of Sunshine* (December 1901), 457-60. For a biography of Lummis, written by his children, see Turbesé Lummis Fiske and Keith Lummis, *Charles F. Lummis, The Man and His West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). See also William T. Hagan, *Theodore Roosevelt and Six Friends of the Indian* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 75-76, 120-29; Sherry Smith, "Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Fight for the Multicultural Southwest," *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 119-144; and Martin Padget, "Travel, Exoticism, and the Writing of Region: Charles Fletcher Lummis and the "Creation" of the Southwest," *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840-1935* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 115-36.
 26. Babbitt to Lummis, February 22, 1902; see also Babbitt to Lummis, November 28, 1901, Josephine H. Babbitt MS1.1.161, Charles Fletcher Lummis Manuscript Collection, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center of the American West, Los Angeles. (Hereafter cited as Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library).
 27. On behalf of the Sequoia League, Lummis had presented a memorial to officials recommending the appointment of a special commission, serving without compensation, to select a new home for the Indians. For the memorial see "The Sequoia League," *Out West* (April 1902), 407.
 28. Charles L. Partridge of Redlands was active in the Indian rights movement. See C.L. Partridge, "A

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- Brief Sketch of the Mission Indians," *Redlands Citrograph*, June 14, 1902. He died in 1908 following a railroad accident. His papers are now held by the Bancroft Library. Russell C. Allen, another Harvard classmate of Teddy Roosevelt, was the manager of the Sweetwater Fruit Company, which grew lemons at Bonita, in northern San Diego County. For a biography, see *San Diego County Pioneer Families* (San Diego: San Diego County Historical Society, 1977).
29. "Poor Indians Victimized. Female False Pretender Among Them," *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 1902, A1.
 30. Lummis to L.A. Wright, May 23, 1902, L.A. Wright MS 1.1.4763A, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library. Both Lummis and Wright assumed that the Indians' fears had to be prompted by outsiders, as if the villagers didn't have enough to be anxious about on their own. See also Lummis to Babbitt, May 23, 1902, Josephine H. Babbitt, MS1.1.161.
 31. Quinton had purchased a home some four miles north of Perris about 1892, presumably for retirement purposes. J. H. Tigner, in *The Italy of America: A Conservative and Truthful Description of the Great Wealth Producing Districts of Riverside County, California*, (Los Angeles: Home Printing Company, c. 1908), 40, writes the nine-room house on 45 acres included a 10-acre orange grove and five acres of olives. The property manager was her son, George H. Quinton. Tigner was incorrect, George was her brother-in-law. By the publication of this volume, the property had been sold to Mr. J. C. Beer of Long Beach.
 32. Babbitt to Lummis, April 23, 1902, see also April 5; and Babbitt to Col. G. C. Robbins, April 22, 1902, Josephine H. Babbitt MS1.161, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library. Earlier, on March 21, at the request of the village captain, Babbitt had written Lummis about a "disquieting rumor" which had reached the village the previous day that they were to "be removed immediately to temporary quarters." She enclosed a letter from Robbins, see Babbitt to Lummis, March 21, 1902.
 33. Babbitt to Robbins, May 1, 1902, Josephine H. Babbitt MS1.1.161, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library. Babbitt had informed Robbins that the six Cupeños who had visited Lummis, were displeased with his advice and wanted to come to San Diego to see him.
 34. John Brown, Jr. (1847-1932) came to San Bernardino as a child and became a well-known local teacher and attorney. He often involved himself in Southern California Indian affairs, which did not make him popular in some quarters. Lummis said Brown's statements to the papers during the Warner Ranch removal were "pure fabrications without a tinge of truth," and that if he was quoted accurately, "his talents lie more in the direction of fiction than of law." "Fight Till Last Ditch," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1902, A1. For another attack, see "A Mission Indian Moses," *Riverside Press & Horticulturalist*, March 28, 1891, 2. Along with James Boyd, Brown co-authored the *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1922); a brief biography can be found in volume 3, pp. 1130-32. A small collection of his papers is available at the Sherman Foundation Library in Corona del Mar.
 35. Babbitt to Lummis, June 22, 1902, Josephine H. Babbitt MS1.1.161, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library.
 36. For all quotes, see "Mischievous Record of 'La Gobernadora,'" *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1902, 9. See also Quinton to Thomas J. Morgan, September 1, 1891, LR #40821-1891, OIA, RG 75, NA, W.
 37. The long range plan had been for Hallowell to minister to the Indians in their own homes, win them over, and then once the lawsuit was settled and the village safe, the association would acquire land and build a hospital with the consent of the villagers. See Quinton to William H. Weinland, January 20, 1893; see also February 14, 1893, William H. Weinland Papers, Box 7, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
 38. "Mischievous Record of 'La Gobernadora,'" 9. "Says She is Blameless," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1902, 5.
 39. Charles F. Lummis, "The Sequoia League," *Out West* (April 1902), 409. See Also Charles F. Lummis, "The Exiles of Cupa," *Out West* (May 1902), 465-79.
 40. "Los Angeles County: Its Cities, Towns, Hamlets and Suburban Places: Pasadena," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1902, A5.

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41. NIA, "At Agua Caliente," *The Indian's Friend* (July 1902), 2.
42. "Fight Till Last Ditch," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1902, A1. It is unclear if the two had met before.
43. Lawson had come to the ranch as a reporter, and soon involved himself in the removal. Lummis attacked him in a lengthy letter, calling him "a wanton and malicious liar." See, "Lawson Denounced as a Cheap Liar," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1903, 6.
44. Jenkins, who had arrived from Oklahoma, was one of eight government inspectors. His photograph can be found on p. 33 in Grant Wallace, "The Exiles of Cupa," *Out West* (July 1903).
45. "The Indians Will be Removed Today," *San Diego Union*, May 11, 1903. The article quotes the petition the Cupeño had prepared for the president.
46. The removal was widely covered in the newspapers of the time. One of the best eye witness accounts is by Wallace, "The Exiles of Cupa," 25-42. See also Joseph J. Schirmer, "Graphic Story is Told of Indians' Removal," *Riverside Daily Press*, May 14, 1903, 3; and Joel R. Hyer, "A California Trail of Tears: Removal of Native Americans from Warner's Ranch to Pala," in "*We Are Not Savages*": *Native Americans in Southern California and the Pala Reservation, 1840-1920* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 111-28. In 2010, the tribe was able to buy back Warner Hot Springs, where a number of their ancestors' adobe homes still stand. The tribe plans to continue to run the hot springs as a resort.
47. José Cecilio Blacktooth (ca 1840-1918) had been elected to serve as the headman at Cupa in 1892 and again in 1902 – a position commonly known as Captain at the time. His impassioned plea for his people to remain in their homes has been reproduced many times. It first appears in "The Exiles of Cupa," *Out West* (May 1902), 475; his portrait is on p. 473.
48. A direct appeal to Washington was being discussed by the tribe even before Quinton's visit. See "Want to Plead Their Own Case," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1902, 10.
49. The first American-born head of the diocese, the Right Reverend George Montgomery (d. 1907) served as Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles from 1896-1903 at which time he was named coadjutor to Archbishop Patrick of San Francisco.
50. Rev. Henry B. Restarick, an Episcopal priest, had been one of the proposed members of the Warner Ranch Indian Commission but was not appointed. He was an active advocate for the local Indians and one of the founding members of Lummis' Sequoia League. After a number of years serving in San Diego, he was appointed Bishop of Hawaii in 1902.
51. The Warner Ranch Indian Commission was finally appointed on May 28, 1902, and left on their tour of inspection a few days later. Accompanying them were Salvador Nolasquez (1861-1933), a former Captain of the Cupeño, and Ambrosio Ortega, the lay reader at the chapel near the hot springs. See "Powwowing Over Homes," *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1902, A4, for the commission's meeting with the Cupeño.
52. "Poor Indians Victimized. Female False Pretender Among Them," *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 1902, A1.
53. Lummis to Quinton, Amelia Stone Quinton MS 1.1.3648, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library, Autry National Center of the American West, Los Angeles.
54. Quinton was president of the Women's National Indian Association. The Indian Rights Association, a totally separate organization, was founded in 1882 by Herbert Welsh. For a history see William T. Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985).
55. Wright to Lummis, L. A. Wright MS1.1.4763A, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.
56. William A. Jones (1844-1912) served as commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1897 to 1904. Born in Wales, he immigrated with his family to Wisconsin. After graduation he taught school for awhile, entered the banking business, served as mayor of Mineral Point, Wisconsin, and represented his Wisconsin county in the state assembly. See W. David Baird, "William A. Jones, 1897-1904," *The*

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Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977, ed. Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 211-220.

57. Babbitt to Lummis, Josephine H. Babbitt MS 1.1.161, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.
58. Francisco Chutnicut (ca 1870-1941) was one of the village leaders at the time. His portrait can be found in George Wharton James, *Picturesque Pala* (Pasadena: The Radiant Life Press, 1916), opposite p. 42. The young man with him is Jim Brittain, though James incorrectly called him his son. Chutnicut's niece Roscinda Nolasquez (1892-1987) supplied these identifications.
59. Ambrosio Ortega (1869-1922), the lay reader for the Catholic chapel at Warner Hot Springs, served as Captain at Pala in 1906. His portrait can be found in "The Exiles of Cupa," *Out West* (May 1902), 479. John Steven McGroarty published a memorial to him in the *Los Angeles Times Illustrated Magazine*, (May 21, 1922), 3, which was later reprinted and expanded in *The Indian Sentinel* (the quarterly publication of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions), (July 1922), 527-28.
60. Babbitt to Lummis, Josephine H. Babbitt, MS 1.1.161, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.
61. A reference to Mary E. Dewey, *Historical Sketch of the Formation and Achievements of the Women's National Indian Association in the United States* (December 1900). Dewey, corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Indian Association, a WNIA affiliate, was also editor of two books, *The Life and Letters of Catharine M. Sedgwick* (1871) and *Autobiography and Letters of Orville Dewey* (1883).
62. Lt. Julius H. Weber (1851-1908) served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps. He is shown living in San Diego in the 1900 Federal Census.
63. While on a visit to Cupa with Quinton in April 1895, Rev. Weinland conducted the marriage service for Celsa Moro, the daughter of a well-known Cupeño family, and Pedro Apapas. The young couple planned on attending Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia. Founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong to educate freedmen, the college accepted its first Indian students in 1878. See, WNIA, "From California," *The Indian's Friend* (May 1895), 3, 6. Celsa Apapas often served as a translator during meetings with government officials prior to the removal.
64. Albert K. Smiley founder of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian in 1883 later moved to Redlands, California where he continued his interest in Indian reform. See Larry Burgess, "The Lake Mohonk Conferences on the Indian: 1883-1916," Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1972.
65. The inspector was James McLaughlin, who recommended the purchase of the Monserrate Ranch as a reservation. See note 23.
66. The hot springs had been a popular spot with health-seekers and vacationers for decades, and the Cupeño catered to them, offering produce, meals, bathhouses, and even the rental of their own homes during the summers. For an account from a contemporary visitor, see Mary Haw Smith, "Life at Warner's as Seen by Tourist," *San Diego Union*, May 7, 1903, 2.
67. According to an article in the *Los Angeles Times*: "Word from Warner's ranch tells of a mass meeting there last Monday [April 21] of about fifty of the men of the tribe. They decided that they would send one of their own number to Washington to intercede for them, and to listen to what is being said in the eviction case." "Want to Plead Their Own Case," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1902, 10. The Cupeño were prepared to pay the costs themselves. Roscinda Nolasquez later recalled that her father, Salvador Nolasquez, and Domingo Moro, hoped to go to Washington to represent the tribe.
68. Quinton to Lummis, and her "Reply," in Quinton MS 1.1.3648, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.