“IDYLLIC IMPERIALISM: THE CALIFORNIA MISSION REPLICA AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION, 1904”

by

ASHLEY PAIGE COLLINS

(Under the Direction of

AKELA REASON)

ABSTRACT

“At the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, California’s commission created a lavish representation to ‘attract capital and the best class of settlers.’ The main building, a replica of Mission Santa Barbara and its famed garden, marketed the state as a semi-tropical arcadia from the days of Spanish colonization. The implications of this display justified American imperialism by relegating Spain’s global empire to the past, erasing the influence of Indigenous and immigrant Californians, and encouraging gardening as a means for white women to civilize the landscape. This use of the space echoed the garden’s origins, as a Franciscan friar had designed it in 1872-1873 in an attempt to increase the enrollment of white youth at the mission’s private school. These events show that the California mission aesthetic was both imported to the state and exported to the rest of the country as a cultural and economic commodity to attract white Americans.”

INDEX WORDS: 20th Century United States, Architectural History, Mission Santa Barbara, California Missions, Garden History, Westward Expansion, American Expansionism, Spanish-American War, Catholicism, Franciscan Order, Protestantism, World’s Fairs, Tourism, St. Louis, Missouri, Race, Gender

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DEDICATION

For my grandfather, Thomas Glenn Collins, who left the tobacco fields of eastern Tennessee and became one of Atlanta's most acute arbitrators—without the advantages of a postsecondary education. Because you were self-taught, I don't have to be. Thank you for being a faithful patron of my dreams.

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This thesis began taking shape fourteen months ago when I decided to pursue my curiosity about comparative Catholic and Protestant architecture in North America during the late eighteenth century. The succeeding pages will show just how much my research has diverged from those first thoughts. Throughout most of that process, the world has not been the place to which I was once accustomed. Although I have experienced numerous uncertainties while trying to complete two degrees in the midst of a global pandemic, I have never once felt the support of my advisory committee waver. I thank my advisor, Dr. Akela Reason, for always encouraging me to approach my research from an interdisciplinary perspective and teaching me the variety of methodologies that extend the historian's reach beyond the archive. I cannot count the times that her guidance has enriched my research questions and clarified my path forward. I would like to thank Dr. James F. Brooks for fostering my inquiries into the history of California, a region I never knew could unify my various research interests so seamlessly. I am also grateful to him for handling many of the arrangements for my research travel, which took place in the final days before the initial quarantine. I offer many thanks to Dr. Mario Erasmo, who has been a fixture in my academic endeavors since my first semester at UGA, and whose study abroad program broadened my intellectual horizons in ways I am still discovering three years later. In fact, if I had not seen the Alhambra Palace and understood the literary and touristic traditions surrounding it, my approach to mission architecture would be drastically different

Beyond my advisory committee, many other individuals have facilitated the completion of this project and deserve my gratitude. Dr. Cindy Hahamovitch oversaw the beginnings of my

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CHAPTER 1

IDYLLIC IMPERIALISM

Introduction

At his inauguration as governor of California in January 1903, George C. Pardee announced a plan to increase the state's population and external economic investment. Two large scale expositions would take place over the next two years, and Pardee declared that a lavish representation of California at these events would "attract capital and the best class of settlers." As a caveat, he added that the organizers of these displays ought to craft the state's displays to maximize profit and minimize cost.[1] The first of these expositions, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, was scheduled to begin on 30 April 1904 in St. Louis, Missouri, and would double as a World's Fair; the Lewis and Clark Exposition was to follow in June 1905 in Portland, Oregon.[2] Both Fairs celebrated westward expansion, and Pardee hoped to encourage more Americans to make the journey and settle in California. Plans for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition quickly took shape over the next few months.

On 17 July 1903, the *San Francisco Call* proudly announced that a replica of Mission Santa Barbara would represent California at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.[3] Pardee made the final decision, reflecting how some of the state's most influential residents had come to

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[1] Colin Selph. *World's Fair Bulletin.* St. Louis: World's Fair Publishing Company (February 1903). Accessed at: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015009217442&view=1up&seq=1 on 9 February 2021, 12.
[2] Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 1, 382.
[3] "Santa Barbara Mission is Type for State Building at St. Louis." *The San Francisco Call,* Vol. 94, No. 47, 17 July 1903. Accessed at: https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19030717.2.72&e=------191-en--20--41--txt-txIN-barbara+mission+garden-------1 on 17 October 2020; Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 1.

recognize the potential of the missions as an economic and cultural commodity. This opinion represents a radical departure from the view many Anglo Americans had held for decades, which deemed the missions dilapidated vestiges of a bygone era.[4] To complicate matters, the 1898 Spanish-American War had created a brief surge in anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic rhetoric that shaped how Californians interacted with the Spanish influences on the state's culture.[5] Despite this new animus, turn-of-the-century Californians remained ambivalent, as they viewed the state's history of Spanish colonialism primarily as a sort of idealized "fantasy past," as the journalist Carey McWilliams first put it.[6] While this past included (often fabricated) tales of fiestas, vibrant clothing, and swashbuckling romances, California's Franciscan missions were ironically, its literal ruins.[7] While the missions had functioned, if not by design but by fact, as labor camps for California's Indigenous population, Anglo Americans viewed them as proof of the state's European provenance and began to shape a tourism industry centered around them, a campaign especially driven by *Los Angeles Times* editor Charles Lummis.[8] For Californians, often the descendants of northern European settlers, the missions embodied the idea of California as an environmentally appealing American Mediterranean.[9]

The choice to replicate Mission Santa Barbara for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition is significant because it demonstrates that Californians wanted to present the state both to the rest of the nation and the rest of the world. However, this event has not received little attention within

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[4] "Santa Barbara Mission," *The San Francisco Call,* 17 July 1903; Phoebe S.K. Young, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, 48-9, 53-4.
[5] William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: the Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, 55, 84-6.
[6] Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Memory.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016, 6, 133-4.
[7] Young, *California Vieja,* 35, 75-6.
[8] Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New: Santa Barbara and the Origins of the California Mission Garden." *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 69, No. 3 (September 2010):378-405, 389-91; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 32.
[9] Charles Dudley Warner, *The American Italy (Our Italy).* London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine, & Co. 1892, 1-2.

the existing literature on the California missions. While the works of Elizabeth Kryder-Reid and Phoebe S.K. Young have astutely pointed out the role of the missions in the creation of California culture and identity, their scholarship has not examined this instance of the missions as a cultural export.[10] M. Elizabeth Boone has written of the importance of Spanish culture at the American World's Fairs and centennial celebrations between 1876 and 1915, yet her work has neglected to examine the Louisiana Purchase Exposition beyond a few tangential references.[11]

While the mission replica at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition is significant in its own right, it was not the first time that settlers to California had commodified the missions for economic gain. Three decades earlier, Father José María Romo of the Franciscan Order designed and constructed the first mission garden within the interior quadrangle of Mission Santa Barbara.[12] Romo travelled across the Mediterranean to California to become the manager of the struggling private school that the friars had established as a source of income. Upon his arrival, Romo made the beautification of the mission quadrangle a priority, believing it would encourage the local elite to enroll their sons to be educated at the mission.[13] This paper examines these two events in alignment with each other, arguing that the California mission aesthetic, particularly as expressed in the mission garden, was both imported to the state and exported to the rest of the country as a cultural and economic commodity to Europeanize the landscape and make it attractive to white Americans.

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[10] Kryder-Reid. *California Mission Landscapes;* Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New;" Young, *California Vieja.*
[11] M. Elizabeth Boone, *The Spanish Element in Our Nationality:Spain and America at the World's Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876-1915.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.
[12] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 385-6.
[13] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 385.

Implanting Culture: Mission Santa Barbara and the Importation of its Garden

The interior quadrangle of the mission had not always been a garden. Spanish friars of the Franciscan order founded Mission Santa Barbara in 1786, ostensibly to bring Catholicism to the region's Indigenous population. The truth proved much more complex—and more sinister.[14] When the Spanish arrived, they began an extensive system of agriculture and animal husbandry, bringing Presidial soldiers with them to monitor their Chumash labor force.[15] The Native population quickly plummeted, ravaged by European diseases, poor living conditions, and especially by the degradation of the region's natural resources due to livestock grazing.[16] Those who survived these dangers found themselves under strict surveillance from the padres who interfered in conventional Chumash gender roles and family structures in an attempt to implement their Catholic sexual mores.[17] The padres forced the Chumash to live in gender-segregated dormitories where women suffered especially harsh conditions and were locked in their rooms every night.[18] The friars punished the Chumash leaders who engaged in diplomatic polygamy, and the *berdache,* male religious leaders who dressed as women and engaged in homosexual practices, endured brutal beatings.[19] The Spanish soldiers from a nearby military

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[14] Deana Dartt-Newton and Jon M. Erlandson, "Little Choice for the Chumash: Colonialism, Cattle, and Coercion in the Mission Period." *American Indian Quarterly,* Vol. 30, No.3/4 (Summer-Autumn 2006): 416-430, 419, 421-2.
[15] Dartt-Newton and Erlandson, "Little Choice", 421; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 38-41.
[16] Albert L. Hurtado, "Sexuality in California's Franciscan Missions." *California History,* Vol. 71, No. 3 (Fall 1992): 370-85, 376-7, 381-2; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 60.
[17] Hurtado, "Sexuality in California's"374, 376-7, 381-2; James A. Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash: an Ethnohistoric Perspective", *American Indian Quarterly,* Vol. 15, No. 1 (Winter 1991): pp. 65-89, 70-1; Kryder-Reid, *California Missions,* 60.
[18] Chelsea K. Vaughn, "Locating Absence: the Forgotten Presence of Monjerios in Alta California Missions". *Southern California Quarterly,* Vol. 93, No. 2 (Summer 2011): 141-174, 142, 15.0
[19] Sandos, "Christianization Among", 70-1; Hurtado, "Sexuality in California's", 374, 376-8.

outpost often abducted and raped Chumash women, adding another layer of insecurity and violation to daily existence.[20] This combination of disease, forced labor, and violence lead to the deaths of two-thirds of the region's Chumash population by 1796.[21]

The interior quadrangle of the mission was where the Chumash engaged in coerced labor as shoemakers, coopers, and laundresses.[22] Its walls placed physical boundaries around the laborers whose lives the friars governed with monastic and military strictness.[23] As such, the quadrangle was not a visually attractive place, and after the Mexican government ordered the friars to close the mission in 1836, it fell into a dilapidated state.[24] The Franciscans continued to occupy the mission and looked for other ways to support themselves besides farming and ranching. In 1868 they opened a secondary school and junior college for the sons of the local elite.[25] When the school failed to bring in the necessary funds, the Order called upon Father José María Romo to become its manager.[26] Romo, who had been stationed in Port Said, Egypt, arranging lodgings in Jerusalem for pilgrims from his native Mexico, travelled across the Mediterranean on his way to Santa Barbara.[27]

Upon his arrival in California, Romo deemed the aesthetic improvement of the quadrangle vital to the school's success, and he oversaw the construction of a garden within the

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[20] Hurtado, "Sexuality in California's," 380-1.
[21] Dartt-Newton and Erlandson, "Little Choice," 421.
[22] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 33, 46-8, 52-3.
[23] Amy Bushnell Turner, "Missions and Moral Judgment." *OAH Magazine of History,* Vol. 14, No. 4 (Summer 2000): 20-3, 21; Sandos, "Christianization Among the Chumash," 76.
[24] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Ladnscapes,* 75-76; Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 388-9.
[25] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscape*s, 76; Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, 237-8.
[26] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 384-5.
[27] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 385; José María Romo, *Diary of Rev José María Romo, OFM.* Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library, Santa Barbara, California, n.p.

space in 1872-1873.[28] He drew heavily from the Andalusian model, a Europeanizing style that both local Californios and Anglos later found appealing.[29] The aesthetic, a style that combined Islamic and classical elements, had been common in Spain since the Moorish conquest during the middle ages, and it combined spare use of water, geometric walkways, and parterre beds, placed all together in an enclosed space.[30]

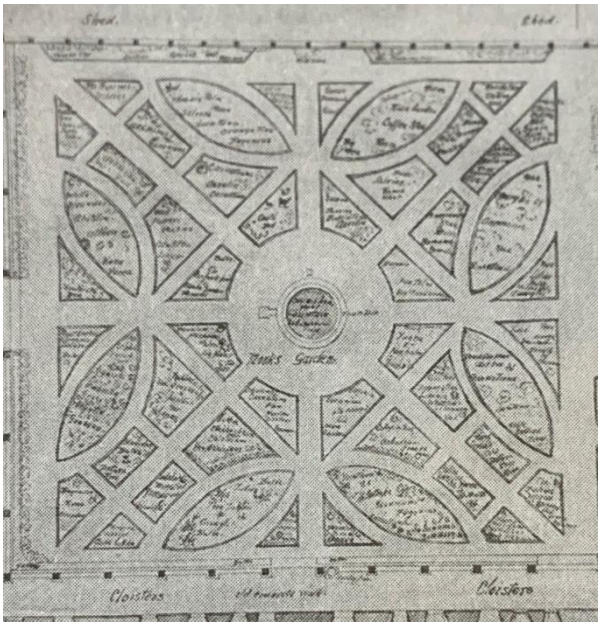

Figure 1: Aerial plan of the Mission Garden at Santa Barbara, 1903

While original plans of Romo's garden have not survived, written accounts, photos, and drawings of the garden from the 1870s-1900s offer insights into its appearance in its early days.[31] A plan-view drawing of the garden from 1903 shows its structure, with a fountain at the center from which eight main walkways emanated. This design created a double cruciform construction, one that created a Cartesian plane of sorts, and another that diagonally bisected the quadrangle. Smaller paths crisscrossed these arteries and connected them to each other.[32] Romo's diary and correspondence with his superiors reveals that the fountain represented not only the physical center of the garden, but also a unifying element of

[28] Kryder-Reid, "Perenially New," 385.
[29] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 391.
[30] Patrizia Granziera, "The Art of Gardening in New Spain: Spanish Heritage in Mexican Gardens." *Garden History,* Vol. 42, No. 2 (Winter 2014): 178-200, 179; Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 391; George F. Earle," Spanish-Moorish Architecture and Garden Style: its Background, Meaning, and Comparison to the Western Style." *Environmental Review,* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Autumn 1981): 66-7569, 71-2, 73-4, 75.
[30] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 78;Earle," Spanish-Moorish Architecture," 71-2.
[31] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 386; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landsca*pes, 78.
[32] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 383, 387; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 78.

its design, and he recorded its installation with pride.[33] Originally, the fountain ejected water in a single stream up into the air from a single basin, although one with a tiered basin now stands in its place.[34] While Romo did not record the plant species that occupied the first version of the cloister garden, photos from the 1880s provide some hints, as the well-established plants they show had likely been there for several years.[35] The plans included orange and cypress trees, succulents, various ground covers, cacti, roses, perennials, and annuals.[36] Grape vines also grew along wooden trellises along the length of wall abutting the church.[37] Both the layout and plant species of the garden seem to have precedents in the Mediterranean gardens Romo visited along the way.[38]

Many features of the mission garden suggest that Romo drew from the Islamic tradition of landscape architecture, which included many Orientalizing features.[39] Its aesthetic shared much in common with the Alhambra Palace in Granada, Spain, which nineteenth European visitors associated with a timeless, romanticized Moorish past.[40] The site entered the historical imagination of many tourists in tandem with the "rediscovery" of the Islamic influences on Spanish history and architecture at the turn of the nineteenth century.[41] The exoticized image of Moorish Spain soon permeated the writings of renowned authors like Washington Irving, as well as those of amateur novelists and poets.[42] Therefore, the Iberian-Islamic elements of Romo's

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[33] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 385; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 78.
[34] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 78.
[35] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 78-9.
[36] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 78-79.
[37] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 79-80.
[38] Romo, *The Diary of Rev. José María Romo, OFM.*
[39] D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Ideologizing the Past." *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* Vol. 45, No. 3 (August 2013):574-77, 574, 576.
[40] Ruggles, "Ideologizing the Past," 574, 576.
[41] Diego Saglia, "The Exotic Politics of the Domestic: the Alhambra as Symbolic Place in British Romantic Poetry". *Comparative Literature Studies,* Vol. 34, No. 3 (1997):197-225, 198-9.
[42] Saglia, "The Exotic Politics," 197; Ruggles, "Ideologizing the Past," 574.

garden, including its seclusion, geometric layout, serene use of water, and visual unity encouraged a timeless, Orientalized view of the landscape independent of the historical imaginations of its later touristic patrons.

Whatever Romo's intentions for the garden's aesthetic, its Moorish and classical influences also would have been entwined in the American mind, however misguided that notion was.[43] Beginning in the late eighteenth-century, Americans often conflated Greek and Roman history, unable to assign figures and events to their respective societies.[44] In the early nineteenth century, they added Islamic cultures to this classical mélange.[45] Renowned volumes like *Antiquities of Athens* by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett displayed the Greek landscape with its ancient temples and later Ottoman structures superimposed, which showed that there was at least a little credence to the associations between the various cultures.[46] Popular literature like Bulwer-Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii* featured Roman, Greek, and Egyptian characters living cheek-by-jowl, suggesting cultural singularity in the Mediterranean.[47] Factors like Venice's tradition of exchange with the Levant only furthered their confusion.[48]

Amalgamations of cultures prevailed particularly in the decorative arts. Items associated with Islamic culture like turbans, feathers, luxury textiles, and jewels often came alongside classical elements including pedestals, monuments, and statues.[49] Portraits of wealthy

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[43] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 391.
[44] Eran Shalev, *Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009, 13-4.
[45] Caroline Winterer, *The Mirror f Antiquity: American Women and the Classical Tradition, 1750-1900.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, 22-4.
[46] Winterer, *The Mirror of Antiquity,* 106.
[47] Winterer, *The Mirror of Antiquity*, 7; William St. Clair and Annika Bautz, "Imperial Decadence: the Making of Myths in Edward Bulmer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii*." *Victorian Literature and Culture,* Vol. 40, No. 2 (2012):359-96, 359-60.
[48] Winterer, *The Mirror of Antiquity,* 22-4, 106, 168.
[49] Winterer, *The Mirror of Antiquity,* 7, 53, 124.

individuals, particularly women, followed this tradition.[50] Among the most renowned subjects of the *turquerie* style, as it was called, was Dolly Madison, who redecorated the White House using the same motif during her husband's presidency.[51] These manifestations of material culture convey not only the Islamic and Greco-Roman worlds overlapping within the minds of nineteenth-century Americans, but also that this conception took on a primarily visual nature. To be classical was to conform to this aesthetic. However, this classicism came in tandem with Orientalism. For nineteenth-century Americans, the pan-Mediterranean style came with connotations of picturesque, but ahistorical timelessness, cultural stagnation, and religious difference.[52] Each of these themes pervaded the era's travel literature, and encouraged an exoticized view of the Mediterranean and its peoples that facilitated romanticism and fictionalization of its history.

Even though Americans held negative opinions about the Islamic world in which the garden's aesthetic originated, they could not deny that its beauty allured them, as is evident from their literary and touristic obsession with the Alhambra Palace.[53] Their tendency to conflate all Mediterranean cultures also meant that this architectural idiom conjured up images of the classical world as well, especially the Roman republic, which they associated with idealized civic virtue and the genesis of Protestantism.[54] The mission's associations with St. Francis of Assisi and his Order would also have increased the garden's appeal, as many Protestants included him in their spiritual heritage beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. They lauded his

[50] Winterer, *The Mirror of Antiquity*, 22-5.
[51] Winterer, *The Mirror of Antiquity*, 111, 119, 145.
[52] For picturesque landscapes and ahistorical timelessness, see C. Roberts, "Living with the Ancient Romans"; For religious difference see Mailloux, "Narrative as Embodied Intensities," Hom, "Consuming the View," and St. Clair and Bautz, "Imperial Decadence." For cultural stagnation, see Simonini, "Constructing America by Writing About Italy."
[53] Saglia, "The Exotic Politics," 198-9; Ruggles, "Ideologizing the Past," 574, 576.
[54] Mailloux, "Narrative as Embodied Intensities," 128-30; Winterer, *The Mirror of Antiquity,* 5-6.

charity, asceticism, and efforts to spread Christianity abroad as precursors to their own Protestant faith.[55] This combination of factors gave the garden an astounding potential for tourism, an industry that would expand dramatically just a few years after the garden's design.[56]

While Romo's contributions to the beginnings of California mission tourism are undeniable, perhaps as important is his motivation for the garden's design and construction. Romo imported the Andalusian garden to Mission Santa Barbara as a cultural and economic commodity for the purpose of attracting the patronage of settler colonists who themselves worried about losing touch with their European patrimony. Culturally, he employed a Europeanizing aesthetic similar to the gardens he had seen on his Mediterranean journey, which likely made it appeal to white settlers, Hispanic and Anglo alike. Further, the garden erased the history of Native exploitation by beautifying a space that had once been the site of coerced labor.[57] Finally, the commodification of the Andalusian garden for economic purposes represents another vital avenue for understanding its significance. Romo's ultimate goal in creating the garden was to use its beauty to increase the school's enrollment, making the economic angle inextricable from its cultural import. Despite Romo's best efforts, the school's enrollment did not increase sufficiently, and it closed permanently in 1877.[58] Thirty years later, Governor Pardee and other influential Californians would follow a similar strategy by replicating the mission and garden at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.[59]

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[55] Patricia Appelbaum, "St. Francis in the Nineteenth Century," *Church History,* Vol. 78, No. 4 (December 2009): 792-813, 796-9.
[56] Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 398.
[57] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*, 33, 46-8, 52-3.
[58] José Alemany to José María Romo, 13 June 1877.
[59] Colin Selph. *World's Fair Bulletin.* St. Louis: World's Fair Publishing Company (February 1903). Accessed at: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015009217442&view=1up&seq=1 on 9 February 2021, 12.

Spanish California Reimagined: *Ramona* and the New "Fantasy Past"

Even if the garden did not secure the necessary funds to keep the school open, Romo's efforts to beautify the Mission quadrangle take on special significance in the context of southern California's Anglicization, which was well underway by the 1870s.[61] As Anglos settled and industrialized the region, they struggled to reconcile the presence of the dilapidated adobe missions with the modernity they longed to ascribe to the state.[62] They justified their distaste for the missions by pointing to the ills of Spanish imperialism, especially the Spaniards' inhumane treatment of the Native population.[63] A general anti-Catholic sentiment pervaded the mostly Protestant settlers' logic, as the padres' supposed laziness elicited as much repulsion from them as Native enslavement.[64] This anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish narrative, known as the "Black Legend," pervaded the Euro-American perception of the region.[65] Settlers derided contemporary Mexicans and other Hispanics as the descendants of this indolence, although these groups had begun styling themselves as "white" relative to the region's wholly Indigenous population.[66] Anglos saw the physical entropy of the missions as the just recompense for Spanish sins, and they saw themselves as the rightful heirs to colonize California in their stead.[67] The fact that

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[61] Young, *California Vieja,* 26-7, 29-30; Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 390.
[62] Young, *California Vieja,* 49-50.
[63] Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, 55.
[64] Myrhen, "Consider the Ravens," 138-9.
[65] Myrhen, "Consider the ravens," 136-7.
[66] Rawls, "The California Missions," 345; Young, *California Vieja,* 21, 27; Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, 64.
[67] Rawls, "The California Missions," 349-50.

California's indigenous population declined sharply under Anglo rule due to violently coerced labor practices, displacement, and outright murder seemed to matter little in this ideological construction.[68] American settlers associated the missions with a Spanish past that had faded away in favor of a superior and more humane Anglo future.

However, by the late 19th century, this view of the past was losing ground to a new vision that reinvented and idealized Spanish California as a bygone civilization. Romo's Europeanized garden within Mission Santa Barbara fit perfectly with this new understanding of the past.[69] In 1877 and 1878 Herbert Hugh Bancroft, a wealthy San Francisco bookseller, conducted interviews of local Californios for a volume on the region's history.[70] These oral histories recalled the pre-Anglo days nostalgically, as an era of tranquil pastoral life.[71] They repressed tales of the hard labor it took to sustain their ranches and missions, focusing instead on themes like fiestas, vibrant clothing, and swashbuckling romances.[72] Above all, they characterized this past as Spanish, which deftly subsumed centuries of Islamic aesthetics into an Iberian imperial past, and buried the story of Native enslavement.[73] Such testimonies were the Hispanic elite's way of processing their displacement from the top of the region's social hierarchy, as Anglos began to dominate local politics.[74] Their words painted a pretty picture over a grim one.

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[68] Benjamin Madley, "Unholy Traffic in Blood and Souls: Systems of California Indian Servitude Under U.S. Rule." *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (Nov. 2014): 626-67, 627, 658-61.

[69] Peter J. Holliday, *American Arcadia: California and the Classical Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2016, 208-9.

[70] Travis E. Ross, "Continuity in Any Language: Memory, Ethnicity, and Acculturation in California, 1877-1878."*Southern California Quarterly,* Vol. 96, No. 2 (Summer 2014): 141-71, 141-2, 159.

[71] Young, *California Vieja,* 28.

[72] Young, *California Vieja,*35.

[73] Young, *California Vieja*, 21, 29-30.

[74] Young, *California Vieja*, 26-7, 29-30.

In the early 1880s, the Anglo author Helen Hunt Jackson wrote a novel set in Mexican-era California, using Bancroft's interviews and others she had conducted as her source material.[75] The result was her book, *Ramona,* published in 1884.[76] Jackson intended for this narrative to prick the hearts of her readers by demonstrating the injustices that settler colonialism had inflicted on the Indigenous population.[77] She wanted to emphasize Anglos' role in the process rather than the injustices of the Spanish, so she gave a rosy depiction of Californio times.[78] Jackson thus described Spanish California: "It was a picturesque life, with more sentiment and gayety in it, more also that was truly dramatic, more romance than will ever be seen again on those sunny shores."[79] It is not hard to see how this idealized setting occupied the readers' thoughts more than its moral and political message.[80] The tale's heroine, Ramona, is the orphaned daughter of a Scotsman and his Native American wife, but she grows up as the adopted child of a wealthy Spanish woman named Señora Moreno.[81] Ramona falls in love with a Native American man, Alessandro Assis, and they elope to escape Señora Moreno's wrath when she discovers that Ramona intends to marry a man who is not Spanish.[82] They begin a life together, but tragedy ensues. An Anglo doctor's negligence leads to the death of one of their daughters, and armed Anglos murder Alessandro after he mistakenly takes one of their horses.[83] After a period of widowhood, Ramona marries Felipe Moreno, the son of her stepmother, but they flee to Mexico because it is not safe for them to remain on the Moreno ranch amid the influx of

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[75] Young, *California Vieja,* 32, 35.
[76] Young, *California Vieja,* 19.
[77] Young, *California Vieja,* 30.
[78] Dydia DeLyser. *Ramona Memories: Tourism and the Shaping of Southern California.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, 21-2.
[79] DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 20.
[80] Young, *California Vieja,* 19-20; Errol Wayne Stevens, "Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona:* Social Problem Novel as Tourist Guide." *California History,* Vol. 77, No. 3 (Fall 1998): 158-67, 161.
[81] DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 11, 13.
[82]DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 13.
[83] DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 14.

Anglo settlers. They then live a charmed life in Mexico City, which Jackson described in the same language as the earlier Spanish era of California.[84] Throughout the book are references to California missions very like that in Santa Barbara, and Anglo Americans began to change their minds about the buildings.[85] The missions and other Spanish architecture came to represent the final manifestations of a lost romantic era.[86] When they stumbled upon Father Romo's garden, they found a space ready to accommodate their historical imaginations.[87]

While the publication of *Ramona* did much to change Americans' minds about the Spanish past and its missions, many of them remained ambivalent. In the 1890s, guidebook author James Steele wrote articles that justified both the missions' destruction and their preservation.[88] Some Anglos held that the friars had been the Western version of slave-owning Cotton Planters.[89] Still others, like Charles Fletcher Lummis, began committees to preserve the missions, with at least on eye on their potential for tourism.[90] However, as the threat of war with Spain loomed in the latter half of the decade, many Californians recanted their affection for the Spanish past.[91] Los Angeles cancelled its Spanish-themed celebration known as "La Fiesta" in 1898 and 1899 for fear of appearing unpatriotic.[92] Some of the city's residents also argued that they should change the moniker of every Spanish-named street in the city.[93] Far from a local phenomenon, a surge of anti-Catholic sentiment swept across the nation.[94] Nevertheless, this

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[84] DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 14.
[85] Stevens, "Helen Hunt Jackson's," 161.
[86] DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 20; Young, *California Vieja,* 54.
[87] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 71, 146-7; Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New", 386; Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* 55.
[88] Young, *California Vieja,* 50-1.
[89] Young, *California Vieja,* 53.
[90] Young, *California Vieja,* 52.
[91] Young, *California Vieja,* 53
[92] Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe,* 85-6.
[93] Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe,* 86.
[94] Katherine D. Moran. "Catholicism and the Making of the U.S. Pacific." *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era,* Vol. 12, No. 4 (October 2013): 434-474, 435-6.

animus was not universal and did not last very long, as in a 1904 speech, William Howard Taft praised the Spanish colonizers as bringers of religion and civilization.[95]

[95] Moran, "Catholicism and the Making," 434-5.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition and the California Building

The American victory over Spain happened to come right before the centennial of Jefferson's annexation of the interior of the continent from the French, and St. Louis, Missouri, held an elaborate celebration.[96] The Louisiana Purchase Exposition occupied a whopping 1,240 acres, brought in over 19 million visitors to the city. The vendors on the main boulevard alone earned over three million dollars in profits.[97] The Louisiana Purchase Exposition represents only one example in the series of World's Fairs, events that celebrated globalization, technological advancement, consumerism, and imperialism.[98] The goal was to confirm the era's tropes of white supremacy and colonialism, while also creating a spectacle of the unfamiliar. To achieve this end, the World's Fairs featured showcases of the latest technologies and replicas of ancient and exotic places, bringing individuals from "primitive" societies to serve as living examples of otherness.[99]

Figure 2: A French poster for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition by Alphonse Mucha

[96] Parezo and Fowler. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair,* 1.
[97] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes*, 234; Keith P. Feldman, "Seeing is Believing: U.S. Imperial Culture and the Jerusalem Exhibit of 1904." *Studies in American Jewish Literature,* Vol. 35, No. 1 (2016): 98-118, 102.
[98] Rebecca S. Graff, "Dream City, Plaster City: World's Fairs and the Gilding of American Culture." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* Vol. 16, No. 4 (December 2012): 696-716, 698-9.
[99] Graff, "Dream City," 698-9.

And no attraction was complete without corresponding mass-produced souvenirs for the ogling tourists to take home.[100] For all the material culture that these Expositions produced, they were rather ephemeral affairs. The attractions were all disassembled after six months; the Fair left as quickly as it came.[101]

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition was very much within this tradition of extravagant, short-lived Fairs that touted both the unity of the world and the differences between colonizers and colonized. While the celebration of Jefferson's mammoth land purchase featured buildings designed to represent states then located in what had been France's North American colony, the Exposition brought representations of the world to St. Louis.[102] For the price of admission, visitors could stroll through reproduced spaces like the "Gypsy" quarter of Barcelona, Hopi cliff dwellings, and villages from numerous nations including Ireland, Palestine, China, and the Philippines, where the United States had just quashed an independence movement.[103] Time became as compressed as geography within this space, as a model of ancient Jerusalem graced the grounds alongside reenactments of recent events like the explosion of the

Figure 3: "Statue of Louis Joliet, Louisiana Purchase Monument and Festival Hall at night, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, U.S.A"

[100] Graff, "Dream City," 697.
[101] Graff, "Dream City," 698-9.
[102] "California at the Exposition A Very Pretty Art Supplement, 'California Building' at the St. Louis' Exposition, Free With Next Sunday's Call." *The San Francisco Call*, Vol. 95, No. 153, 1 May 1904. Accessed on 20 October 2020 at: https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19040501.2.75&e=------191-en--20--41--txt-txIN-barbara+mission+garden-------1
[103] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes*, 237; Tom Gunning. "The World as Object Lesson: Cinema Audiences, Visual Culture, and the St. Louis World's Fair." *Film History*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 1994): 422-44, 433-4.

USS Maine.[104] If visitors wanted to see the very beginning of time, they could take a boat ride through the six days of creation.[105] Modernity proved as important as antiquity to the Fair's ambiance. The incorporation of the world's latest technological achievements added to the spectacle, including wireless telegraph towers, infant incubators, and rudimentary cinema.[106] Many of the attractions required extreme feats of modern infrastructure, including a robust system for conveying water and an electric lighting system to extend the festivities after nightfall.[107] It almost seemed that this Fair was the world in microcosm.[108]

In reality, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was more like a projection of the world, and the resulting image was far from neutral. The fair's organizers, including David R. Francis, the fabulously wealthy grain merchant and a leading citizen of St. Louis, and the anthropologist William J. McGee, saw the fair as a pedagogical tool. McGee was a self-taught natural historian from the Midwest, and he was looking to legitimize anthropology as a true academic discipline.[109] The Louisiana Purchase Exposition gave him the opportunity to show just how relevant the study could be, and he named "the University of the Future" as the Exposition's theme.[110] True to the Darwinian obsession of the era, he portrayed a utopian view of humanity's future, but this vision subsumed beliefs in white supremacy, with the other races trailing behind at different stages of development.[111] To this end, McGee arranged for around three thousand individuals from seventy-five Indigenous communities around the globe to create "living

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[104] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 235; Gunning, "The World as," 433-5; Feldman, "Seeing is Believing," 99.
[105] Gunning, "The World as," 437-8.
[106] Gunning, "The World as," 423, 428; Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 234.
[107] Joseph Heathcott. "Ephemeral City: Design and Civic Meaning at the 1904 World's Fair." *Journal of Design History,* Vol. 26, No. 1 (2013): 25-46, 38-9.
[108] Gunning. "The World as," 426.
[109] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 35.
[110] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 16-9.
[111] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 2-3; Mary Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism: the Philippine Constabulary Band at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair." *Philippine Studies,* Vol. 52, No. 4 (2004): 499-526, 503-4.

exhibits" within the Fair's anthropological exhibits.[112] Most infamously, the Fair featured a forty-seven-acre "Philippine Reservation," in which individuals from several Indigenous tribes resided for the entire Fair, and were only allowed to leave with white supervision.[113] This display represented the first time that the United States formally displayed its official colonization of an overseas territory, a process that had been happening on the North American continent for centuries.[114] The Fair featured an "Indian School" to show the results of the forced assimilation of Native American youth into white culture.[115] These children put on concerts and demonstrated their talents at handicrafts, much to the delight of white visitors.[116] Older Native Americans, like the Apache leader Geronimo and Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, were present, but visitors regarded them as a combination of celebrity

Figure 4: The California Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition

[112] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 3, 8-9, 27.
[113] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 279; Danika Medak-Saltzman. "Transnational Indigenous Exchange: Rethinking Global Interactions of Indigenous Peoples at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition." *American Quarterly,* Vol. 62, No. 3 (September 2010): 591-615, 605, 609. Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 513.
[114] Feldman, "Seeing is Believing," 102, 105.
[115] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 278; Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith. "'Leav[ing] the White[s]…Far Behind Them:' the Girls of the Fort Shaw (Montana) Indian School, Basketball Champions of the 1904 World's Fair," in *The 1904 Anthropology Days and Olympic Games: Sport, Race, and Imperialism,* ed. Susan Brownell. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008, 243-276, 245, 255-6.
[116] Peavy and Smith, "Leav[ing] the White[s]," 255-6; Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes,* 144-50.

and relic, as the last remaining specimens of a dying breed of feral Indian.[117] It is within this context of celebrated imperialism that we turn to the California Building itself.

At 100 feet long, 45 feet deep, and two stories high, the California Building would have been difficult to miss. It also stood near the center of the fairgrounds, which many of the state's newspapers flaunted.[118] The façade replicated the mission church's Vitruvian aesthetic, with an Ionic temple front as the main entrance.[119] Two bell towers stood on either end of the temple front, and bells from the mission period hung in them.[120] Supposedly to increase the accuracy of the replica, the paint on the building's exterior was chipped and stained and grass seeds sown between the street's paving stones to recreate the mission's aging exterior.[121] As an added feature, the replica mission included a wing that extended to the right of the temple front, which boasted a columned arcade. This wing housed gender-segregated sitting rooms for male and female visitors.[122] The architects added a few round windows, most likely to let light into the interior.[123]

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[117] James R. Swenson, "Bound for the Fair: Chief Joseph, Quanah Parker, and Geronimo at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair." *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2019): 439-70, 440, 443-5.
[118] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call*, 1 May 1904.
[119] Mark Bennitt, *History of the Louisiana purchase exposition : comprising the history of the Louisiana territory, the story of the Louisiana purchase and a full account of the great exposition, embracing the participation of the states and nations of the world, and other events of the St. Louis world's fair of 1904; comp. from official sources.* Saint Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905. Accessed at: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112078710792&view=1up&seq=9 on 20 October 2020, 468.
[120] Bennitt, *History of the Louisiana*, 468.
[121] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call*, 1 May 1904.
[122] "Santa Barbara Mission is Type" *The San Francisco Call*, 17 July 1903; "California Building at the coming St. Louis Exposition to be Modeled on the Santa Barbara Mission." *The Los Angeles Herald*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2 October 1903. Accessed at: https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19031002.2.103&e=------191-en--20--41--txt-txIN-barbara+mission+garden-------1 on 24 February 2021.

[123] Bennitt, *History of the Louisiana*, 468.

In a deviation from the original mission, the interior held a reception room and an assembly hall, the latter measuring 40 by 35 feet.[124] The only other furnished rooms in the building's central chambers were offices for the state's representatives, and most of the building remained empty of excess furniture or exhibitions.[125] The display's designers decided that the displays of California's agriculture and industry should be on display alongside the products of other states in the Fair's main Forestry, Horticultural, and Mining exhibits.[126] However, that did not mean that the inside of the replica mission was a wasted space. Its designers thought its best use would be to showcase the finest woods that the state had to offer. The Fair's publicity advertised that virtually all the visible lumber in the building was Californian, and that it had been installed by Californian labor.[127]

Since the replica mission did not have an interior quadrangle, the garden was instead located behind the building. The garden's designers created a garden much like that in Santa Barbara, with a central fountain, walkways crisscrossing it, and wooden benches for visitors to rest. They chose the plant species that they believed the padres would have grown during the mission's functioning years, although the garden really dated to the 1870s.[128] While the Fair's publicity advertised the reproduced space as the garden from Mission Santa Barbara, it also claimed that such gardens were typical of the California countryside, which captured part of the

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[124] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call,* 17 July 1903; "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call,* 1 May 1904.
[125] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call,* Vol. 94, No. 47, 17 July 1903.
[126] *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office,* 1906.Accessed at: *https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044009500984&view=1up&seq=256&q1=California%20mission* on 9 February 2021, 247.
[127] *Final Report of the Louisiana,* 246, "Santa Barbara Mission is the Type," *The San Francisco Call,* 17 July 1903.
[128] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call,* 17 July 1903; "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call,* 1 May 1904; Kryder-Reid, "Perenially New," 385.

appeal Pardee was looking to market to potential settlers.[129] The fact that women had not been allowed to see the original version added another layer of appeal for visitors.[130]

The garden area was the site of a ceremony to commemorate the anniversary of California's statehood on 9 September. In the early afternoon, about 1,000 visitors gathered to hear speeches honoring the settlement of California, which David Francis, the Fair's chief organizer, hailed as a direct result of the Louisiana Purchase. After several similar laudatory orations, each guest received a bunch of grapes and a glass of wine. Lewis Byington, the district attorney of San Francisco, declared that such delicacies grew not only in the most fertile regions of the state, but rather in every field and hill from the border of Oregon to the one with Mexico. At five o'clock, the crowd headed into the spacious interior of the California Building for a reception.[131]

Beyond the California building, the state made quite an impression in the Exposition's general displays. There were no fewer than 73 types of California-grown wood on display in the Forestry Pavilion, and some of the specimens had to be placed outdoors because the floor could not support their weight.[132] The state commandeered 9,000 square feet of floor space in the Horticultural Building, which included arrays of fresh and processed fruits, nuts, and a demonstration of orchard irrigation methods. The Agricultural Building featured California foodstuffs from honey to hops and from canned fruit to canned fish. In the section of the fairgrounds dedicated to mining, California boasted an elaborate display of minerals,

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[129] "Santa Barbara Mission is Type," *The San Francisco Call,* 17 July 1903.
[130] "California Building at the St. Louis Exposition," *Los Angeles Herald,* 2 October 1903.
[131] "California's Day is Celebrated at the Great Exposition," *The San Francisco Call,* Vol. 96, No. 104, 10 September 1904. Accessed at: https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19040910.2.69.2&srpos=9&e=------190-en--20--1--txt-txIN-louisiana+purchase+exposition+California+building-------1 on 9 February 2021.
[132] *Final Report of the Louisiana,* 247.

demonstrating the region's potential for industry.[133] The cost of the displays added up to $300,000, a figure that exceeded every other state's expenditures, except Pennsylvania, which spent the same amount.[134] Californians spared no expense in their displays, and arrived at the Fair ready to impress their visitors.

[133] *Final Report of the Louisiana*, 247.
[134] Colin Selph. *World's Fair Bulletin*, December 1903, 17.

Clash of Colonizers: Nationalism and the Mission Replica

While California's lavish representation certainly served as an assertion of regional identity, the replica mission building also had implications on a national scale. Since the Spanish-American war had occurred only six years before the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the Fair's treatment of Spanish culture proved complex and contradictory. A brief look at the anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic rhetoric of the period will contextualize these representations and show how the replica mission helped Americans define their own imperial identity. During the 1890s, Americans watched nervously as Cuban insurgents tried to overthrow Spain's colonial rule and establish an independent nation.[135] By 1895, most Americans felt deep sympathy for the revolutionaries, and once descriptions of concentration camps and outright genocide surfaced, many of them favored a humanitarian intervention.[136] Christian leaders and publishers almost supported the Cuban freedom fighters on principle, but many of them still believed neutrality the best path, and they praised President McKinley for his hesitancy to declare war in the wake of the *USS Maine* explosion.[137] A month later, however, a speech from Senator Reginald Proctor of Vermont reversed the prevailing public opinion. While Proctor, who had just returned from Cuba, only repeated the accounts of brutality that Americans had been hearing for years, it now resonated with them differently. Suddenly most Americans supported a war with Spain.[138]

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[135] Bonnie M. Miller. *From Liberation to Conquest: the Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011, 19-20.
[136] Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest,* 19; Matthew McCullough, *The Cross of War: Christian Nationalism and U.S. Expansion in the Spanish-American War.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014, 14-5.
[137] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 16.
[138] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 19-20.

Along with this new fervor came a torrent of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment, with Protestant ministers leading the charge. Henry van Dyke, a Presbyterian pastor in New York, said that the United States must expel Spain from Cuba, since the Spaniards were "the most obstinate barbarians to exist outside of Turkey."[139] Another New York minister, Robert S. MacArthur, said, "It is a war between the most despicable civilization of modern times and the most Christianized civilization of all times; it is a war between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries."[140] To underline the evolutionary stagnation of Spain, Protestants often cited the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors and the trials of the Inquisition.[141] Bartolome de las Casas' famed 1542 pamphlet, *Tears of the Indians,* which gave a gruesome account of Spanish violence against the Native population of the Caribbean, also came back into print.[142] Such rhetoric simultaneously defined the United States as a Christian nation and Catholic Spain as its antithesis, while also depicting the war as a clash between medievalism and modernity.[143]

This anti-Catholic dogma caused a divide among Americans, as many of them were Catholic themselves.[144] Catholic Americans responded to the war primarily in two ways. First, they took every opportunity to show their allegiance to the United States by holding vigils for the victims of the *Maine* explosion, adding patriotic decorations to their religious celebrations, and joining the armed forces.[145] Secondly, they asserted that the problem with Spain was not its Catholicism, but rather its perversion of the faith's true principles.[146] This construction of the rise

[139][139] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 35.
[140] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 38-9.
[141] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 42-3.
[142] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 41.
[143] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 39.
[144] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 39-40.
[145] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 54, 57-8; Paul T. McCartney. *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006, 154.
[146] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 55.

and fall of Spain as a civilization aligned perfectly with the era's obsession with natural selection, which meant that this explanation for Spain's decadence even appealed to some Protestants.[147] As the war went on, this more moderate critique of Spain gained ground with Protestants and eventually became mainstream public opinion.[148]

This changed thinking occurred as American soldiers came into contact with Cuban revolutionaries more frequently, and their views took an overtly racist turn. American servicemen felt that the people of Cuba were not qualified for self-government, and it did not take long for racialized caricatures of Cubans to fill American newspapers.[149] Suddenly Protestants found it appealing to think that the Spanish had once been well-intentioned civilizers of a savage people, but now they needed a more humane colonizer to take control.[150] As the war expanded into the Philippines, white Americans became more convinced of the necessity for the United States to continue the civilizing mission that the Spaniards had begun.[151] Such a construction satisfied all the interests of white Christian Americans, Catholics and Protestants alike. In the minds of Protestants, it confirmed their superiority over Catholic Spain, and for Catholics, it absolved their faith of the Protestants' allegations of inherent corruption. Perhaps most importantly, this framework validated white supremacy and justified the American replacement of Spain as a colonizer without questioning the ethics of imperialism itself.[152]

Since California had once been a Spanish colony, it did not take long for Americans to apply similar logic to that region as well.[153] To many Americans, the Franciscans represented the

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[147] McCartney, *Power and Progress,* 52-3, 67-8.
[148] McCartney, *Power and Progress,* 154.
[149] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 96; Miller *From Liberation to Conquest,* 18.
[150] McCullough, *The Cross of War,* 101, 103.
[151] Katherine D. Moran, *The Imperial Church: Catholic Founding Fathers and United States Empire.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020, 142-3, 145.
[152] Moran, *The Imperial Church,* 106.
[153] Katherine D. Moran. "Catholicism and the Making," 434-5, 437.

Pacific counterparts to the Puritan settlers of New England, as each supposedly brought their civilizing powers to a heathen landscape and oversaw a golden age of simplicity.[154] As white Americans across the nation looked to revive their colonial past, the Franciscan missions gave Californians the opportunity to weave their state into a national imperial narrative.[155] Not only did the official federal report on the Exposition celebrate the California building's Franciscan provenance, but it also stated that the mission was "modeled after the houses in which the old Spanish settlers used to live."[156] The interior of the building was mostly empty and had few religious connotations, perhaps to avoid offending any Protestants still entertaining anti-Catholic animus and to accentuate the structure's supposed function as a colonial residence and not a monastery.[157]

This recreation of the missions as residences mirrored developments on the East Coast, where colonial homes also provided a nexus between Americans and the nation's early history. In the 1850s, tourism began at George Washington's estate at Mount Vernon, where his tomb became a particular site of veneration and mass-produced memorabilia became commonplace.[158] In the 1870s, New Englanders began preserving colonial buildings and constructing new homes in this architectural idiom as an articulation of national and regional identity.[159] Their use of the colonial revival style continued throughout the final decades of the 19th century, as industrialization changed the region's physical landscape and an influx of immigrants changed

[154] Moran, *The Imperial Church,* 82.
[155] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 73.
[156] *Final Report of the Louisiana,* 246.
[157] *Final Report of the Louisiana,* 246.
[158] Matthew R. Costello, *The Property of the Nation: George Washington's Tomb, Mount Vernon, and the Memory of the First President.* Topeka: University Press of Kansas, 2019, 75.
[159] William Butler, "Another City upon a Hill: Litchfield, Connecticut, and the Colonial Revival," in *The Colonial Revival in America,* ed. Alan Axelrod. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985, 15-51, 19-20.

its cultural landscape.[160] Since many Americans considered New England's colonial buildings the oldest structures in the nation and glorified the settler narrative that came with them, architects favored the style.[161] Even states in the Deep South followed this pattern. Leading up to the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition, in which numerous Northern investors would be present, architects in Atlanta oversaw the construction of colonial-style homes in an attempt to distance the city from its Confederate past.[162]

The rebranding of California's missions as colonial residences integrated the state into a national imperial narrative, and it came in tandem with three major implications. First, it confirmed that the Spanish influences of California belonged to the past. In 1896, the *San Francisco Chronicle* published an article about the missions, which stated: "Long after the paisano…and the black eyed senorita ha[ve] ceased to be aught but a tradition, the noble piles that their forefathers erected amid deserts peopled with savages may exist with proper care, to excite in the stranger a curiosity to know the story of the people who wrested this fair domain from its wild condition and made it to blossom and become fruitful."[163] Secondly, as the above quote shows, this perception of the missions as centers of civilization supported Anglo beliefs in white supremacy. At the intersection of these two perceptions, we see both the end of the Hispano chapter of California's history and the creation of a comfortable distance between turn-of-the-century Anglos and the state's mixed Indigenous and European heritage.[164] Thirdly, the reframing of the missions as colonial residences allowed contemporary whites to contribute to the civilization of California by building their own homes and gardens, the design of which often

[160] Butler, "Another City," 20
[161] Butler, "Another City," 19.
[162] Catherine M. Howett, "A Georgian Renascence in Georgia: the Residential Architecture of Neel Reid," in *The Colonial Revival in America,* ed. Alan Axelrod. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985, 122-138, 122-3
[163] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 143.
[164] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 136; Young, *California Vieja,* 9.

mimicked the Mission Style.[165] Mission Revival architecture allowed Anglos to connect themselves on a personal level to both the romantic Spanish past and the contemporary modernization of California under American rule.[166]

Beyond the mission replica, the Fair's other representations of Spain emphasized American superiority as a colonizer, which the reception of the Philippine Constabulary Band illustrates. The Philippine Constabulary Band was an especially popular attraction that featured eighty musicians whose repertoire included a wide variety of European music, from classical symphonic pieces to patriotic American tunes.[168] In 1902, colonial governor William H. Taft created the band under the leadership of Lt. Walter H. Loving, an African American officer.[169] Under American supervision, the Band had also gotten American-made instruments with silver and gold plating and new uniforms.[170] While ethnographers flocked to the Philippine Reservation to document what they thought was the most primitive form of music, the Constabulary Band drew visitors' attention for the opposite reason.[171] Many of them remarked how sophisticated the Band sounded and appeared, which they claimed as evidence of the powers of American imperialism.[172] While many of their comments emphasized their surprise that non-white individuals could produce such beautiful renditions of European music, they also boasted that the

[165] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 5, 82-6.
[166] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 72-3; Young, *California Vieja,* 3-4.
[168] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 502-4, 512-5.
[169] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 503-4; Krystyn R. Moon "The Quest for Music's Origin at the St. Louis World's Fair: Frances Densmore and the Racialization of Music." *American Music,* Vol. 28, No. 2 (Summer 2010): 191-210, 203.
[170] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 507-8.
[171] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 507-8; Moon "The Quest for Music's," 191-2.
[172] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 502-4; Moon, "The Quest for Music's," 202.

change in colonizer was responsible for the final product.[173] In actuality, Filipino musicians had been playing Western music on Western instruments for nearly four hundred years under Spanish rule. By 1900, most towns in the Philippines had their own marching band that played for civic and religious events.[174] Instead, American visitors declared Spanish styles of music "archaic" and the uniforms their musicians wore "clownish." They juxtaposed these epithets against the Philippine Constabulary Band's performance, which they called "elegant".[175]

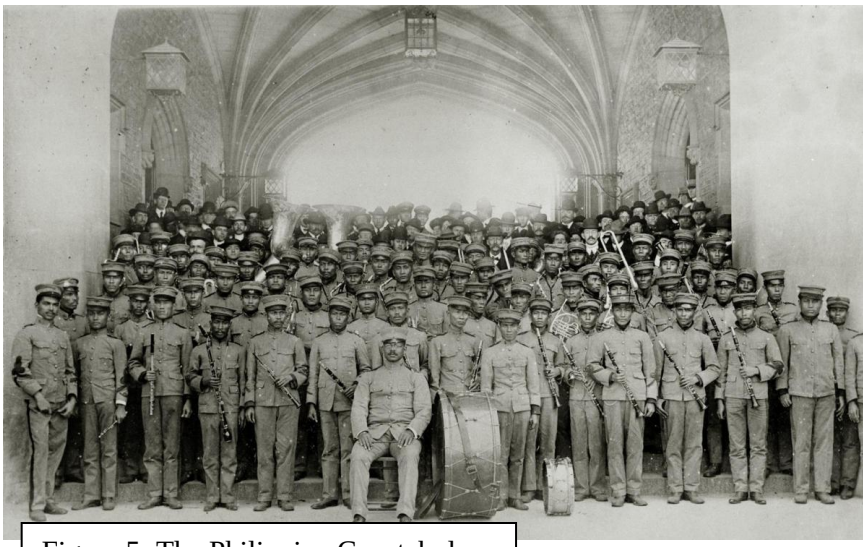

Figure 5: The Philippine Constabulary Band at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition

From this evidence, it is clear that the Americans at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition received ambivalent messages that both praised and denigrated Spain. According to the Fair's organizers, the replica mission and the Spanish past of California were romantic, but as a modern imperial power, the United States was superior to Spain. This treatment relegated Spain to the past and signaled the rise of American imperialism, both in California and abroad. While they had been able civilizers of Indigenous peoples in centuries past, the Spanish had given over to

[173] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 507-8; Moon, "The Quest for Music's," 202.
[174] Moon, "The Quest for Music's," 203.
[175] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism," 507-8.

the Americans.[176] Serving as the image of a past Spanish golden age, the California mission replica stood as an articulation of national identity at the dawn of the American empire.

[176] Moran, "Catholicism and the Making," 461.

Negotiating Nativity: Race on the Recreated Mission Landscape

While American expansion abroad was a new phenomenon at the time, the colonization of North America had been occurring for centuries and was a major theme of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Native Americans were highly visible within the Exposition, both in-person and in the anthropological exhibits, although they were conspicuously absent from the Mission replica display. Twenty-nine Native American societies had representation within the Fair's anthropological exhibits, not including the model boarding school.[177] The third modern Olympic Games coincided with the Fair, during which the anthropologists on the Exposition's committee pitted Native American against white athletes as a twisted way of proving racial dominance.[178] Few attractions drew as large a crowd as "Colonel" Frederick Cummins's Wild West Show.[179] A much more affordable version of "Buffalo" Bill Cody's world-renowned spectacle, Cummins's show brought to life the romantic mythos of the American West, featuring bloodthirsty Indians, heroic cowboys, and hardy settlers.[180] Tourists could buy a host of different souvenirs associated with Native Americans, ranging from beaded buckskin objects to the buttons off of Geronimo's coat, which he sold numerous times over.[181]

However, when it came to the reproduction of Mission Santa Barbara, which had once been the site of Native exploitation, there were no mentions of the Indigenous population, even

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[177] Swenson, "Bound for the Fair," 442-3.
[178] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes*, 342-3; Swenson, "Bound for the Fair," 453.
[179] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes*, 239-40.
[180] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes*, 240-1.
[181] Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes*, 122-3, 126-8; Swenson, "Bound for the Fair," 462.

though by the turn of the century, the racist stereotype of California's "Mission Indians" as children who flocked to the benevolent padres for salvation and civilization had gained widespread popularity.[182] Indigenous neophytes were major characters in Jackson's *Ramona* and the subjects of numerous pieces of promotional travel literature for the state.[183] Indigenous exclusion from the replica of Mission Santa Barbara clearly did not result from ignorance, but rather from a choice to erase them from its landscape. Their omission likely emanated from a combination of factors. One of which many Anglos mentally assimilated Native peoples into the region's Hispanic culture, which may have dispelled much of the exoticism surrounding them.[184]

However, the absence of Native Americans was also bound to Anglos' attempts to whiten the state's past, which the numerous references to settler colonists suggest. California newspapers published that the replica garden would feature the flowers that the padres had grown for over a century, emphasizing the European provenance of the site.[185] The commemorative ceremonies for the anniversary of California's admission to the Union honored the "native" inhabitants of California. However, these native inhabitants were not Native; that is, they were the descendants of some of the earliest Euro-American settlers to California, whom the program extolled for making the state "rich and great."[186] California's representation at the Fair excluded the Native Americans who had labored in the mission in favor of applauding the Spanish friars and Euro-Americans who settled the region.

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[182] Young, *California Vieja*, 86.
[183] Young, *California Vieja*, 20-3, 81-2.
[184] Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 64.
[185] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call*, 1 May 1904.
[186] David R. Francis. *The Universal Exposition of 1904.* St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913. Accessed at: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951000798081g&view=1up&seq=13 on 20 October 2020, 266-7.

The Mission replica also neglected to acknowledge the continued genocide against Native Americans under American rule.[187] Beginning in the 1840s, white settlers coerced the region's Native population to work on their farms and ranches, and early laws supported this system of enslavement in the form of peonage or "apprenticeship.".[188] Scholars have noted that the language of these laws echoed that of the Slave Codes of the southern states, which shows the extent to which the settlers commodified Indigenous bodies.[189] Kidnappings of Native Americans were common, and those who resisted did so at the risk of their lives.[190] In one harrowing instance, two ranchers shot and killed a disabled boy for trying to protect his ten-year-old sister from abduction.[191] While national anti-slavery sentiment after the Civil War prompted California legislators to abolish the most atrocious aspects of its labor system, the racialized inequalities remained.[192] The decades of white brutality reduced California's Native population from about 150,000 in 1845 to only 20,000 in 1880. Conversely, the state's non-Native population soared from about 14,000 to 848,000 over the same period.[193] If Native Americans were absent from the California landscape, it was because white settlers had killed them, and the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from California's display only reinforced the state's growing whiteness.

The California ceremony highlighted the absence of another group vital to the state's cultural and economic landscapes. After the ceremony's conclusion, all the attendees headed to the garden at the rear of the building to claim their share of the nuts, grapes, apricots, plums, and

[187] Madley, "Unholy Traffic," 627.
[188] Madley, "Unholy Traffic," 631.
[189] Madley, "Unholy Traffic," 631, 633.
[190] Madley, "Unholy Traffic," 635, 655-6.
[191] Madley, "Unholy Traffic," 658.
[192] Madley, "Unholy Traffic," 658, 660.
[193] Madley, "Unholy Traffic," 659, 661.

figs, and of course California oranges brought to the site by the carload.[194] To the attendees, these fruits likely embodied their idealized view of California as a "Land of Sunshine," an "Orange Empire" that would supply nourishment and enjoyment for all.[195] Absent from this picture of abundance, however, was the labor force that made its production possible.

Anglo Americans had always recognized California's agricultural potential, and citrus production rose to become the state's most lucrative industry between the 1880s and the 1940s.[196] In fact, the state's citrus fields proved so fruitful that supply outpaced demand in the 1890s, bringing the industry to the brink of collapse.[197] Throughout the booms and looming busts of fruit production, growers consistently marketed their oranges with images of idyllic landscapes that included orange groves, palm trees, and Spanish architecture set against the backdrop of a cerulean sky.[198] Some of these images featured a classically draped young white woman holding an orange branch.[199] Queen Victoria even appeared on one company's crate labels.[200] Just what the Empress of India had to do with California oranges was anyone's guess, but the use of her portrait shows that the industry was bound to the era's racialized imperial ideology. These fabricated scenes presented the orange industry as a business comprised solely of northwestern Europeans, a statement which could hardly have been farther from the truth.[201]

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[194] David R. Francis. *The Universal Exposition of 1904.* St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913, 267.
[195] Douglas Cazaux Sackman, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 7-9, 21.
[196] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 5.
[197] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 19.
[198] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 6, 21; Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* 142-3, 186-7.
[199] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 6, 21; Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* 163.
[200] Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* 163
[201] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 44, 46, 133, 147.

Native Americans made up the bulk of the agricultural workforce in the early nineteenth century, but immigrants soon outnumbered them.[202] The Chinese arrived first, but after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 halted the immigration of Chinese laborers altogether, Japanese workers replaced them.[203] By 1900, immigrants from Mexico, Croatia, Russia, Italy, and the Philippines also made up significant portions of California's agricultural labor force.[204] While California's agricultural workforce was incredibly diverse, it was also racialized and gendered. Men worked in the fields, while the packinghouses became the domain of female workers.[205] Many Anglo-owned companies forbade Mexican American women from touching the fruit in the final stages of packaging, and instead used only white women for fear that buyers would boycott the produce otherwise.[206] Anglo growers also racialized men's labor, declaring that Asian men's smaller stature made them suited to do the jobs that forced them to bend down to the ground.[207] One grower even compared his Filipino employees to monkeys who could climb the fruit trees easily.[208] These examples show that Anglo-American growers racialized the industry, presenting an image on their fruit crates that did not correspond to the reality in the fields.

The Fair also erased the many immigrants who rose above an unjust system to become landowners or at least tenant farmers.[209] From the 1870s, hundreds of Chinese immigrants operated farms under ten-year leases, which allowed them to achieve far higher levels of income

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[202] Linda L. Ivey, "Ethnicity in the Land: Lost Stories of California Agriculture." *Agricultural History,* Vol. 81, No. 1 (Winter 2007): 98-124, 102.
[203] Sackman, *Orange Empire,*127, 137.
[204]Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 46, 128; Ivey, "Ethnicity in the Land," 102-3. Brian Gratton and Emily Klancher Merchant. "An Immigrant's Tale: the Mexican American Southwest 1850-1950." *Social Science History*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Winter 2015): 521-50, 521, 528.
[205] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 146-7.
[206] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 147.
[207] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 128.
[208] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 128.
[209] Sackman, *Orange Empire,* 132-3; Ivey, "Ethnicity in the Land," 102-3.

than they would have as farmworkers.[210] Chinese and Dalmatian immigrants established wildly successful apple farms in the Pajaro Valley around the turn of the century.[211] At the same time, Japanese growers were reaching levels of prosperity that made their white counterparts jealous, which led to the passing of the Alien Land Act in 1913, outlawing Asians from owning land.[212] This evidence shows that the image of California fruit production as solely the business of native-born white Americans was pure fiction, and makes the omission of immigrants and other Asians and Hispanics from California's anniversary celebration noteworthy.

The removal of Native Americans from the replica mission landscape and the erasure of Mexicans, Asians, and immigrant whites from California's statehood anniversary ceremony represent two instances of a more general phenomenon. By the turn of the century, many of California's Euro-American residents were looking to "whiten" California's past and give it a wholly European heritage.[213] Spanish provenance provided a prime opportunity to fulfill this agenda. Early Anglo settlers projected a pejorative image onto California's Hispanic inhabitants, calling them indolent, morally lax, and racially inferior due to their mixed heritage.[214] While Anglos sometimes excused elite Californios from these stereotypes because of the financial advantages of business partnership, their anti-Hispanic animus remained palpable at the end of the century.[215] This period coincided with a general pattern of displacement of Californios from the pinnacle of the region's racial and economic hierarchy and an influx of Mexican immigrants to the state.[216] To avoid association with the torrent of immigrant laborers, elite Californios

[210] Sackman, *Orange Empire*, 132.
[211] Ivey, "Ethnicity in the Land," 102-5.
[212] Sackman, *Orange Empire*, 133; Ivey, "Ethnicity in the Land," 105-6.
[213] Young, *California Vieja*, 81-3, Kryder-Reid, "Perennially New," 391.
[214] Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 59, 62.
[215] Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 63.
[216] Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 63.

began styling themselves as the purely white inheritors of a halcyon Spanish past.[217] Anglo writers like Helen Hunt Jackson further popularized this historical fantasy and included the missions and the Franciscan padres within this paradigm.[218]

While this idealized image of Spanish California appealed to elite Hispanics by confirming their whiteness, Anglos still found ways to assert their superiority over them. Anglo Americans claimed that Californios and Mexicans had allowed the region's mild climate to ruin their work ethic, and the popular science of the day validated this prejudice.[219] Doctors like Charles Woodruff warned whites that the ultraviolet rays of a tropical sun could overstimulate their sensibilities, leading to moral, bodily, and intellectual degeneration that, over time, would cause them to decline as a race.[220] As a corollary to this theory, many Anglos argued that in order to avoid such dissolution, they must become the masters of the darker-skinned indigenous population.[221] In this construction, white imperialism was the only way forward. Similar to the assertion of American superiority over Spain as a colonizer, Anglo thinking about race both supported white (read Protestant, northwestern European) supremacy and the necessity of imperialism.

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[217] Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 64.
[218] Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 99.
[219] Young, *California Vieja*, 51-2.
[220] Catherine Cocks. *Tropical Whites: the Rise of the Tourist South in the Americas.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, 22-3.
[221] Cocks, *Tropical Whites*, 25.

Poppies and Politics: White Women and the Civilization of California

Race was not the only issue at stake in the mission garden replica, and neither was it the only one that the Fair's organizers used to make assertions about colonialism. Gender served a similar purpose within the replica mission landscape, although its implications might not have been visible at first glance. Women, as the Fair's publicity made clear, were not allowed to enter the *real* Santa Barbara mission garden.[222] Anglos had long found fascination in the exclusion of women from this monastic space, calling it sacred to the padres and their male students.[223] An 1887 short story published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* told of a group of Anglo tourists in Santa Barbara who visited the mission and its garden.[224] In this fictional account, the male visitors roamed freely throughout the mission grounds, including the garden, whereas the women had to have a padre to guide them and could only peer into the garden.[225] In reality, a few women had seen the garden.[226] The *Los Angeles Herald* stated that the padres had welcomed First Lady Caroline Harrison and Princess Louise of England to visit.[227] These articles did not account for First Lady Ida McKinley's well-documented visit to the garden in 1901. Julia Grant supposedly saw it during her husband's presidency as well.[228] There were conflicting opinions

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[222] "California at the Exposition", *The San Francisco Call,* 1 May 1904; "California Building at the St Louis Exposition to Be Modeled on the Santa Barbara Mission" *Los Angeles Herald,* 2 October 1903.
[223] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 76, 78.
[224] Edwards Roberts, "A Santa Barbara Holiday." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* Vol. 75, No. 450, 57 (November 1887): 813-835, 813.
[225] Roberts, "A Santa Barbara," 822-4.
[226] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call,* 1 May 1904.
[227]"California Building," *Los Angeles Herald,* 2 October 1903.
[228] "President and his party view the Old Mission in Santa Barbara by the Sea." *San Francisco Call,* Vol. 87, No. 162, 11 May 1901. Accessed at: https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SFC19010511.2.2.2&e=------190-en--20-SFC-1--txt-txIN-priests+honor+mrs+mckinley-------1 on 24 November 2020.

about exactly how many women had seen the mission garden, but it was clear that the wholesale admittance of female visitors to the St. Louis replica was a drastic change.

The physical exclusion of women from the garden reinforced the masculinity of the space, as it sat within the walls of a monastery. As we have seen, one line of Anglo thought hailed the Franciscans as the saviors of California who brought civilization to the Indigenous population.[229] They saw the orderly mission gardens as the physical manifestation of the padres' religious and intellectual labors, imposing a sophisticated European aesthetic onto a previously barbarian landscape.[230] Turn-of-the-century California promotional literature depicted Anglo Californians as the imperial descendants of the Spanish priests, imposing their wills upon the land. In some cases, they followed in the literal footsteps of the padres. In 1902, the construction of the "King's Highway" began, which retraced the trail the Franciscans had supposedly followed up the California coast as they founded the missions.[231] It is not hard to see the connotations of masculinity bound up in this conjuring of the priests' imperialism, but the other mythologized moments of California history were also events that seemed to involve men much more than women. Tales of the intense labor that it took to extract gold from the soil of northern California and the idyllic scenes of cattle ranches in the South also implied that the taming of California was, quite literally, men's work.[232]

Around the turn of the century, however, many Californians found a way to incorporate women into this imperial narrative.[233] Since the earliest days of American colonization of

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[229] Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* 61; DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 22-3; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 136, 177.
[230] Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes,* 143, 177; Starr, *Inventing the Dream,* 46.
[231] Young, *California Vieja,* 48-9, 55-6.
[232] Young, *California Vieja,* 2-4; DeLyser, *Ramona Memories,* 37-9.
[233] Bethany Hopkins,"The love of enterprise and Nature was born in the woman": Theodosia Shepherd and the Gendered Garden of California Commercial Horticulture, 1881–1906." *Western Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 45, No. 3 (Autumn 2014): 279-98, 280-1.

California, settlers had associated the cultivation of gardens with a Europeanization of the landscape.[234] By 1915, the Santa Clara Valley's white residents had planted sweet peas across large swaths of the region because the blooms' assumed British origins supposedly lent them an extra air of civility.[235] Clearly, gardening in California was bound up in racialized imperial ideology, and it was a gendered concept as well. Many Californians started looking at gardens as a way for women to colonize the land because they associated private gardens with the domestic sphere, which fit the feminine gender norms of the day.[236] This ideology emanated primarily from seed manufacturers who saw the concept as a way to market their products.[237] Indeed, women did become more visible in California's floral industry, making up more than ten percent of shop owners and employees by 1900.[238] In this way, gardens became a way to express both race and gender within California's colonized landscape.

At first glance, the admission of women to the replica garden might seem like a reversal of the Franciscans' exclusion of women from the space. Indeed, in one sense it indicates a Protestant repurposing of a Catholic space, since Catholicism commonly employs gender-segregated establishments for religious devotees, and most Protestant sects do not engage in comparable monastic practices. However, a closer examination shows that the de-gendering of the mission garden was far from complete. Under Anglo authority, women may have been able to admire the mission garden, but ultimately the societal role of gardens reified traditional gender norms. Women's gardening may have given a few of them more economic independence and many more of them a means of passive political participation, but it also emphasized women's

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[234] Elizabeth A. Logan, "Sweet Peas of Civility: The Cultural Politics of Environment in California, 1848–1915." *California History*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (Summer 2015): 4-21, 6, 10.
[235] Logan, "Sweet Peas," 8, 18.
[236] Hopkins, "The love of enterprise," 281.
[237] Hopkins, "The love of enterprise," 279-80.
[238] Hopkins, "The love of enterprise," 288.

roles as domestic beings. The metaphorical de-gendering of the mission garden did not counteract the fact that Anglos thought of gardening as a gendered activity that was appropriate for women, one that limited their political activity to the domestic sphere. This continuation of gendering within the mission replica extended beyond the garden as well. The architects of the building created gender-segregated rest areas for men and women.[239] Newspapers stated that the men's rooms were spaces for reading and smoking, although they neglected to include similar activities for the women's spaces.[240] From this evidence, we see that the de-gendering of the space occurred only at a superficial level, creating a clumsy assertion of difference that ultimately betrayed the similarity between the two cultures.

[239] "California Building," *Los Angeles Herald*, 2 October 1903.
[240] "California at the Exposition," *The San Francisco Call*,1 May 1904.

Conclusion: Colonialism, Commodified

If Governor Pardee was looking to attract capital and settlers through the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, he and the other organizers spared no expense to create an extravagant display. The California Building projected an idealized image of the state's colonial past and cultural landscape, and the agricultural and industrial exhibits demonstrated the state's potential for economic growth. This evidence conveys that the commodification of the California missions occurred at the Fair, at least in an abstract sense. However, its commercialization was also quite literal. Toward the end of the Exposition, on 15 November, Pardee and the rest of the California commission received the news that one of their plans for the replica mission had gone terribly awry. They had made sure to build the structure with the finest lumber the state produced, and intended to dismantle the building and resell the wood at a profit after the Fair's conclusion.[241] This intention explains why the building remained relatively empty, which allowed potential buyers to admire the expensive woods. However, it seems that other states' commissions entertained similar hopes of profit because the lumber market at St. Louis became so glutted that none of them could even cover the cost of their buildings. One of Santa Rosa's newspapers, the *Press Democrat,* published that the mission's lumber might bring $150 at market, whereas it had cost $15,000 to build. Rather than sell the wood at a loss, the California commission decided to recycle the deconstructed mission lumber for use in the state's display at the Lewis and Clark

[241] "California's Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition will not Bring a Tenth of its Cost." *Press Democrat,* Vol. XXX, No. 272, 16 November 1904. Accessed at: https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SRPD19041116.2.9&srpos=13&e=------190-en--20--1--txt-txIN-louisiana+purchase+exposition+California+building-------1 on 9 February 2021.

Exposition the following year.[242] Perhaps the next celebration of American imperialism would bring better luck. Like Father Romo's efforts in building the garden, Pardee's attempts to capitalize on the aesthetic of the missions may have faltered in the short term, but his actions carried cultural and political implications much weightier than he may have realized. They each oversaw the creation of a Europeanized version of California, one crafted in the image of the white settlers they were trying to attract. The original garden and the replica mission may have shaped the physical landscape, but on a much deeper level they contributed to the idyllic perception of imperialism that white Americans used to justify expansion at home and abroad at the turn of the 20th century.

[242] "California's Building," *Press Democrat,* 16 November 1904.

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