

# Telling The Whole Story: The Land We Are On

All Saints Episcopal Church, Pasadena, CA

Hannah Earnshaw and Becky Nicolaides

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# 1 Introduction

*By Rev. Mike Kinman, Rector of All Saints Church 2016 – present*

If anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see, everything has become new! All this is from God, who reconciled us to Godself through Christ, and has given us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, in Christ God was reconciling the world to the divine self, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting the message of reconciliation to us.

*– 2 Corinthians 5:17-19*

What's past is prologue.

*– William Shakespeare, The Tempest*

You have to tell the whole story, so you can write a new story.

*– The Rt. Rev. Jennifer Baskerville-Burrows*

Paul writes that the central mission of we who walk with a revolutionary Jesus is reconciliation—bringing together that which is broken and healing that which is wounded. In the church, that is not just a nice idea... it is literally a sacramental process with five specific steps:

1. Self-examination
2. Confession
3. Repentance/Reparation
4. Amendment of Life
5. Absolution/Living a Reconciled Life

The process of reconciliation begins with self-examination because our past is one of our greatest gifts. Our past not only has tremendous lessons to teach us and wisdom that must be honored... it reveals where we have gone astray and where we need both to heal and be healed. Shakespeare was right—Past is Prologue. We must understand it and come to grips with its impact if we are to move into that new future we dream of when we claim our mission as one of "healing and transformation for ourselves, our community and the world."

Bishop Jennifer Baskerville-Burrows preached eloquently about this at the consecration of the new bishop of Missouri, Deon Johnson. In the Cathedral I called home for eight years, she named some of the difficult truths that history tells us about that place. That the founding signers and many former pillars of the Cathedral charter considered themselves owners of enslaved peoples. That some—even much—of the money used to build the Cathedral came from labor tortured out of kidnapped Black bodies. That until the 1940s, Black people weren't allowed inside the main nave of the Cathedral.

We have to tell these stories, Bishop Jennifer said, not out of an act of shame or self-flagellation, but because "we have to tell the whole story, so we can write a new story."

So it is for us at All Saints Church. We have a rich history... and we need to tell the whole story so we can, without shame or fear, write a new story of healing and transformation for ourselves, our community and the world.

The two 'Telling the Whole Story' working groups—this one on the land we currently occupy and a second one looking at the stained glass windows and iconography in our worship space—are our effort to engage the first of those steps in two discrete areas of our common life.

The TTWS Land Working Group was co-convened by the Rector Mike Kinman and Vestrymember Hannah Earnshaw, and also includes Barbara Andrade Dubransky, Gauthri Fernando, Mike Hernandez, Becky Nicolaides, and Monique Thomas.

The task of this group is that first stage of self-examination. This report will tell the whole story (or as complete a story as we can) of the land All Saints Church occupies (both the church itself and its rectories). Who first inhabited this land? What is the story of what happened? How did the Episcopal Church come to be here? Who had opportunities and who was denied opportunities to purchase this land? Who is allowed to be on it today, and who decides?

Part of the story is also the impact the transitions of land occupation have had. We have listened to the stories of the descendants of those who used to be here and the impact of their removal from this land until today. We have listened to our own stories of what this land has meant and means to us. We have heard stories of sacred meaning and stories of deep wounding.

We also reached out to other partners in this work. We have been in conversation with representatives from the Gabrielino/Tongva Nation, as well as other churches in the U.S. and Canada, and some local historians and activists who have been engaging in this work.

This report is the first step in us hearing the story, listening deeply to each other within and outside of All Saints Church. Then, the Vestry will lead us in a process of determining where there has been wounding and broken relationship, and what naming that looks like.

Then we will—centering the voices of those who have been wounded and marginalized—explore what repentance and reparation look like and decide how to follow that call. Then together we will, taking all we have learned, make new commitments to live together in a new and reconciled way into the future.

Finally, we will celebrate. All of us. Not just All Saints, but all who we have met along the way. And we will be one step closer to God's dream for us of being Beloved Community.

And... what we learn on this journey will be fed into our strategic direction work, our work on building intentional culture for staff and congregation, the Planning and Campus Enhancement Strategies, or PACES, work on campus refreshment, and the ongoing work of liturgy, formation and service that is our common life.

We will tell the whole story as best we can so we can write a new story that will carry us into a new and reconciled future of radical inclusion, courageous justice, joyful spirituality, and ethical stewardship. Because that is the work God gives us. It is our job. It is our joy.

## **1.1 Report Outline**

This report is divided into sections, first by historical period as we explore the history of this land as well as the role of religion in that history, then by topic as we reach the time over which All Saints Church has existed.

We begin by looking at what is known of the Tongva people in this area, then detail the impact and the passing of land from owner to owner over three periods of colonizing rule—first by the Spanish, then by Mexico, then by Americans. Then we discuss the lands that All Saints Church has bought and sold over the years of its existence, and how it has used that property. We dedicate a section to the rectory properties, and the history of redlining in the areas they are located. We also circle back to the Tongva in the 20th and 21st centuries. Finally, we summarize our findings, and provide an appendix on our methods.

We hope that this report is not only a strong first step in our own journey of reconciliation, but that it can be helpful to those doing similar work in the future, as we are grateful in turn to those whose work our own stands upon.

## 2 First Peoples: The Tongva

According to one inland tradition of the people known today as the Tongva<sup>1</sup>, everything in the world came to be through the union of the two sacred beings Earth and Sky: rocks, plants, animals, birds, and the first of the First People, who came before humans, named Weywoot. Weywoot was a powerful leader, but became cruel and tyrannical, for which the First People killed him. Afterwards, they gathered to ask one another how they should go about finding food. At that moment, the creator god and prophet Chinigchinich appeared to them and granted them the powers and ceremonies to cause rain, produce acorns, and create animals to hunt. He also created the first humans out of clay and taught them how to live. Once the humans had been taught the rules for living well with the sacred Earth and with each other, Chinigchinich ascended, and the humans were watched over by a pantheon of spiritual beings as they lived out their lives on the land.<sup>2</sup>

The land of the Tongva people stretched across the whole of what is now known as the Los Angeles Basin, from the foothills of the San Gabriel mountains to the coast and out to the Channel Islands<sup>3</sup>, and was called Tovaangar—'the world'—by those who lived on it (Figure 1). The environments within Tovaangar varied from wet marshlands in the river basin to chaparral scrubland in the mountain foothills, with a Mediterranean-like climate, fire- and drought-resistant vegetation, and plentiful resources for those living on the land. What it was not was a desert. There was an abundance of tree cover, including oak, pine, willow and black walnut, all of which were made use of by the local people for food and for crafting purposes, and were managed through controlled burning, which not only cleared out old brush but also created the conditions for the release of seeds and new growth. The land was home to myriad species of animals, including many that have since been hunted to extinction from the area by colonizers, including gray wolves, kit foxes, and the California grizzly bear.<sup>4</sup>

Humans have lived in the area for thousands of years. The residents of Tovaangar were a culturally and economically wealthy and generous people living in a well-resourced and actively managed homeland, with plentiful interaction with neighbouring peoples. The population was distributed between self-governing villages of approximately 50 to 100 people each, grouped by family lineage and spread across the entire region. Each village had its own name, leader, and political control, though despite variations among these villages they were interlinked by economic, social, and religious ties. Inland Tongva would rely on trading networks with Tongva people in coastal villages for seafood and other coastal supplies.<sup>5</sup>

The Tongva relationship with the land was not only economical—it was spiritual. Religious ritual played an important part of life, and contained many rules for living, particularly around the gathering and distribution of resources. The sharing of food was expected when multiple communities

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<sup>1</sup>Multiple names are used by the descendants of the first people on this land. 'Tongva', a word of indigenous origin, is the preferred name for the majority of people indigenous to this region, and so that is the term we use throughout this report. Other names include Gabrielino/Gabrieleño—a name from colonization for indigenous people of all lineages that were brought into the San Gabriel mission, but a name still acknowledged today as a significant historical identity of the people—and Kizh, an alternate name of indigenous language origin. The Tongva people, particularly pre-colonization, should not be understood as a single tribe under common governance, but rather a collection of autonomous communities with shared language, culture, and kinship ties.

<sup>2</sup>William McCawley, *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (Malki Museum Press, 1996) chapter 8; Damon B. Akins and William J. Bauer, *We Are The Land: A History of Native California* (Univ of California Press, 2021) 13-14.

<sup>3</sup>Lowell J. Bean and Charles R. Smith, "Gabrielino", *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by Robert F. Heizer (Smithsonian Institution, 1978) p. 538; Greene, Sean, and Thomas Curwen. "Mapping the Tongva villages of L.A.'s past". *LA Times*, 9 May 2019. [www.latimes.com/projects/la-me-tongva-map/](http://www.latimes.com/projects/la-me-tongva-map/). Accessed 2022.

<sup>4</sup>Ethington, Philip J., et al. "Historical Ecology of the Los Angeles River Watershed and Environs". 2020. 38-39; Charles Sepulveda, "Our Sacred Waters: Theorizing Kuuyam as a Decolonial Possibility", *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* vol. 7, no. 1, 2018,

<sup>5</sup>McCawley, *The First Angelinos*; Duane Champagne and Carole Goldberg, *A Coalition of Lineages: The Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians* (University of Arizona Press, 2021) 21-24.

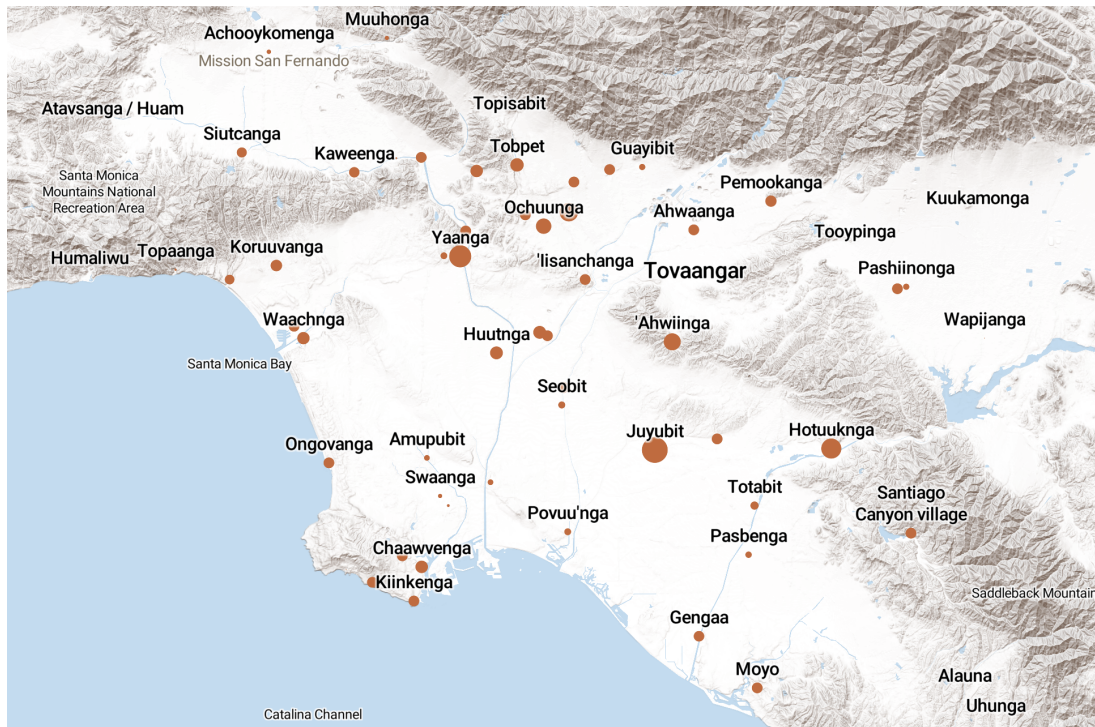


Figure 1: A map of Tovaangar with the locations and approximate sizes of Tongva villages, along with some of their names. Source: Sean Greene and Thomas Curwen, "Mapping the Tongva villages of L.A.'s past", *LA Times*, May 9, 2019.

gathered together, which would often be required for a ritual to be performed correctly, and hunters and fishers were forbidden from consuming their own catch to prevent hoarding. Humans were not at the center of the world, but rather "a strand in a larger web of life." They believed everything in the world was interconnected, shaping social hierarchy, morality, labor, and land use. Another core belief was that "humankind's primary religious responsibility was to act as wise stewards to earth's living things and sacred places while offering periodic ceremonies of thanksgiving to the creator and earth spirits." The Earth itself was considered a sacred being who provided all the necessities for life.<sup>6</sup>

The area of land where Pasadena is now located was likely originally prairie grass- and shrubland interspersed with oak groves. The land was used for hunting animals such as rabbits and deer for food, and for gathering acorns which were a dietary staple of the Tongva people. There were likely no villages within the main present-day bounds of central Pasadena itself, although there were several nearby, all of whom may have used the land to some extent,<sup>7</sup> including:

- Hahamongna, located in the upper Arroyo Seco, near the present-day location of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL)
- Sonangna, at the present-day location of the Michael White Adobe in San Marino
- Akurangna, near a place called La Presa, exact location unknown
- Sheshiikwanongna, located south of the present-day Huntington Library grounds, in San Marino
- Sibangna, located at the site of the San Gabriel Mission

<sup>6</sup>Yvette Saavedra, *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771-1890* (University of Arizona Press, 2018) 20-21; Edward D. Castillo, "Gender Status Decline, Resistance, and Accommodation Among Female Neophytes in the Missions of California: A San Gabriel Case Study", *American Indian Cultures and Research Journal* vol. 18, no. 1, 1994.; McCawley, *The First Angelinos*.

<sup>7</sup>Hiram A. Reid, *History of Pasadena: Comprising an Account of the Native Indian, the Early Spanish, the Mexican, the American, the Colony, and the Incorporated City* (Pasadena History Co, 1895) 19-20. "Villages", [www.tongvapeople.org/?page\\_id=696](http://www.tongvapeople.org/?page_id=696). Accessed June 2022.

The Tongva people, particularly those who lived near the coast, had contact with seafaring Europeans since the 1500s. Their way of life changed most dramatically, however, after the establishment of the San Gabriel mission in 1771. At this point, relations between the Tongva and the Spanish were already deteriorating, and there was conflict between the mission and the surrounding population almost from the beginning of the mission's establishment.<sup>8</sup>

## 3 Colonial Era

### 3.1 Spanish Rule (1771–1821)

California's transition from an indigenous to a colonized land was part of a larger process of European colonization across the globe from the 1500s to 1700s. On the east coast of North America, the British, French, and Dutch were making forays along the Atlantic seaboard and inland. On the west coast, Spain led the exploration and colonization of the territory that would become California and had already taken on mythic qualities as a land of gold. The goals were similar on both sides of the continent: find land for growing populations to settle, extract raw materials to enhance the wealth of home countries, and spread and strengthen religion, whether through conversion of native peoples or through the settlement of believers.<sup>9</sup>

Embracing the spirit of reformed Catholicism, the three broad goals of imperial Spain were: Gold, Glory, and Gospel. Spain was powerful, and claimed many territories in the "new world" through force and military strength, conquering the Aztec in Mexico and the Incas in Peru, reaping gold and silver riches along the way. The Spanish developed a highly centralized imperial system in the Americas, with its center of operations in central Mexico. From here, expeditions were launched to explore new territories and establish colonial outposts up and down the Americas. The goal was to claim the territory and its people—as the king's subjects—for the glory of the King and the Catholic Church.

In this area, as in other colonial projects in the Americas, empire and religion went hand in hand. Both religious and legal justification for the expansion of the Spanish Empire were found in a number of papal decrees in the fifteenth century which established a "doctrine of discovery", stating that land not already inhabited by Christians was available to be "discovered" by Christian colonizing nations as a means of spreading the faith and bringing "barbarous" native people under enlightened Christian control. This doctrine was also used to justify the claiming of territory by other European colonizing powers and later the western spread of the United States of America, being cited as precedent in the context of U.S. property law as recently as 2005, and only formally repudiated by the Vatican this year, in March 2023.<sup>10</sup>

Spain's imperial ambitions intensified with its fear that other colonizing powers (especially Russia and Protestant England) would claim California for themselves. Spain resolved to establish a permanent presence in California to secure its place and power in the imperial world, and to safeguard a growing lucrative Asian trade. As the area was too remote to attract enough Spaniards or Mexicans to hold it against enemies of the crown, their solution was to transform the indigenous people already there into loyal subjects—to "create Spaniards out of Indians". They began with a two-pronged approach: religious and military. They would establish missions to convert what they called "the wretched Indians" to Catholicism, and they would establish *presidios* (military garrisons) to protect the missions. In later years, they would use a third prong, *pueblos* (civilian towns), to promote the permanent settlement of colonists as a means of securing Spain's hold on Alta California.

When the Portolá expedition, made up of ten Spanish soldiers, landed in Los Angeles in August 1771, they were met by armed Tongva on the banks of the Santa Ana River. As they travelled the region,

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<sup>8</sup>McCawley, *The First Angelinos*.

<sup>9</sup>Thomas J. Osborne, *Pacific Eldorado: A History of Greater California* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013) chapter 2; Robert W. Cherny, et al., *Competing Visions: A History of California*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2014) chapter 2.

<sup>10</sup>Pope Alexander VI, "Inter Caetera", 4 May 1493, [www.papalencyclicals.net/Alex06/alex06inter.htm](http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Alex06/alex06inter.htm); "Joint Statement of the Dicasteries for Culture and Education and for Promoting Integral Human Development on the "Doctrine of Discovery"", 30 Mar. 2023, [press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2023/03/30/230330b.html](http://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2023/03/30/230330b.html).

Portolá's men also encountered Chief Hahamov, the leader of the Hahamongna band of Tongva in what later became the Arroyo Seco section of Pasadena.<sup>11</sup> A month later, they founded the San Gabriel Mission, the fourth of 21 missions built across California under the initial leadership of the priest Junípero Serra. It was followed a decade later by the Los Angeles pueblo in 1781.

The San Gabriel Mission lands covered the areas that would later become Pasadena. At first contact in 1771, the Tongva people numbered over 5,000. The formation of the San Gabriel Mission among the Tongva people in 1771 fundamentally altered indigenous cultural and land use practices.

The goal of the missions was to turn the indigenous people into *gente de razón* (people of reason), which meant people who were Catholic, Spanish-speaking, settled into tax-paying towns, working in agriculture, and loyal to the king. New Spain's original plan for the missions was for the missionaries to stay ten years conducting conversions and education. During this time, the indigenous people technically owned the land. Once they had learned and internalized European ways, the missions would be transformed into pueblos and they would live there as loyal Spanish subjects. At that point, the missionaries would move on. Things did not go as planned.

Native people were both pushed and pulled into the missions. They were pushed by disease and illness brought by the Spaniards, which spread rampantly through native societies and weakened them severely, pushing them into the missions for cures, food, and shelter. This physical decimation ultimately de-legitimated their own traditional beliefs and faith in their own shamans and medicines, which made them more vulnerable and thus open to conversion. "Pull" factors included various enticements used by the missionaries to lure them in, including material goods and comforts like food, beads, trinkets, utensils, and clothes. Food was particularly important, since the mission's operations disrupted the local food supplies.

The goal was not just to convert the local people to Christianity, but to cause them to undergo a complete cultural indoctrination. The native people were considered by the Spanish to be like children, needing to be taught how to live properly—that is, in accordance with a European way of life. Socially, the Tongva would have to settle in and around the missions, they would be required to dress in European clothes reflecting European standards of modesty, and they would have to learn Spanish in order to be "civilized" and to learn the Bible and Catholic teachings. Several different indigenous societies with different languages, cultures, and customs were brought together into the missions, making the San Gabriel Mission a melting pot of different communities.

The spiritual conversion came next. Those baptized at the San Gabriel Mission were called Gabrieleños and received new Christianized names. After baptism, the new converts, called neophytes, were no longer free to return home but were instead concentrated at the mission, which was built and operated by their labor, using Spanish tools and methods. The Franciscan beliefs valued spiritual well-being over physical well-being and souls over lives. Junípero Serra himself would commonly self-inflict physical harm as a form of penance. This led to an environment in which physical punishment and hard labor were equated with spiritual rehabilitation—both of which were inflicted brutally on those in the mission, and with little care for their living conditions.<sup>12</sup>

Did the early indigenous residents of the Mission actually convert? Most evidence suggests no. The language barrier remained formidable: few native people learned Spanish, and few missionaries learned native languages, which in itself suggests they probably didn't comprehend the religion being taught. As well, the actual religious instruction was brief: padres required 8 days of instruction for baptism (in an unfamiliar language), unlikely to cause a major change in one's worldview. Scholars believe that to the extent they converted, the native people acted out of "justifiable fear" that emanated more out of self-defense. As one Spanish military leader wrote in 1775: "the compliance and meekness of the Indians [in the missions] is the effect of a just fear rather than affability and goodness."

Quarters at the mission were cramped, offered little privacy, and were unsanitary, worsening the rapid spread of disease both within the mission and into the surrounding communities, which had a

<sup>11</sup>Saavedra, *Pasadena Before The Roses*, 67.

<sup>12</sup>Benjamin Madley, "California's First Mass Incarceration System: Franciscan Missions, California Indians, and Penal Servitude, 1769-1836", *Pacific Historical Review* vol. 88, no. 1, 2019, pp. 14-47.

devastating impact on the Tongva population. Rape and sexual abuse by the Spanish soldiers guarding the mission was rife. Once the initial attraction of food, trinkets, and clothing wore off, and once the harsh discipline of the missions kicked in, many natives resisted. One estimate held that 10% of indigenous mission-dwellers ran away at some point. Escapees from the mission would be pursued by soldiers, captured (often along with other native people outside the mission), and beaten.<sup>13</sup>

The poor conditions within the mission did not go ignored by those who still lived in the surrounding Tongva villages, and there was substantial resistance over the years, most notably in 1785. One of the newly baptized Tongva who subsequently escaped the mission, Nicolas José, asked for the help of Toypurina, the daughter of a local chief and a well-respected medicine woman in her own right. She planned a rebellion to burn down the mission and free the converts, but they were discovered before it could take place, and the ringleaders arrested. Those arrested were publicly flogged, and Toypurina herself was exiled to Mission San Carlos Borroméo, close to Monterey.<sup>14</sup>

Land and its use were a central part of the missionary project, and marked a dramatic shift away from the indigenous style of land management. The land around the mission was turned to livestock grazing, orchards, and vineyards, a change that severely and irreversibly disrupted the local ecosystem, removing the trees that were the primary source of traditional food and driving away game animals, another factor that drove indigenous people into the missions. The native oaks were not seen as useful for lumber by the missions, and were cut down en masse for firewood. Traditional methods of land management were actively discouraged, with a decree forcibly suppressing controlled burning sent out by Governor Arrillaga in 1793. The missions also introduced non-native grasses to the region, such as the highly invasive black mustard plant, responsible for the distinctive yellow hillsides of modern California, but also for crowding out native plants and presenting an increased risk of fire.<sup>15</sup>

Because the missionaries believed that farming and livestock grazing were a central facet of civilized society, they imposed a labor regimen on native people that required them to learn Spanish farming methods and animal domestication as part of their "civilizing" process, forcing upon the Tongva people a new relationship to the land. As the missions became more self-sufficient and wealthy, their goals shifted toward agricultural production and cattle grazing as a means for making profits, overshadowing the goal of conversion, with the native people a vital source of labor to support these goals.

The Tongva people soon found themselves at the "bottom of the colonial hierarchy while ensuring the missionaries' agricultural vision for the mission landscape." As historian Yvette Saavedra put it, "The extraction of Indigenous labor was at the center of missions' success."<sup>16</sup> They typically worked 6 to 9 hours per day, depending on the season. The men herded livestock, plowed, tended to and harvested crops, and labored in mission workshops making various goods (looms, bricks, wheels, carts, tiles, soap, candles, earthenware, shoes, etc.). Women performed domestic duties of child-care, cooking and household upkeep. This labor was violently extracted by the missionaries—typical punishments for not completing tasks were whippings, shackles, and confinement to a stockade.

Native peoples had very different, nature-centered conceptions about work and time. Time was based on the seasons and cycles of nature. Their normal work routine was to work until that immediate task was done, then stop and rest. The use of tools and animals in work was in conflict with their spiritual relationship to nature and animals. There was an essential oneness with these creatures and their spiritual essence. To the Tongva, the idea of an ox-driven wooden plow was completely foreign and wrong. The ox and tree (which the plow came from) lost the old spirits that defined them and represented an unfamiliar separation between the material and spirit world. As such, some indigenous people resisted adapting to this foreign work ethic by persisting in the slower rhythms of their traditional work-ways—not out of an inability to understand a European work ethic, but likely in active resistance to its imposition, as well as to their cruel treatment by the missionaries. In turn, the missionaries responded by intensifying the physical discipline and denouncing the native people as "lazy" because they did not comply with the demands of European work discipline.

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<sup>13</sup>Sepulveda, *Our Sacred Waters*; Rosanne Welch, "A Brief History of the Tongva Tribe: The Native Inhabitants Of The Lands Of The Puente Hills Preserve", Puente Hills Habitat Preservation Authority, 2006.; Madley, "California's First Mass Incarceration System: Franciscan Missions, California Indians, and Penal Servitude, 1769-1836", "California's First Mass Incarceration System".

<sup>14</sup>Akins and Bauer, *We Are The Land*, 69-70, 77.

<sup>15</sup>Akins and Bauer, *We Are The Land*, 68-70; Ethington et al., *Historical Ecology of the Los Angeles River Watershed*, 40-45.

<sup>16</sup>Saavedra, *Pasadena Before The Roses*, 4-5, 19, 24-26.



Under Spanish rule, the missionaries received about 100,000 acres of land throughout California, as part of the Spanish colonizing effort. The missionaries held these lands in trust for the indigenous people they were trying to convert—upon conversion, they would give the land back to the mission Indians, though this did not end up happening. The idea was to replicate Spanish society at the time—create an acculturated and converted population out of indigenous people, who would work and occupy the land as loyal subjects of the Crown. This entire construct upended Tongva ideas about land and its stewardship. The Missions largely held control of the land, especially as their operations became lucrative. By the early 1800s, Mission San Gabriel produced great quantities of wine, fruit, cattle, horses, and sheep, and the missionaries had become able businessmen, selling their goods to the presidios and pueblos. This prosperity was entirely due to the coerced labor of indigenous people.

### 3.2 Mexican Rule (1821–1846)

From 1810–1821, Mexico waged a war for independence from Spain. Once it secured its independence, California passed from being a colony of Spain to being part of Mexico. In the new Mexican nation, a rising liberal cohort embraced anticlericalism and a movement to curb the power of the Catholic Church. In California, the missions were secularized (meaning that mission lands reverted to private hands), and land was turned over to large *ranchos* which expanded in number and influence. Many were run by Californios, native-born people of California—most of whom were *mestizo* or Afro-Mexican. During their 30-year heyday, the ranchos were the center of economic production, as well as political and social power. The rancheros' highly influential culture—centered on ideals of paternalism, gentility, and benevolence—shaped social practices, architecture, place names, and created the basis of California's romantic Spanish past. During this time, social position was determined by land ownership, and despite its romanticized image, abuse and mistreatment of laborers was commonplace.<sup>17</sup>

The Californios were highly dependent on indigenous people for labor to keep their ranchos functioning and growing. And despite the fact that Mexico outlawed slavery in 1829 throughout its imperial possessions, the Californios developed systems of indigenous servitude, driven by persistent shortages of non-indigenous labor. As historian Albert Hurtado wrote, "In the 1840s Indians were practically the sole source of agricultural labor and whites used every possible means to obtain their services. Slavery, debt peonage, and wage labor all had a place in Mexican and Anglo California." Rancheros often relied wholly on coerced indigenous labor, and in some cases "illegally bought, sold, and employed Indian slaves."<sup>18</sup> Many indigenous people thus became ensnared in repressive systems of unfree labor, upon which the ranchos depended for their growing wealth. The Mexican ranchos, in fact, developed an extremely lucrative cattle-based economy, exporting hides and tallow to international markets—wealth that derived from indigenous labor.<sup>19</sup>

The process of secularization marked a sea change in land ownership, beginning in 1826 but fully carried out in the 1830s. Secularization called for the distribution of mission-controlled land to indigenous people and settlers of Spanish descent. Early rancheros (or landholders) had resented the missions for monopolizing all of the good land—the most fertile land, closest to best water supplies—and a lot of it. The San Gabriel Mission covered about 1.5 million acres. The rancheros were eager for a change in land tenure.

Mexico created a private land system in California. At their discretion, territorial governors were given the power to distribute land grants to settlers within the parameters of the new legal system established. There was a process for requesting the land. Then land would be distributed in parcels ranging from one league (4,428 acres) to 11 leagues (48,708 acres). Those individuals receiving the

<sup>17</sup>Claudia K. Jurmain and William McCawley, *O, My Ancestor: Recognition and Renewal for the Gabrielino-Tongva People of the Los Angeles Area* (Heyday Books, 2009) 113-117.

<sup>18</sup>Benjamin Madley, "'Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls': Systems of California Indian Servitude under U.S. Rule", *Pacific Historical Review* vol. 83, no. 4, 2014, p. 631; Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 100-103.

<sup>19</sup>Historian Douglas Monroy estimates that 1.25 million hides and 60 million pounds of tallow were traded in Mexican California from 1826 to 1848; the wealth generated by this trade was largely produced by indigenous and Mexican labor. Cited in Osborne, *Pacific Eldorado*, 60.

land would be required to maintain and improve the land in order to retain title—this was perceived as a way to strengthen the economy and markets of the region. This meant that only those wealthy enough to develop the land and ensure its economic productivity would receive the land.<sup>20</sup>

Rancho San Pasqual took shape on the former lands of the San Gabriel Mission—in what would later become Pasadena. It comprised about 14,000 acres of top-notch land and livestock that had belonged to the Mission. Initially, the Mission priests gave the land to Spanish Army Lieutenant Juan Mariné as thanks for his service (the details around this are widely debated). In 1835, the Mexican governor officially deeded the land to Mariné. Local Pasadena folklore offers a different story—in 1827, the San Gabriel priests granted the mission lands to Eulalia Pérez, the mission's *llavera* (key holder), as thanks for her service.<sup>21</sup> While historian Yvette Saavedra contends there is no documentation to back this up, she notes too that Pérez—who ended up marrying Mariné—may have been granted the land by the priests, but they ultimately did not have official authority to make those grants. Only the territorial governor held that power. Mariné's high social status, connected to the regional elite through an earlier marriage, ultimately helped his case for officially receiving the land.<sup>22</sup>

Much of the land that was originally meant to go to the indigenous people never reached them. Several factors contributed. First, most indigenous people did not share Spanish ideas about land tenure, land use, and private property; as such, many of them who were granted land were quickly persuaded to sell it off for a pittance to Spanish settlers or incoming white Americans. Second, the chaotic state of politics in both California and Mexico meant few people paid attention to the issue of Indian entitlements. As a result, many indigenous people were left landless as land ownership transferred to the *rancheros*. Third, some indigenous people left the missions and tried returning to their villages and former lives, which were drastically changed by this point. Much of their land was gone, having been taken by the *ranchos*, although under Mexican rule agreements were established that allowed some Tongva villages to remain on land owned by wealthy *rancheros*, an arrangement that kept a convenient supply of labor nearby.<sup>23</sup> Other indigenous people became a kind of itinerant, homeless population, especially those whose villages had been decimated by disease or war. They became a floating class of laborers trying to survive by finding work as domestic servants or ranch hands.

Some indigenous people did petition for former Mission lands. Although some received plots, most were denied, and those that did "were very rarely able to obtain titles and clear ownership of their allotments."<sup>24</sup> In the Rancho San Pascual area, there were several cases of indigenous people petitioning for land in the 1840s. The petitioners had to prove that "the missions had successfully made them into productive, honorable, and culturally civilized men."<sup>25</sup> One petitioner emphasized that he successfully raised crops and livestock, and worked hard to develop the Mission lands, stressing his adherence to Spanish/Mexican customs of land use. Governor Pico awarded him the land in 1845. Other indigenous petitioners received either very small or no allotments at all. One Indian petitioner hid his indigenous identity, associating himself with "Californios blancos," and was awarded land title. The sad irony was that the best way for indigenous people to successfully receive land was to renounce their native cultural identity. This would have a lasting effect on their descendants, making it more difficult to successfully prove Native American heritage. Ultimately, the vast majority of rancho lands were controlled by *rancheros* with European and Mexican roots, leaving the people indigenous to California out of this system altogether.

### 3.3 American Rule (1846–present)

The American presence in California started out small and friendly, then came on strong with the Mexican American War of 1846–47. The war brought California into the United States, marking a dramatic and radical transfer of power to the Americans.

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<sup>20</sup>Saavedra, *Pasadena Before The Roses*, 59–61.

<sup>21</sup>Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 61–62.

<sup>22</sup>Saavedra, *Pasadena Before The Roses*, 68–72.

<sup>23</sup>Jurmain and McCawley, *O, My Ancestor*, 116.

<sup>24</sup>Jurmain and McCawley, *O, My Ancestor*, 115; Saavedra, *Pasadena Before The Roses*, 66.

<sup>25</sup>Saavedra, *Pasadena Before The Roses*, 86–93.

In 1846, the population of Californios was still relatively small, since most Mexicans were reluctant to leave home for the instability of frontier life in California, due to lack of money and continued fear of the indigenous people. The sparse population of Mexican California ultimately left it vulnerable to invasion—first, by the settlement of “illegal” immigrants who were American, and second, from American military conquest.

In the 1830–40s, new waves of American immigrants began making the overland journey west, settling in California. Historian Robert Cherny calls this cohort “illegal immigrants,” since they showed increasing disregard for Mexican laws and regulations, engaged in illicit smuggling (to avoid customs duties), and travelled without immigration papers. They showed no intention of assimilating to local culture, they came in family units so there was no intermarriage, and they kept their Anglo ways (i.e., religion and language).<sup>26</sup> By 1846, there were about 1,300 foreigners in California (three-quarters of which were American) versus 7,000 Californios.

As more and more Americans entered the area, these settlers and American leaders began to covet control of California, believing they had an ordained right to this land and that their “superior” culture would save the area from native backwardness (“native” here referring to both indigenous people and the Californios). When overtures to buy the land from Mexico failed, the United States declared war. The Mexican-American War (1846–1848) brought California under control of the United States. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ending the Mexican–American War when signed in February 1848, stated that Mexican landowners would retain title to their land and could elect to become US citizens.<sup>27</sup> However, this was not to last.

With America now controlling California, land ownership began to pass from the rancheros to American landowners during the 1850s and 1860s. The Americans brought with them different expectations of landownership than had developed under Spanish and Mexican rule. In the U.S., the 1841 Preemption Act was in force, which gave people the right to settle on undeveloped federal lands (like a “squatter”), farm it, then buy it from the government for \$1.25/acre. They would be obligated to live on the land for 14 months before it was officially theirs. The federal government’s intention was to encourage small farming and avoid speculation in land, by making people actually settle on the land. So when Americans began settling in California, some brought with them the understanding of this law and an expectation of how land ownership gets transferred. Other Americans believed that since the U.S. won the war, the land had all reverted to American ownership and it was theirs to take.

The federal Land Act of 1851 required Mexican landholders to prove ownership of their land. That same year, California passed the 1851 Land Act (Gwin Act), which created a 3-person commission that would review all land titles from the Spanish and Mexican eras, proceeding from the assumption that all titles were invalid unless proven otherwise. This caused major problems for the Californios, whose older system was based more on informal agreements and standards rather than on strict legal guidelines. The California Land Act also required substantial legal fees merely to go through the review process itself (about 25–40% of the value of the land itself), and the process could drag on for years. One estimate found that it took an average of 17 years for the landowner to gain legal title to their land. The system was also rife with corruption, from rampant perjury to unscrupulous lawyers trying to defraud their clients. To add to the complications, American squatters were settling on rancho lands and tended to get political backing.

The result was a major dispossession of land from Californio rancheros into the hands of Americans. Land was taken over by American speculators with cash, a trend that continued for decades. When cattle prices bottomed out in the 1860s, many rancheros found themselves in bankruptcy or debt. They often used land as collateral, and when they defaulted due to exorbitant and predatory interest rates, they lost their land. By the late 1800s, most Californio families had been dispossessed of their land.

This transfer of land ownership did not only affect the Californio landowners, and freedom from Mexican rule did not mean freedom for the indigenous people. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo meant that land remained out of the hands of indigenous people after the Mexican–American War. As ownership then transferred increasingly to American hands, things only got worse. Tongva villages that

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<sup>26</sup>Cherny et al. *Competing Visions*.

<sup>27</sup>“Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo”, 2 Feb. 1848, [www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo](http://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo).

had been allowed to remain on land under Mexican rule were suddenly no longer accommodated under the American model of land ownership, and the residents were evicted.<sup>28</sup> By 1852, most traditional Tongva communities had completely disappeared, the people absorbed into the general population of the Los Angeles basin. As a result, the problem of homelessness among the native population worsened, and fed into a more sinister model of the use of indigenous labor.

Amidst the influx of Americans into California and state-sanctioned violence against the native population—who were regarded by the Americans as nuisances to be “exterminated”—the California Act for the Government and Protection of Indians was passed in 1850. This allowed for the holding of indigenous children and working them without pay until adulthood. It also allowed indigenous people to be arrested for drunkenness or “vagrancy” (in practice, just for walking around, often without a home to go back to), fined, and then sold into indentured servitude to work off their debt. Employers would commonly pay indigenous workers in alcohol, creating a vicious cycle that would ensure that there would be cheap labor for sale the following week. The streets of Los Angeles hosted a thriving slave market that ran between 1850 and 1870. The life expectancy for people trapped in this cycle, “sold fifty-two times a year as long as he lived”, was typically one to three years.<sup>29</sup>

In 1850, the San Pascual Rancho began to pass into American hands. Manuel Garfias still retained control of the Rancho in 1850, but the new American laws soon led to its dispossession. While undergoing the costly legal process of confirming his land claim, Garfias borrowed money from American businessman Benjamin Wilson and used the land as collateral. By the time an American court confirmed his ownership, Garfias owed Wilson \$24,000 (\$8,000 for the original loan, and \$16,000 interest). He couldn't pay it, so the land reverted to Wilson (known locally as Don Benito) and his business partner John Griffin in 1863, for a consideration of \$8,100.

With no intention of developing the land themselves, Wilson and Griffin soon began selling off parcels of the former San Pascual Rancho. One early sale was to secure water rights, crucial for developing the land into a productive agricultural and ultimately residential area. In the 1860s and 1870s, they sold more plots to individuals, particularly family members.

In 1872, another group of American landseekers entered the picture. This was a group of Indiana residents who formed the California Colony of Indiana, with dreams of migrating en masse out of Indiana in search of warmer climes. They raised money as a group and set rules on the size of land they would buy on arrival (40–160 acres), to ensure equitable social relations and mitigate against the need to hire labor to work the land. After considering several regions across the U.S. as its destination, the group chose Southern California and the San Pascual area in particular. They chose San Pascual for the healthful air and fertile lands, which at the time were producing grapes, walnuts, lemons and oranges. The ease of farming there would make them “happy and rich in a short time,” as Daniel Berry, one member scoping out the area, predicted.<sup>30</sup> When the Indianians delayed sending the \$25,000 (at \$15/acre) to make the land purchase, Berry assembled a group of local investors to raise the cash; they were called the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, and the Indiana Colonists were part of the group. They purchased 3,900 acres of San Pascual lands. They would distribute that land to the Indiana transplants, who began moving to the area by the mid-1870s and claiming that land. T.B. Elliot, a leader of the Indiana Colony, landed on the name of Pasadena, which meant “valley” in the Chippewa dialect—though the Chippewa people did not live anywhere near California. Benjamin Wilson and his son-in-law J. Shorb opened a new tract in the area as well, to the east of the Indiana Colony. Together, these two tracts created the boundaries of present-day Pasadena.

The environmental destruction that began under the Spanish missions was continued by American developers. Streets and communities were named for the native oak trees that still scattered the land (such as Fair Oaks and Oak Knoll in Pasadena today), but their primary appeal to Americans was their use as slow-burning firewood, as the trees were cleared to make way for citrus orchards and residential and commercial development.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, in the early days of Pasadena, developers

<sup>28</sup>Jurmain and McCawley, *O, My Ancestor*, 117-121.

<sup>29</sup>McCawley, *The First Angelinos*; Madley, “‘Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls’: Systems of California Indian Servitude under U.S. Rule”; John Mack Faragher, *Eternity Street: Violence and Justice in Frontier Los Angeles* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2016) 245-258.

<sup>30</sup>Saavedra, *Pasadena Before The Roses*, 163.

<sup>31</sup>Masters, Nathan. “The Oak Trees of Southern California: A Brief History”, 7 Feb. 2013, [www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/the-oak-trees-of-southern-california-a-brief-history](http://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/the-oak-trees-of-southern-california-a-brief-history). Accessed June 2022.

understood the appeal of preserving the few old surviving oak trees that remained on the land. For example, the layout of Orange Grove Boulevard was set out in such a way to accommodate two large oak trees in its center.<sup>32</sup> In addition, trees native to Australia and other tropical environments were introduced to the area, such as fig trees, eucalyptus, and palm trees, in order to market Pasadena as an appealing place to live with a lush and verdant environment. Over time, Pasadena once again became a tree-filled place, albeit with a different set of species to its original inhabitants, and within the context of an increasingly urban town.

With the arrival of the railroad in 1885, which connected Pasadena to Los Angeles, another round of land speculation and sales ensued, and Pasadena's population jumped from 391 in 1880 to 7,222 in 1890, and in the midst of this growth, incorporated as a city.

## 4 Early Pasadena

In the late 19th century, Pasadena emerged as one of Los Angeles' most important outlying communities. The boom of the 1880s intensified both suburban and urban characteristics of the area. In 1886, a new interurban railway line first connected Pasadena to downtown Los Angeles, allowing for regular easy commuting. This set off a boom in residential subdivision and building. That same year, Pasadena incorporated as a municipality. Meanwhile, a number of opulent, high-end hotels were constructed to attract rich visitors from the East. Many liked what they saw and decided to stay, shifting the town's socio-economic profile simultaneously upward and downward: a wealthy white upper stratum and an ethnoracially diverse working class that serviced their needs.<sup>33</sup>

By the early twentieth century, waves of artists, health seekers, and affluent Easterners were drawn to this "village of orchards." Many built palatial mansions surrounded by elaborate gardens and lush groves of orange, peach, fig, and cherry trees. They fully absorbed the natural surroundings in the ways they built their homes and the town itself. This impulse found architectural expression in the arts and crafts movement which flourished in the area. Pasadena had evolved into a stylized West Coast picturesque enclave, whose ethos found symbolic expression in the Tournament of Roses festival. First held on January 1, 1890, the day began with a leisurely parade of flower-draped carriages, followed by an afternoon of games played in open fields.<sup>34</sup> Pasadena's wealth, leisure, and scenic (albeit artificial) beauty had begun to define its identity.

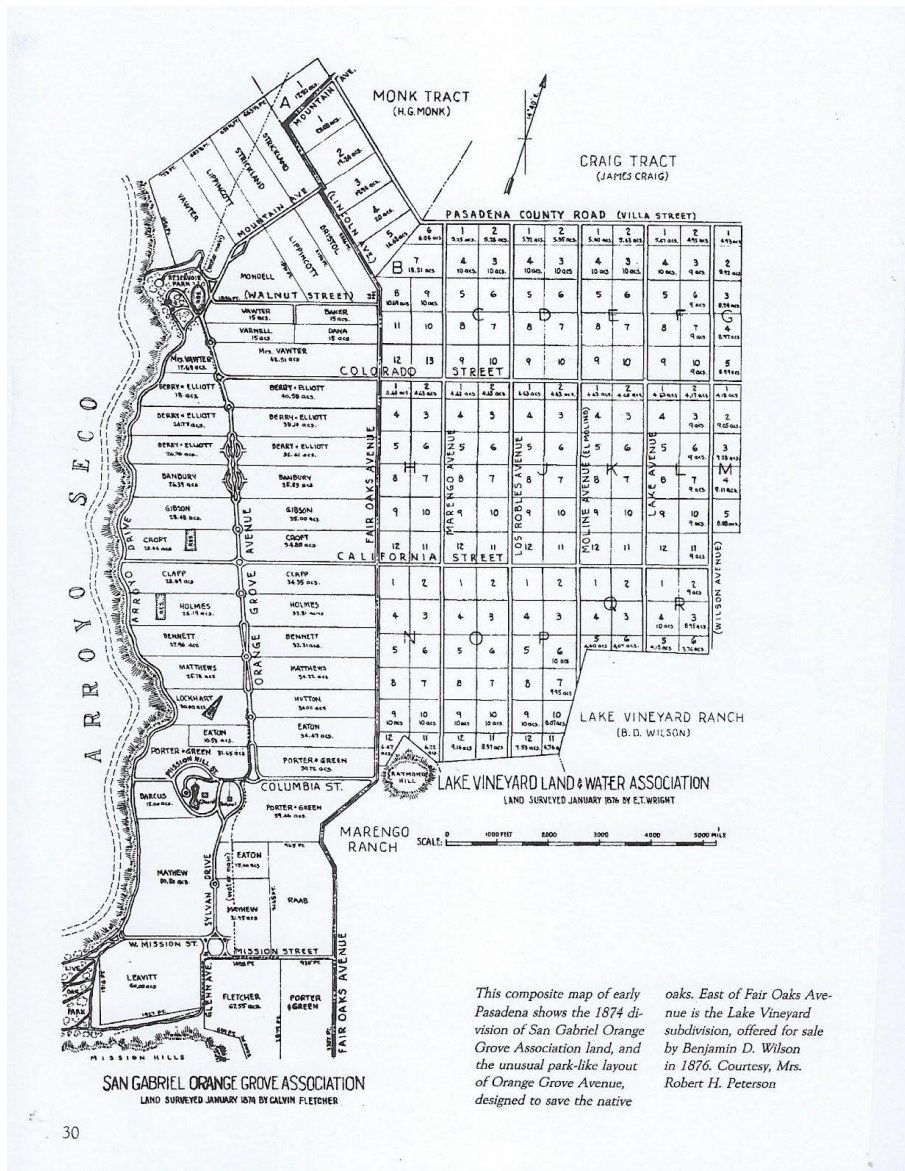
A workforce of domestic laborers kept the Anglo residents' estates and mansions functioning. These laborers were initially African American, then Asian American by the 1920s. Latinos, meanwhile, labored in local orchards and railway yards. These historic roots gave people of color a foothold in the area, a pattern not always present in restricted white suburbs. Pasadena became a place where rich, poor, white, Black, and brown coexisted within common political borders. Residential, social, and civic life was highly segregated before 1950. A core of modest suburban neighborhoods filled out the middle sections, surrounded by wealthy white enclaves on the scenic edges of town. The earliest African American settlers lived in homes adjacent to the mansions on Orange Grove, in what historian Andrew Wiese labelled "domestic service suburbs."<sup>35</sup> As more Black people arrived, many settled in northwest Pasadena, where property was cheap and services sparse, and many seized the opportunity to buy land and become suburban property owners. This area evolved into a multi-racial suburban neighborhood. In early Pasadena, ethnic Mexicans clustered in the south Raymond area, originally a labor camp for the Pacific Electric streetcar. In 1914, when the city passed its first zoning-type measure, this area was designated as Pasadena's primary industrial district. Here, Mexicans lived in old dilapidated rental homes adjacent to gas tanks, electric power plants, small factories, and laundries. They also settled further out—in northwest Pasadena and the Titleyville area to

<sup>32</sup>Kirk Myers, "A Tale of Two Trees", *The News* (West Pasadena Residents' Association, 2014).

<sup>33</sup>This section from Becky Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia: How Diversity Remade Suburban Life in Los Angeles after 1945* (New York: Oxford UP), chapter 4; Sources consulted: Laura Voisin George, "Cultivating an Ideal: The Agrarian Aspirations of Pasadena, California, 1873-1895", Masters Thesis, U of Virginia, 2010, 56-79; Ann Scheid, *Pasadena: Crown of the Valley* (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1986).

<sup>34</sup>Scheid, *Pasadena*, 25, 27, 59-61, 81, 120-123.

<sup>35</sup>Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) 25-27, 34-37.



This composite map of early Pasadena shows the 1874 division of San Gabriel Orange Grove Association land, and the unusual park-like layout of Orange Grove Avenue, east of Fair Oaks Avenue is the Lake Vineyard subdivision, offered for sale by Benjamin D. Wilson in 1876. Courtesy, Mrs. Robert H. Peterson

Figure 2: An early map of Pasadena from 1874. Source: Ann Scheid, *Pasadena: Crown of the Valley* (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1986), 30

the east—whose modest conditions were in line with working-class suburbia. The smaller population of Chinese and Japanese lived in the south Raymond Avenue neighborhood and in northwest Pasadena.<sup>36</sup>

Pasadena's white population inhabited the myriad suburban landscapes that radiated outward from the business core. Along Pasadena's edges, the hilly neighborhoods of Linda Vista, the lush San Rafael and Annandale area, and slopes of Oak Knoll housed some of the area's wealthiest "old money" families on estate properties. One eighteen-room Mediterranean villa in Linda Vista, complete with a 1,200-foot long, rose-covered fence, acres of fruit trees, an artificial lake, and two lily

<sup>36</sup>Michael E. James, *The Conspiracy of the Good: Civil Rights and the Struggle for Community in Two American Cities, 1875-2000* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005); Kelley, Robin D. G. "Black History Project". notes, Pasadena Museum of History; Earl F. Cartland, "A Study of the Negroes Living in Pasadena", Masters Thesis, Whittier College, 1948; Manuel Pineda and F. Caswell Perry, *Pasadena Area History* (Pasadena: James W. Anderson, 1972); Anderson, Carson. "Ethnic History Research Project, Pasadena, California". (Report of survey findings prepared for the city of Pasadena, March 1995); Roberta H. Martinez, *Latinos in Pasadena* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Books, 2009); Christine Lofstedt, "The Mexican Population of Pasadena, California", *Journal of Applied Sociology* vol. 7, 1923. On the early zoning measure, see Ordinance 1433, March 30, 1914, and Ordinance 1982, March 31, 1922 (which includes a map), City Clerk's Office, City of Pasadena.

ponds, was valued at \$90,000 in 1925.<sup>37</sup> Along South Orange Grove, large mansions and stately Victorians lined the avenue dubbed "millionaire's row." In the vast middle of Pasadena, blocks of bungalows, cottages, and simple frame homes housed the white middle and working class.

Beginning in the 1910s, Black Americans were excluded from or sequestered in many of Pasadena's commercial venues, including theaters, restaurants, bowling alleys, golf courses, and roller-skating rinks. The Pasadena Playhouse, for example, always ensured that an empty seat separated Black and white patrons. By the late 1940s, the only racially open commercial establishments were movie theaters, due to discrimination lawsuits brought against two local theaters. Many churches were segregated—All Saints Church included—and likewise public spaces. The public schools gradually began a process of racial sorting, certain parks were designated as white-only, and, most famously, the Brookside pool was racially segregated beginning in 1914 and remained so until the 1940s. In perhaps the most symbolic slight, African Americans were denied decent seating at the Rose Parade in the mid-1920s. Reinforcing these institutional segregation efforts were sporadic outbursts of violence and intimidation. Two Black churches were threatened with arson in the early 1900s, forcing parishioners to stand guard with rifles at night, while three Black-owned homes were burned to the ground. Asian Americans were also the targets of hostile actions, ranging from city measures barring Chinese people from residing in central Pasadena, to violence and vandalism, including the burning of a newly-established Chinatown in 1885. Such practices to ensure racial separatism were typical in towns whose "domestic service suburb" roots created a geography of racial proximity.<sup>38</sup>

It was in this context that All Saints Episcopal Church was founded in 1882 and swiftly grew through the decades into a powerful and wealthy church in central Pasadena.

## 5 The Lands of All Saints Church

### 5.1 History of All Saints Church Campus

All Saints began as a mission church in 1882. While it did not initially own land, it soon acquired a series of parcels of land around the center of Pasadena, in an area known early on as the Lake Vineyard section of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association. In 1876, Benjamin Wilson began selling parcels of land in this Lake Vineyard section—what would become central Pasadena (Figure 2).

When All Saints officially formed in 1882, its earliest services were held in temporary makeshift spaces around central Pasadena. The first services were held in the home of C.C. Brown, director of the Pasadena Water & Land Company and superintendent of streets. This was located at the north-west corner of Lake Avenue and Walnut, and the original church group consisted of 11 members. Later that year, the group moved to a public school building (Colorado and Fair Oaks), and in 1883 they moved again to a second-floor space over a grocery store (the north-west corner of Colorado and Fair Oaks), called Barney Williams Hall. At this point, the church was called All Saints Mission, being a mission of the Church of Our Savior, an Episcopal church in San Gabriel.<sup>39</sup>

In December 1884, All Saints purchased its first piece of land, located at the north-east corner of Colorado Blvd and Garfield (then Worcester) Ave, across the street from the post office.<sup>40</sup> This property was used by All Saints from 1884–1889. Parishioners built a small wood-frame building on this prop-

<sup>37</sup>Beverly Wayte, *At the Arroyo's Edge: A History of Linda Vista* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California / Linda Vista/Annandale Association, 1993) 55-66.

<sup>38</sup>Scheid, *Pasadena*, 96-99; Cartland, "Study of the Negroes", chapter 5; James E. Crimi, "The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena, California", Masters Thesis, U of Southern California, 1941., "Social Status"; Kelley, "Black History Project" notes; Anderson, "Ethnic History", 21-23, 27, 44-55; Lynn M. Hudson, *West of Jim Crow: The Fight Against California's Color Line* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020) chapter 6; Henry Markham Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years* (Los Angeles: Lorin L. Morrison, 1964) 66-67; Bill Lane Doulos, *Hearts on Fire: The Evolution of an Urban Church* (Pasadena, CA: All Saints Church, 1995) 13.; "The Saint Barnabas Church Family 100 Year Story", [stbarnabaspasadena.org/who-we-are/our-story](http://stbarnabaspasadena.org/who-we-are/our-story). Accessed Mar. 2023.

<sup>39</sup>Jack LeVan, *All Saints Church: A Pictorial History, 1882-2008* (Pasadena, CA: All Saints Church, 2008) 120; R. W. C. Farnsworth, *A Southern California Paradise, (in the Suburbs of Los Angeles.)* (Pasadena, CA: R. W. C. Farnsworth, 1883) 85.

<sup>40</sup>To date, we have been unable to find official records documenting this land transfer, though it is referred to in various writings a few decades later.

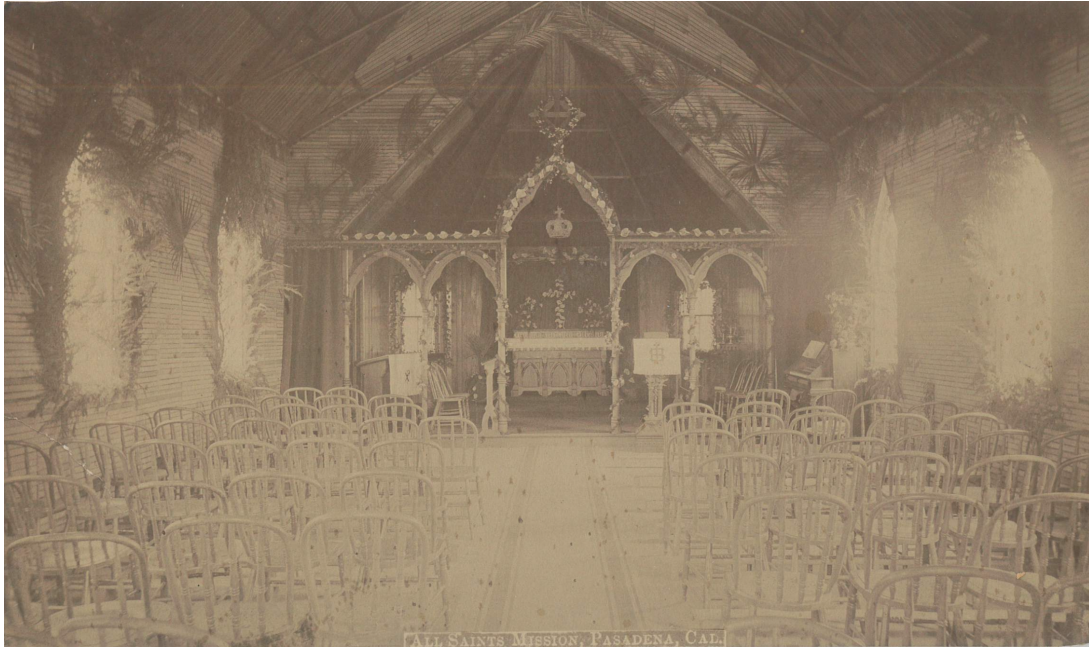


Figure 3: A photograph of the interior of the All Saints Mission from 1885, inside their building on Colorado & Garfield.

erty and held their first services there on Easter Sunday, April 5, 1885 (Figures 3, 4), with all debts paid. In April 1886, All Saints Mission voted to incorporate as a parish under the title of All Saints Church.<sup>41</sup>

In October 1886, plans for a rectory were ordered, for a cost of \$2,210, likely on a plot of land between Euclid and Garfield purchased in August of that year from Rev. Birdsall, rector of St Paul's Church in Los Angeles.<sup>42</sup> The rectory was completed in spring 1887, with a debt on the house and lot of \$1,100. However, at this point the congregation was already too large for its church, and in March 1887 the Vestry voted to secure a new plot of land.

In 1887, All Saints purchased its second major property, the site of the church's current campus. On June 18, 1887, two adjacent lots at 132 North Euclid Avenue were purchased for \$50/front foot. Mr. John W. Hugus, a wealthy rancher and businessman who served as one of the church wardens, purchased the two lots for \$6,600 to be held for the church. Hugus, his fellow church warden medical doctor John M. Radebaugh, and the other Vestry members may likely be considered representative of the church population at the time—white, wealthy Easterners, often businessmen or well-educated professionals and their families, passionate about their home of Pasadena (to the point of several of these members sitting on various other committees in town as well) and the thriving of their church.<sup>43</sup>

The first church building to be constructed on the Euclid Avenue site was designed by architect Ernest Coxhead of Los Angeles, and was originally designed to have a tower and spire. However, since the Pasadena area went through an economic and population downturn in 1888, it was constructed with a much-reduced budget, foregoing the tower and leaving much of the interior incomplete. The cornerstone was laid in September 1888 and, despite the unfinished interior, the first services were held on Easter Day, April 21, 1889.<sup>44</sup>

The old Garfield church building was sold to the North Congregational Church in 1891 after their own church collapsed in a storm, and moved to the northeast corner of North Raymond and Clare-

<sup>41</sup>Leslie E. Learned, *The History of All Saints Church* (Pasadena, CA: All Saints Church, 1942), as transcribed by Jack LeVan, 2; Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 67.

<sup>42</sup>Learned, *The History of All Saints Church*, 3.

<sup>43</sup>LeVan, *All Saints Church*, 120, 156; Ottman, Gilbert A. All Saints Record. Oct. 1890;. Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 143, 210.

<sup>44</sup>Learned, *The History of All Saints Church*, 7.





Figure 4: A photograph of the exterior of All Saints Mission, with Rector Reverend McNab standing on its steps, with handwritten annotations.

mont, where it was gradually enlarged and stands to this day, now serving the Community Church of Pasadena. The land it originally occupied and the first rectory lot were both sold in 1892, for a total of \$5,000.<sup>45</sup>

Over the following two decades, money raised by All Saints Church from its members was used to reduce the debt and continue work on the church interior. A wooden, one-storey parish house was constructed in August 1899, and a house at 154 North Euclid Avenue was rented for a rectory. In December 1902, the construction of a more permanent rectory on the church site was completed, at a cost of \$5,300, designed by the renowned architects Greene & Greene.<sup>46</sup> Over the course of its lifetime, the church building itself was expanded at least three times (Figure 5).

By 1921, the growing church once again found itself in need of larger buildings to meet the demand for more room for worshippers, with the population of Pasadena having grown significantly over the lifetime of its first Euclid building.<sup>47</sup> In 1922, architect Reginald Johnson and associates Roland Coate and Gordon Kauffmann, who had together also designed St Paul's Episcopal Cathedral in Los Angeles, were chosen to plan a new stone church capable of seating over 1,000 parishioners. The church met in the Parish House while, over 1923 and 1924, the old church was deconsecrated and a new granite Gothic Revival structure built in its place—the church building that stands today. The cornerstone was laid on October 7, 1923, containing a box of contemporary materials such as books and newspaper articles, and the first services were held on December 21, 1924.<sup>48</sup>

While the motivation for building a new church was to provide space for more worshippers, this did not mean that all worshippers were welcome at All Saints at this time. In 1923, the congregation of St Barnabas Church was founded out of a community of African American worshippers who were not permitted to worship at All Saints Church, which conformed to the attitudes of racial segregation throughout Pasadena at that time and enforced exclusionary racial policies. St Barnabas members first met in the home of one of the eight women who founded it, Georgia Weatherton, with All Saints providing a lay reader instead of a welcome to its own services. In the early 1930s, the Dobbins

<sup>45</sup>Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 486-487, 491; Learned, *The History of All Saints Church*, 78.

<sup>46</sup>Learned, *The History of All Saints Church*, 13.

<sup>47</sup>Learned, Leslie E. *The Record of All Saints Parish*. May 1921; ———. *The Record of All Saints Parish*. Dec. 1922.

<sup>48</sup>Learned, *The History of All Saints Church*, 32-36.



Figure 5: Two photographs of the interior of the first building on the Euclid Ave site, showing changes made to the interior of the church over its lifetime, including the replacement of the Lamb of God window with the Meyers window, and the installation of a new organ.

and Fleming families at All Saints Church donated land on North Fair Oaks Avenue and a sanctuary, completed in 1933, where St Barnabas Church meets to this day.<sup>49</sup>

All Saints' next major property acquisition occurred in the 1920s—beginning with the rear portion of the lot north of the church for a cost of \$1,000 in or just after December 1925,<sup>50</sup> followed by the purchase of forty further feet of land north of the Euclid lot in 1927 for a little under \$22,000,<sup>51</sup> in order to provide space for a new parish house and rectory to expand into. These purchases would probably have been made from the Hotel Maryland, one of Pasadena's luxury resort hotels, to whom the majority of the land on the block (aside from All Saints Church itself) belonged.<sup>52</sup> In June of 1929, the old parish house and rectory were demolished, and replaced with a new parish house and rectory designed by Bennett and Haskell. This work was completed in 1930, though due to the onset of the Great Depression, it left a debt of \$80,000.

Taken together, the sanctuary, parish house and rectory formed three sides of an open courtyard, containing a lawn where congregants could gather before and after services. The rectory was used as the dwelling of the Rector until 1949, at which point the Rector at the time, John F. Scott, moved into a property on El Molino (see the following section on the Rectory Properties) and the rectory on campus was converted into office space, which remains its current usage. In 1950, the church grounds were re-landscaped and a California live oak was planted in front of the parish house—one of two planted in the quadrangle, though only one survives today—where it remains as of 2023, providing shade to the patioed area of the courtyard.<sup>53</sup>

From early on, All Saints Church wrestled with a need for more parking space for its attendees—a need which would inform much of its subsequent decision-making regarding the purchase and use of land. In the latter half of 1939, the Vestry identified an opportunity to purchase a lot of land to the south of the church for use as space for parking. The lot was purchased in May 1940 for \$6,000, and landscaped as a parking lot later that year for \$539.<sup>54</sup>

The next major expansion of All Saints land occurred in 1961, when it purchased the remaining property on Euclid Avenue north of the church, reaching north to Walnut Street (with the exception of the Hutch restaurant). This 76,281 square foot plot of land was purchased for \$500,000 from the Larchfield Corporation of New York (who had themselves recently purchased it from a Mr Helgoe, who had been in discussion with the church over the purchase of the property during the previous

<sup>49</sup>The Saint Barnabas Church Family 100 Year Story; Biery, Brian. "St. Barnabas Church: A Surprising Story", 16 Oct. 2022, [www.coloradoboulevard.net/st-barnabas-church-a-surprising-story](http://www.coloradoboulevard.net/st-barnabas-church-a-surprising-story). Accessed Nov. 2022.

<sup>50</sup>Learned, Leslie E. The Record of All Saints Parish. Dec. 1925.

<sup>51</sup>———. The Record of All Saints Parish. Apr. 1927.

<sup>52</sup>Thomas D. Carpenter, *Pasadena: Resort Hotels and Paradise* (Castle Green Times, 1984) 66-83.

<sup>53</sup>Scott, John F. The Yearbook of All Saints Parish: An Account of our Progress in Service in the Year 1950. 1951.

<sup>54</sup>All Saints Church Vestry Minutes, 1939–1940.

year), out of the church's endowment fund.<sup>55</sup> This plot was known as the "Maryland Hotel" parcel, although at the time it housed 12 buildings—nine offices, 32 apartment units, two doctor suites, and three stores (Figure 6).

When All Saints took possession of this parcel, some debate ensued as to how to use it. The church emphasized the need for expanding the church school and for parking facilities. There was also some discussion about building a home for senior citizens, as had been Mr. Helgoe's plan a few years previously, though this did not end up moving forward. A master plan for the property was created by architectural firm Smith and Williams in 1962 (Figure 7). In 1964, the tenants of the existing apartment units were evicted and the buildings demolished, as they were deemed not earthquake-proof and retrofitting would have been costly. This coincided with a general trend of revitalization projects in Pasadena in the 1960s, revolving around demolishing ageing buildings and replacing them with new construction or off-street parking—the most infamous being the Pepper Street project, which ultimately led to the removal of a largely Black neighborhood. We do not know the exact demographics of the residents of the Maryland Apartments at the time that All Saints Church acquired the property, but it is worth noting that at this point residents of central Pasadena were largely low-income, with wealthier residents living in the outskirts of town.<sup>56</sup>

By the end of that year, construction started on a 65-car parking lot costing \$21,756, which was completed in early 1965. Also around this time, All Saints made an agreement with the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company of Wisconsin (the owners of the land used for the Broadway Department Store south of the church) to exchange some of the land east of the playground for land to the south that would allow access to their parking lot.<sup>57</sup>

The original plan for church school facilities was to remodel the ground floor of one of the Maryland Hotel property apartments, Spalding House. Since the prohibitive cost of seismic retrofitting led to the building being demolished instead, an entirely new building was designed to replace it. In August 1965, construction began on the John Frank Scott Hall of Christian Education (named for previous Rector John Scott), designed by Smith and Williams, and constructed by Shepard and Morgan for \$136,000, to a similar architectural style to the Parish House. Scott Hall was completed the following year, in February 1966.<sup>58</sup>

#### What was the Hotel Maryland?

The Hotel Maryland was a resort hotel established in Pasadena in 1903, one of several in the area that served wealthy patrons who travelled from the eastern United States to spend the winter in warm and pleasantly unpolluted climes. There was a main hotel building located on the northwest corner of Colorado Boulevard and Los Robles Avenue, with the rest of the block up to Walnut Street (Union Street did not pass through the block at this time) filled over time with bungalows and apartment buildings, with the exception of All Saints Church itself. The main hotel building burned down in a fire in 1914, and was reconstructed in the same location.

All Saints Church and the Hotel Maryland appear to have had an amicable relationship over the years. The hotel was one of the local sponsors of the monthly church newsletter, *The Record of All Saints Church*, and the likely owner of the northern pieces of property purchased by the church in the 1920s. At this time, the land to the immediate north became the Keith Spalding villa and garden. This garden was designed by landscape architect Paul Thiene and incorporated a wall and fountain which are today the last remaining features of the garden and, along with the apartment block south of the present day church at 80 N Euclid Ave, the hotel as a whole.

The second Hotel Maryland main building was demolished in 1937 to make room for the Pasadena branch of the Broadway Department Store, which opened in 1940. All Saints Church had an agreement with the Broadway to use their parking lot on Sunday mornings. The store was demolished and relocated in 1980.

The land referred to as the 'Maryland Hotel' property in this report is the part of the land that used to be owned by the hotel that stretched north from the church property up to Walnut Street, including the Spalding building and other apartment and office buildings built north of it over the decades, before the land was sold to All Saints Church.

<sup>55</sup>All Saints Church Vestry Minutes, 1961. Burt, John H. The Yearbook of All Saints Church in the City of Pasadena. 1961.

<sup>56</sup>Ann Scheid Lund, *Historic Pasadena: An Illustrated History* (Historical Publishing Network, 1999) 86-88.

<sup>57</sup>All Saints Church Vestry Minutes, 1965-1966.

<sup>58</sup>LeVan, *All Saints Church*, 18, 128, 133; All Saints Church Vestry Minutes, 1965-1966; Burt, John H. The Yearbook of All Saints Church in the City of Pasadena. 1965.

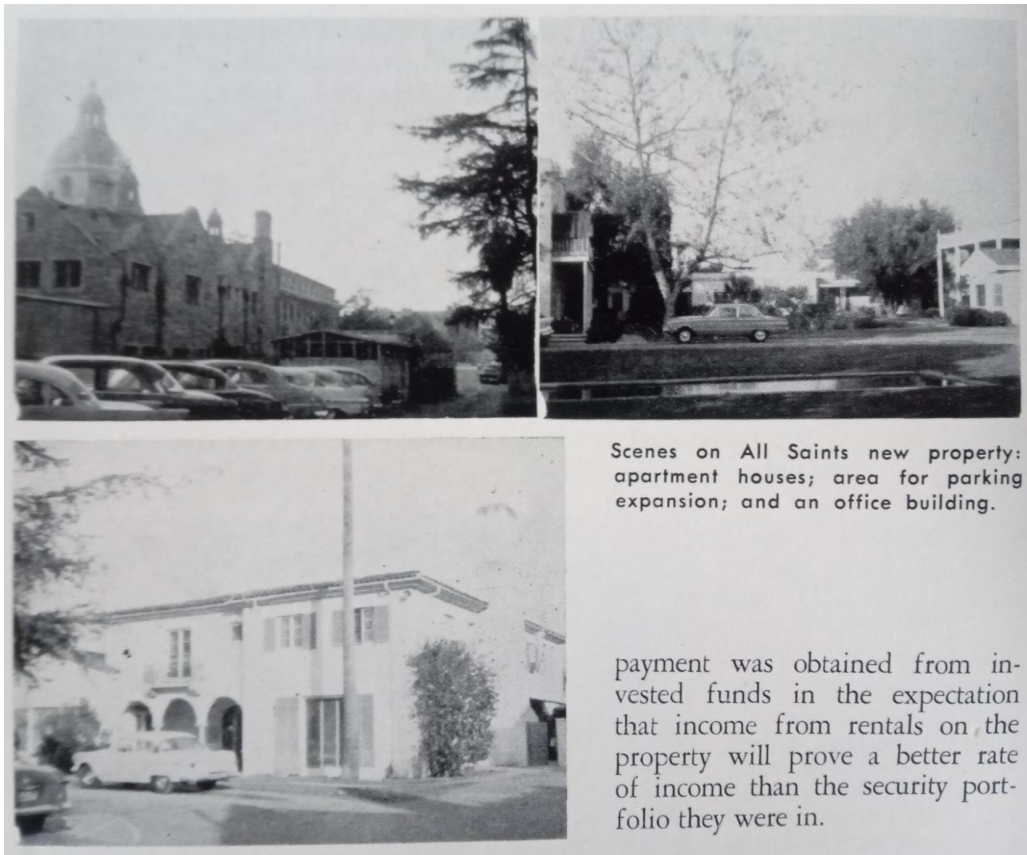


Figure 6: Photographs of the 'Maryland Hotel' property purchased by the church in 1961 (taken from the 1961 Yearbook of All Saints Church)

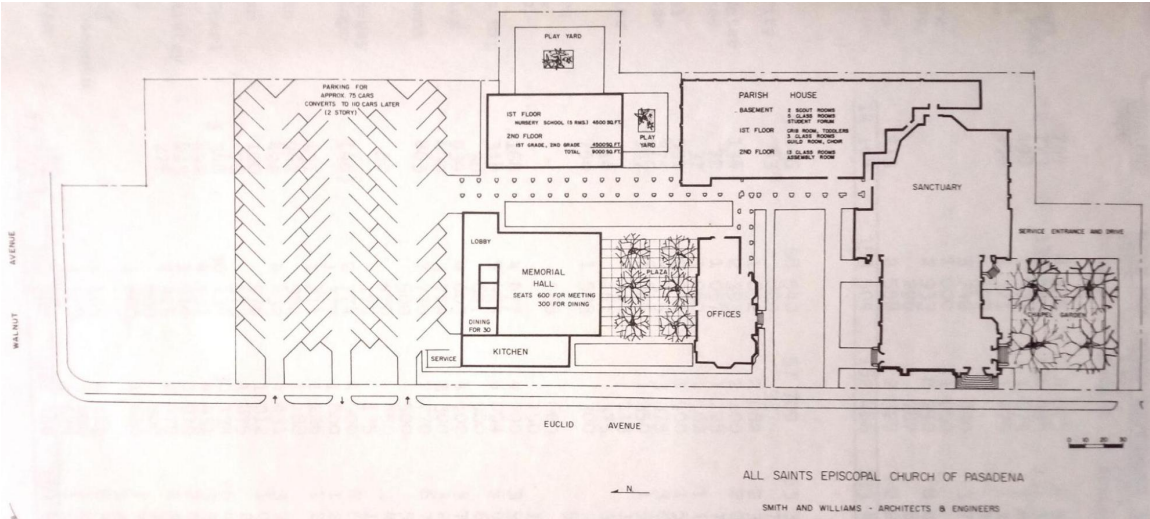


Figure 7: The initial master plan for the development of the 'Maryland Hotel' property from September 1962, showing the existing sanctuary, parish house, and rectory offices, and plans for a parking lot and two other buildings: a remodelled Spalding House to the north, and a Memorial Hall to the south that did not end up being constructed.

In the late 1970s, during the term of Rector George Regas, the church suffered from two arson attacks, one in May 1976 that destroyed the parish hall and another in February 1977 that badly damaged Scott Hall. The parish hall was almost completely destroyed, although its outer stone walls were found to still be structurally sound. A \$4.5 million rebuilding campaign was undertaken to rebuild both, which was completed in 1979 with debt of \$1.35 million, with the new parish hall incorporating some of the original stonework internally as well as the outer walls.<sup>59</sup> The new parish hall was later named Regas House in 1996 as a tribute to the then-retired George Regas.

In 1986, All Saints Church entered into an agreement with Maguire Thomas Partners, then owners of the land south and east of the church and the developers of the Plaza Las Fuentes project, granting them long-term easement of the church-owned land south of the sanctuary building in an arrangement that granted All Saints Church the use of 50 parking spaces in their planned underground parking lot.<sup>60</sup> This land then became part of Plaza Las Fuentes, designed by landscape architect Lawrence Halprin and completed in 1989.

With the relocation of the rectory to a non-campus property in 1949, no All Saints staff lived on the church campus from the 1950s onwards. Since then, however, the campus has seen ad hoc use as shelter by some of the unhoused population of Pasadena, who have lived for at least part of their time on this land. Over the years, All Saints undertook multiple efforts to serve people experiencing homelessness in the area, including establishing the Union Station Homeless Services non-profit in 1973 (using the building at the corner of Walnut and Euclid as a storefront hospitality center, before the organization moved to its own premises in the 1980s) and the Food Ministry that distributes food and necessities to community members who are homeless and low-income on Monday mornings.

A major change came with the COVID-19 pandemic as the city went into lockdown in early 2020: social distancing measures required homeless shelters to turn out 75% of their occupants, leaving a much-increased population without shelter. To begin with, All Saints Church committed to helping by allowing an unhoused population to stay on the campus, which was not being used for services due to the lockdown. Problems with crime and hygiene led to the development of a more deliberate and tailored approach that became the Safe Haven Bridge to Housing program—a city-funded scheme in partnership with Union Station Homeless Services. Safe Haven supports twelve people, giving them designated space to sleep on the church campus and storage lockers for possessions, as well as assigning them a caseworker to help them move towards permanent housing, with vacated spaces taken by new members. As of March 2023, 21 Safe Haven members have been placed in permanent housing.

In addition to its primary campus and immediate surroundings, All Saints Church has been involved in the buying, selling, and development of land and property in other parts of Pasadena, as well as farther across the Los Angeles region. This includes the land for at least two missions—a North Mission in 1906 that later became St Mark's Episcopal Church in Altadena, and St George's Episcopal Church in La Cañada, a tri-parochial venture along with St Mark's and St Luke's-of-the-Mountains Episcopal Church in La Crescenta in 1960<sup>61</sup>—and also for a number of non-profit organizations, such as Union Station Homeless Services in Pasadena, and the Church and Temple project to purchase and protect hotels in Skid Row, in partnership with Leo Baeck Temple. Additionally, the church was occasionally bequeathed property in the wills of parishioners, which was generally sold on and the money placed in a Memorial Fund or applied to debt. There were also several proposed plans for further developing the north property that did not come to fruition. It is an unfortunate truth that even an effort to tell the whole story will not be able to cover everything in detail. However, there is one aspect of All Saints Church's use of the land beyond its campus that we did decide to explore in greater detail—the rectory properties.

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<sup>59</sup>George F. Regas, *Out of the Fire: A Bold Future* (Pasadena: All Saints Church, 1979).

<sup>60</sup>All Saints Church Vestry Minutes, 1986-1987.

<sup>61</sup>All Saints Church Vestry Minutes, 1960.

## 5.2 The Rectory Properties and Redlining

Over the years, All Saints Church acquired property to house the church rectory, as well as homes for use by non-Rector clergy members. Research has uncovered three different rectory locations used over the years that All Saints has been based at its Euclid Avenue location, as well as at least two further church-owned properties to house other clergy members:<sup>62</sup>

- *132 North Euclid Avenue (1902–1948)*: The earliest rectory dwellings (two successive dwellings, associated with the two church buildings) were located on the 132 North Euclid campus, until approximately 1948. At this point, taxes on the on-campus rectory property had increased significantly, and the Vestry began to search for a solution, agreeing to purchase a property on El Molino Avenue for no more than \$30,000.
- *1000 South El Molino Avenue (1949–1958)*: In February 1949, John F. Scott, acting Rector from 1936–1957, and his family, moved to a newly purchased property at 1000 South El Molino Avenue, where they lived from 1949 to 1956. This saved the church money in taxes, offered the Rector and his family some privacy, and allowed the old on-campus rectory to be turned into church offices. In 1957, the new Rector John Burt lived in the El Molino home for one year while the Vestry searched for one that could better meet his family's needs. This home on El Molino was built in 1936. It is located in the Madison Heights section of Pasadena. It has 4 bedrooms, 3 bathrooms (2,966 sq ft), and sits on a 0.27-acre lot (11,760 sq ft).
- *540 Woodland Road (1957–present)*: In late 1957, All Saints Church purchased a new rectory property at 540 Woodland Road for \$52,500. Rector John Burt and his family moved in shortly afterwards, and the El Molino property was sold for \$30,000. All Saints has used the Woodland Road property for the rectory ever since. The house on this parcel was first built in 1937. It is located in the upscale Oak Knoll section of Pasadena. It has 5 bedrooms, 5 bathrooms (3,904 sq ft) and sits on a 0.46-acre lot (20,000 sq ft). In December 1984, the property was deeded to George Regas, the Rector living in the house at the time, to allow the Regas' to share in the equity. It was deeded back to the church in 1995 when George Regas retired as the Rector and was replaced with Ed Bacon.

Homes for use by non-rector clergy members (a non-exhaustive list, but likely typical of clergy residences bought and sold by All Saints Church):

- 351 Rosita Lane (1958–around May 1964)
- 1430 Wellington Avenue, (May 1964–not determined in this investigation)

Land owned by All Saints, and in particular the two latter rectory properties, was part of a system that reinforced housing discrimination, segregation, and structural racism. These two rectories were both located in racially exclusive neighborhoods at the time they became church property, barring people of color and particularly Black people from living in these neighborhoods. These mechanisms of segregation also represented yet another way that indigenous people were banned from this land.

In communities like Pasadena in the early 20th century, white racial purity was a fundamental feature of the suburban ideal. The common perception was that racial purity ensured the social, economic, and civic health of neighborhoods. Adding to these racial assumptions, in Los Angeles certain ideological tides swept forward a powerful movement for white racial purity and eugenics in the region. Eugenics ideologues such as Robert Millikan of Caltech envisioned Los Angeles as an Aryan city of the sun. These ideas aligned easily with a broader movement for suburban racial purity, spreading nationally.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Pasadena City Directories, and other sources from 1938 to 1960, accessed at <https://www.ancestry.com> in 2022

<sup>63</sup>Becky Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, editors, *The Suburb Reader*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2016); Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (Verso Books, 1990) 8,56; William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

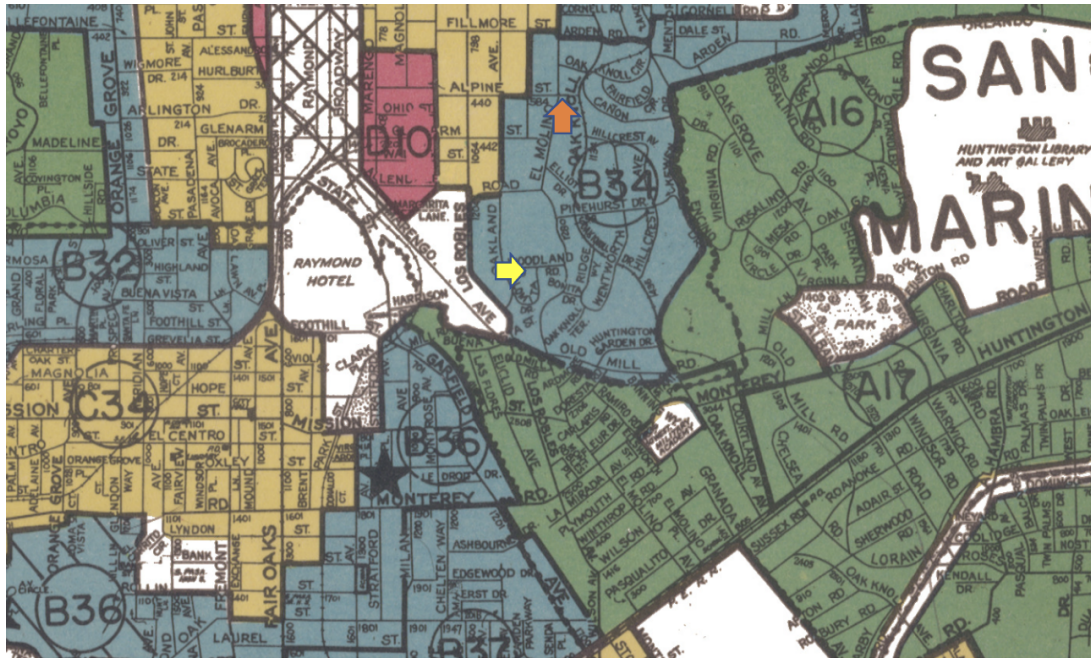


Figure 8: Home Owners Loan Corporation, Residential Security Maps, 1939, showing the location of the two Rectory properties acquired by All Saints in 1949 (1000 El Molino, orange arrow) and 1959 (540 Woodland Rd, yellow arrow).

By the 1910s and 1920s, real estate developers, homeowners, and government officials all played a role in developing tools of racial exclusion that operated in places like Pasadena. These measures began in the private sector, then gradually made their way into federal policy by the 1930s. One of the most effective early tools of segregation was the racial restrictive covenant, used widely in Pasadena and Los Angeles from 1900 to 1948. This was a legal clause written into a property deed which specified that the owner could only sell or rent the house to “Caucasians,” otherwise the owner would lose the property. They were intended to run with the land, despite future transfers in ownership, and typically lasted 20–30 years, and sometimes in perpetuity. Private developers often attached these covenants to all deeds in their developments. The real estate industry likewise played a role in reinforcing segregation by codifying and enforcing racist norms within the profession—if a realtor defied these norms, they could lose their license. Homeowner “protective associations” in turn brought group pressure upon white residents to abide by the practices of racial exclusion, such as by ensuring that all property deeds in a given neighborhood contained race restrictive covenants and that they were being enforced. A final mode of ensuring racial segregation was overt intimidation and violence, perpetrated by white neighbors and often condoned by local police.<sup>64</sup>

By the 1930s, federal policies began to reinforce these private-sector practices. Key agencies were the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and Federal Housing Administration (FHA), part of President Roosevelt’s New Deal. The HOLC developed a system of rating neighborhoods as security risks for home loans, which relied on racist assumptions. The HOLC’s appraisal system assigned a rating to every neighborhood across the U.S., including Los Angeles (in which the HOLC survey was completed in 1939). The ratings were: A-green, B-blue, C-yellow, or D-red. This system used racial considerations to assess whether neighborhoods were deemed financial security risks. Neighborhoods that received the highest ratings were white, middle class, low density, zoned residential, distant from industry, and “protected” by race restrictions. The unworthy neighborhoods were non-white, denser, closer to industry or other “odious” threats, demographically and socioeconomically “unstable”, and generally lacked race restrictions. Race was often the most determining factor in a neighborhood’s rating. By giving non-white or integrated neighborhoods the worst, or D-red rating

<sup>64</sup>Laura Redford, “The Intertwined History of Class and Race Segregation in Los Angeles”, *Journal of Planning History* vol. 16, no. 4, 2017, pp. 305–22; Andrea Gibbons, *City of Segregation: One Hundred Years of Struggle for Housing in Los Angeles* (New York: Verso Books, 2018); George J. Sanchez, “The History of Segregation in Los Angeles: A Report on Racial Discrimination and Its Legacy”, 2007.

**AREA DESCRIPTION**  
Security Map of Los Angeles County

1. POPULATION: a. Increasing Slowly Decreasing \_\_\_\_\_ Static \_\_\_\_\_  
Capitalists - both active and retired - business &  
b. Class and Occupation professional men, executives, income \$5000-10,000 and up

c. Foreign Families Few % Nationalities None subversive \_\_\_\_\_ d. Negro 0 %  
e. Shifting or Infiltration \_\_\_\_\_ None apparent \_\_\_\_\_

2. BUILDINGS: PREDOMINATING 100% OTHER TYPE \_\_\_\_\_ %  
8 rooms & up - town house  
a. Type and Size Mansion & estate type \_\_\_\_\_ %  
b. Construction Frame, stucco & masonry \_\_\_\_\_ %  
c. Average Age 20 years \_\_\_\_\_ %  
d. Repair Good \_\_\_\_\_ %  
e. Occupancy 98% \_\_\_\_\_ %  
f. Owner-occupied 90% \_\_\_\_\_ %  
g. 1935 Price Bracket Nominal, dependent on size of home site \_\_\_\_\_ %  
\$ 7000 and up %change \_\_\_\_\_ \$ \_\_\_\_\_ %change \_\_\_\_\_  
h. 1937 Price Bracket \$ 7500 and up \_\_\_\_\_ % \$ \_\_\_\_\_ %  
i. 1939 Price Bracket \$ 7500 and up \_\_\_\_\_ % \$ \_\_\_\_\_ %  
j. Sales Demand Poor \_\_\_\_\_ %  
k. Predicted Price Trend Static \_\_\_\_\_ %  
(next 6-12 months) Rentals on caretaker basis: nominal rates  
l. 1935 Rent Bracket \$ 75 and up %change \_\_\_\_\_ \$ \_\_\_\_\_ %change \_\_\_\_\_  
m. 1937 Rent Bracket \$ 80 and up \_\_\_\_\_ % \$ \_\_\_\_\_ %  
n. 1939 Rent Bracket \$ 85 and up \_\_\_\_\_ % \$ \_\_\_\_\_ %  
o. Rental Demand Fair to good \_\_\_\_\_ %  
p. Predicted Rent Trend Static \_\_\_\_\_ %  
(next 6-12 months) 6 - 16 rooms

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (past yr.) No. 10 Type & Price From \$10,000 up How Selling Owner built

4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC. 0 b. Institutions Few

5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (3 yr.) a. HOLC. 1 b. Institutions Few

6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: Ample within 7. TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1937-) \$ 18.80  
limits \_\_\_\_\_ 1938 \_\_\_\_\_

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:  
Terrain: Level to hillside with no construction hazards. Land improved 75%.  
Many homesites are several acres in extent, with average frontages of from 60 to  
300 feet. Deed restrictions were ample and are believed to be still in force.  
Zoning is single-family residential. Conveniences are all readily available.  
This area some 25 years ago was one of the first grade areas of Pasadena and it  
is still highly desirable, many original owners still being residents. Improve-  
ments run up to \$100,000 and many are quite imposing. Construction is of excellent  
quality and maintenance is of a high order. Population is homogeneous and archi-  
tectural designs are harmonious. There are a number of residences offered for  
sale by those desiring to move to newer locations. Age precludes assigning better  
than a "high blue" grade.

9. LOCATION Oak Knoll SECURITY GRADE 2nd AREA NO. B-34 DATE 4-7-39  
94

Figure 9: HOLC appraisal worksheet for the Pasadena neighborhood where the two off-campus Rec-tories of All Saints were located. The appraisal was conducted in April 1939.

("red-lining", in real estate parlance), federal appraisers entrenched the idea that these areas were financially untrustworthy and doomed to deteriorate. The FHA used similar standards in insuring home mortgages to millions of Americans, in subsequent years.<sup>65</sup>

Pasadena was no exception when it came to these practices. To protect white residential areas, race restrictive covenants and homeowner associations operated in tandem. In 1939, the Pasadena Im-provement Association formed with the express purpose of perpetuating the use of racial covenants. The Pasadena Improvement Association's directors included bankers, real estate men, attorneys and

<sup>65</sup>Kenneth T. Jackson, "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration", *Journal of Urban History* vol. 6, 1980, pp. 419-52; Reft, Ryan. "Segregation in the City of Angels: A 1939 Map of Housing Inequality in L.A.", 14 Nov. 2017, www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/segregation-in-the-city-of-angels-a-1939-map-of-housing-inequality-in-l-a. Accessed June 2022.



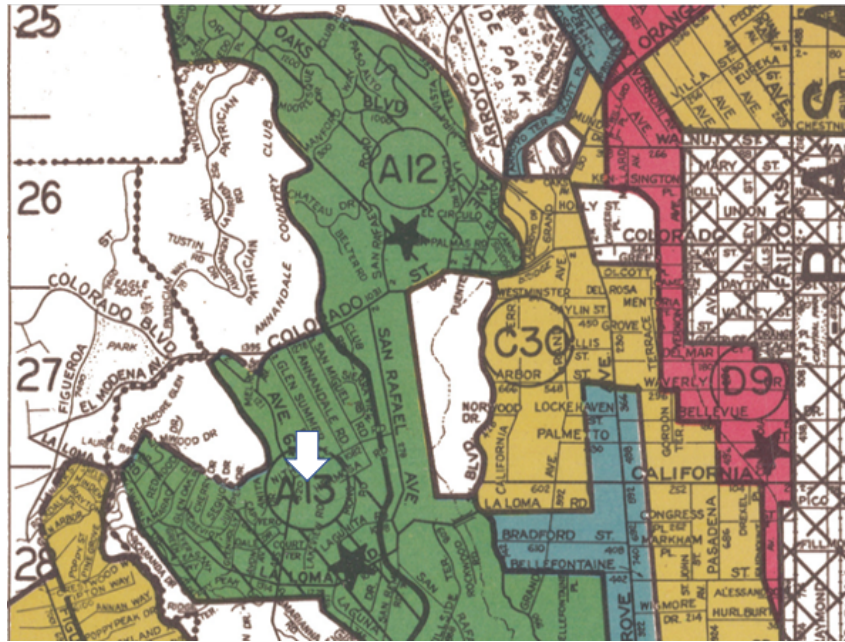


Figure 10: Home Owners Loan Corporation, Residential Security Maps, 1939, showing the location of the non-Rectory clergy property acquired by All Saints in 1958, at 351 Rosita Lane (white arrow).

one member of the city council. By 1941, about 60% of all 7,500 parcels contained racial restrictions, creating distinctive racial zones.<sup>66</sup>

Madison Heights and Oak Knoll—the location of the two rectories acquired by All Saints—were white neighborhoods blanketed with racial restrictions. This became crystal clear when these neighborhoods were appraised by the HOLC in April 1939. The appraiser wrote, “Deed restrictions were ample and are believed to be still in force.” The neighborhoods were inhabited by “Capitalists—both active and retired—business & professional men, executives.” And they contained no “subversive” nationalities or race groups. The area received a B-blue rating; it was marked down from the highest rating strictly because of its age. The appraiser noted the area “some 25 years ago was one of the first grade areas of Pasadena and it is still highly desirable” (Figures 8 and 9).<sup>67</sup> Because the church itself was located in a business section of Pasadena, that area was not appraised by the HOLC.

The two properties acquired for use by non-Rector clergy likewise sat in neighborhoods with a history of stark segregation. They both received favorable ratings by the HOLC. The home at 351 Rosita Lane was located in the wealthy Annandale section. The HOLC noted the widespread use of racial deed restrictions which protected against “subversive racial hazards” (Figure 10).

The home at 1430 Wellington Avenue was located in the Linda Vista neighborhood, which while somewhat “heterogeneous” in 1939, according to the HOLC, was showing indications of a “rapid increase of better quality inhabitants” with the building of more prosperous homes. It too would become one of Pasadena’s wealthiest neighborhoods.

In 1948, race restrictive covenants were declared unenforceable by the U.S. Supreme Court, in the *Shelley v. Kraemer* case. However, racial segregation in residential neighborhoods persisted in subsequent years, reinforced by practices like racial steering by realtors, hostile actions by homeowners, and discriminatory policies of mortgage lenders and real estate developers. People of color continued to be shut out of many white neighborhoods, reinforcing racial inequality and contributing to the continued marginalization and land dispossession of indigenous people in places like Pasadena and the southern California region in general.

<sup>66</sup>Crimi, “The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena”, 72-75; Hudson, *West of Jim Crow*, chapter 6; Nicolaidis, *The New Suburbia*.

<sup>67</sup>HOLC, City Survey Files, Worksheet for Area B-34, accessed at: Nelson, Robert K., et al. “Mapping Inequality”. *American Panorama*, edited by Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, [dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=10/34.005/-118.504&city=los-angeles-ca&text=downloads](http://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=10/34.005/-118.504&city=los-angeles-ca&text=downloads). Accessed June 2022.

## 6 Tongva in the 20th and 21st Centuries

Due to the lasting impact of the Spanish Mission system and the genocidal treatment of indigenous people in California through multiple waves of colonization, a large proportion of the surviving Tongva population either moved away from the land of their ancestors or publicly claimed Mexican heritage (or even white heritage where possible) in order to integrate and hide their indigenous identity. Where preserved, indigenous identity was usually kept within family groups, rather than being based around a unified tribal identity. Like other indigenous groups of the region, they could be better understood as always having been a decentralized collection of independent lineages within a wider cultural context as opposed to the American expectation of a single, hierarchical tribal structure<sup>68</sup>—an expectation that continues to make federal recognition of the Tongva people challenging today.

Some families based in and around the San Gabriel Mission, which ironically became a cultural touchstone and source of connection to indigenous heritage, were able to maintain a local Tongva community. This group was nonetheless largely ignored by the treaty commissioners sent out to deal with Native Americans in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as they were considered non-threatening and “not much to be dreaded”, which led to them not receiving reservation land, despite formal petitions on the part of the Tongva for protection with respect to the land they occupied.<sup>69</sup> In addition to this, the Los Angeles basin and its surrounding area were already considered ripe for development, leading to a reluctance on the part of California to even consider setting aside reservation land in the area.<sup>70</sup>

In the early 20th century, with developments such as the United States granting citizenship to Native Americans in 1924 and the California Indians Jurisdictional Act in 1927, the Tongva became more politically active and there was a resurgence of interest in their own history and culture. However, due to the lack of visibility imposed by their need to hide to survive, attaining recognition has proven to be very difficult—the Tongva never received a reservation, were falsely claimed by researchers to be extinct in the 1920s, and although they were recognized by the state of California in 1994, they have struggled to meet the demanding requirements for federal recognition. While Los Angeles itself became a melting pot for gatherings of Native Americans from elsewhere in the country, the local Tongva were rarely a part of this cultural scene, with events such as powwows originating from Native American traditions of the Great Plains and the southeast rather than traditions indigenous to Southern California.<sup>71</sup>

Two members of the Tongva tribe with roots in the Pasadena area shared their stories with us, illustrating the histories of two indigenous families and their relation to the area's land.

Ed White, part of the Gabrielino/Tongva Nation, traces his family history back to well before 1850, when California became part of the United States. He recounted that his family lived all around the San Gabriel Mission, some working as laborers in the area. In 1838, after Mexico gained control of California territory, Mexican governor Juan Alvarado granted a portion of former mission land to Tongva Victoria Reid, one of few indigenous people to receive such a land grant. It was called Rancho Huerta de Cuati, a 127-acre spread in the San Rafael hills that included parts of present-day Alhambra, San Marino, South Pasadena, and Pasadena. Reid received the land for her past service to the San Gabriel Mission. In 1854, Victoria Reid sold Rancho Huerta de Cuati to Benjamin Wilson, who renamed it “Lake Vineyard Ranch”—encompassing parts of what later became Pasadena. Ed White's family was allowed to live and work on that ranch land throughout these changes of ownership, into the 20th century.

He recalled his father's stories of going into the Pasadena hills (near present-day JPL) to hunt for deer, which they would bring back down to the ranch to prepare as food—part of traditional Tongva

<sup>68</sup>Champagne and Goldberg, *A Coalition of Lineages*, 11-15.

<sup>69</sup>Jurmain and McCawley, *O, My Ancestor*, 25-27; Heather V. Singleton, “Surviving Urbanization: The Gabrieleno, 1850-1928”, *Wicazo Sa Review* vol. 19, no. 2, 2004, pp. 52-56.

<sup>70</sup>Champagne and Goldberg, *A Coalition of Lineages*, 103.

<sup>71</sup>Akins and Bauer, *We Are The Land*, 262-268; Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2014) chapter 5; Champagne and Goldberg, *A Coalition of Lineages*, 217-218.

foodways which they followed for generations. In the early 1900s, his large family each year would hike into the hills to watch the Rose Parade. During the Depression, a lot of his family left the area and moved into the Central Valley in search of work. Many stayed, settling in places like Fresno, Tulare, and Kingsburg, where branches of his family still reside. Some remained in the San Gabriel Valley area.<sup>72</sup>

Edgar Perez, also a member of the Gabrielino/Tongva Nation, traces his family history back to the 1700s and earlier. His ancestry includes the Spanish settlers, and members of the Tongva and Gabrielino tribes who lived in and around San Gabriel Mission, where many were baptized. One branch of the family came from the local village of Tameobit. Edgar's paternal grandfather was Jose Eusebio Perez, who married Isabel Valenzuela, who was Gabrielino, born and raised in the San Gabriel areas. They purchased a homestead in San Gabriel in the late 1800s, encompassing an entire square block. The extended family lived there in three homes well into the 1960s.

They grew food on the property—corn, squash, apricots, pomegranates, figs, as well as chickens—which they consumed. Edgar lived on that property in the 1940s–50s; when his parents had passed away by the late 1960s, the family sold off half the property to subdividers. The remaining property stayed in the family until 2020.

Edgar recalled learning about his indigenous roots as a teenager, and more fully during college when he began researching his family's history in earnest. One triggering event was a series of class action lawsuits by California Indians against the government, for compensation for land loss. Edgar became aware of this litigation as a teen when his entire extended family got involved; the Tongva/Gabrielino people were part of this action. The federal government set a price at 6 cents/acre, then issued checks to indigenous individuals as compensation for land dispossession. As Edgar described, "I remember we got a check for \$150 each—my brother and my sister. And all the other families also got \$150 each. So, there were three checks—the 1928 litigation, the 1960s litigation, and the 1970s [litigation]. I think I got maybe \$200, a check from the federal government. So, what they did was—the federal government put together an umbrella situation and called it 'California Indians versus the United States.' So, all of the Native people who didn't have federal recognition... no reservations—like Gabrielino Tongva and many other tribes in California... they settled for so many millions, then divided those who are eligible enrollees into that figure. So that's how it came out to, I think 150 bucks each."

He recalled his family had a mixed reaction to these settlements: "I think it was a sense of satisfaction, because they won specifically. But on the other hand, there was frustration because of the acreage—of the dollar amount they placed on the value of the land... about six cents per acre, and we should have got more, we should have got a reservation, but we gave it up."

Over the years, Edgar became increasingly involved in the Tongva community. In the 1990s, he began serving as a Tongva monitor, called in during building and construction projects that involved digging up the land—and possible indigenous burial sites. He described his emotional response to that work, when monitoring a project at the Placita in downtown LA: "That's what really affected me because then everything became more real to me. And it was hard, emotionally, to rest at night, because you had to be there every day. And it was painstaking and heartbreaking because there were children there and their possessions that were in those sites."

The main challenges, he recalled, involved what to do with the remains when a burial site was excavated: "Where were the burial remains going to end up? We're taking them away from their natural resting place—where are they going to go now? ... That was really difficult to determine, it took a lot of energy and of course, there's no class that teaches you that. You just got to work it out. Who pays for the new cemetery? Who's going to pay for the tractors, the diggers? And who's going to provide the real estate? Where are those burials, the remains going to eventually end up? Those were the main challenges that I had." Typically, the prime contractor would donate land. But Edgar noted the deeper problem that stemmed from the historical land dispossession of the Tongva people, "because we don't have land. There's no reservation for us where we could have a cemetery for Native people."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Ed White family history, from Tongva meeting with All Saints' "TTWS: Land Committee," July 5, 2022, via Zoom

<sup>73</sup>Edgar Perez oral history, conducted by Becky Nicolaidis, July 11, 2022, via Zoom.

The separation of the land from the Tongva, and the Tongva from the land, remains a deep wound that is yet to be healed. However, Tongva cultural organizations and artists are continuing to work to uncover and understand their history, learn their ancestral language, and explore their relationship to their native land. In particular, there is a growing movement towards land repatriation for indigenous people—in the case of this region, this means restoring the land to Tongva ownership and stewardship. One group facilitating land return in the Los Angeles area is the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Land Conservancy.<sup>74</sup> So far, one acre of land in Altadena has been returned to the Tongva in February 2022, with the organizational machinery now in place to enable others to give land back to the Tongva in the future.

The goal of such land return initiatives is to create a place for Tongva people to be able to gather, build community, store and archive materials, hold ceremonies, and manage the land, without having to ask permission of non-native landowners. More fundamentally, it is a movement to return the stewardship of the land to its traditional caretakers, to restore and protect native plant life, and to do the work of healing the damage that colonization has inflicted upon the land and its people, one acre at a time.

## 7 Conclusions and the Future

This report represents the conclusion of the first step in our work of reconciliation: self-examination, by looking deep into the history of this land—both before the church was here and the church's own involvement—and sharing it with the congregation and our wider community so that we can all do the work of reflection that will take us to the second step: confession.

To aid us in that second step, there are four points that we want to highlight as particular areas for All Saints Church to consider about the land we are on as we move forward in this process. These points indicate where our forebears or All Saints Church itself have failed to live up to our four core values of Radical Inclusion, Courageous Justice, Joyful Spirituality and Ethical Stewardship:

- **Indigenous Genocide:** During colonization, this land was taken from the indigenous people and not returned to them. The Tongva underwent an on-going genocide, starting with the Spanish Missions and continuing through to American colonization of California, with consequences that are still felt today.
- **Environmental Destruction:** With the removal of its traditional caretakers, the land has undergone wide-scale environmental destruction, including the removal of native vegetation and wildlife, disruption of the local water system, widespread urbanization, and the introduction of exotic, non-native plants.
- **Racially-Exclusive Neighborhoods:** All Saints Church has bought and sold residential property for its clergy residences in racially exclusive neighborhoods, where Black and Indigenous people would not have had any opportunity to purchase.
- **Removal of Housing:** All Saints Church removed housing from its land on Euclid Avenue by demolishing apartment units, put Scott Hall and a parking lot in its place, and has not replaced any housing in Pasadena since.

We recommend that the Vestry continue this work by appointing a committee that will take these conclusions and, in consultation with our Tongva neighbors and other representatives of those affected by the history of this land, identify actions that All Saints Church can take towards repentance and reparation. We acknowledge that no attempt to tell the whole story will ever be truly complete, although we hope that this work brings into the light much that has gone unacknowledged in the past. We do this work gladly in the hope of the restoration of relationship among the people who call this land home, as well as with the land itself, which has always been sacred.

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<sup>74</sup>Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Land Conservancy, [tongva.land/](https://tongva.land/). Accessed Mar. 2023.

## A Appendix: Methods and Acknowledgements

For our research into the Tongva people, we focused on two aspects of the early pre-colonial period: the people's use and relationship to the land, and their spiritual beliefs, since the two topics are intertwined for the Tongva, and both relevant to us as a spiritual organization looking into our land's history. Our research into the Tongva people was done in collaboration with local Tongva tribal organizations, and in particular in discussion with Edgar Perez of the Gabrielino/Tongva Nation, who delivered a Rector's Forum presentation on Tongva history to All Saints Church<sup>75</sup>, and also recommended to us the academic work of William McCawley, author of *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles* (1996). This work and the presentation, along with several more general texts about the indigenous people of California, including *We Are The Land: A History of Native California* (2021) by Damon Akins and William Bauer Jr., formed the basis of our chapter on the pre-colonization Tongva era, as well as the effect of the Spanish missions upon the Tongva people. Our conversation with our Tongva contacts was primarily coordinated by Mike Kinman, and by Hannah Earnshaw while Mike was away on sabbatical. Hannah wrote the section on pre-colonial-era Tongva, as well as some elements of the later sections related to the Tongva people.

We wanted to include in our story a history of how land was transferred over time, from the indigenous era (pre-European contact) up through the late 19th Century, when All Saints began acquiring property for the church, and then carrying the story through the 20th century. We sought advice on sources from a friend of Becky Nicolaides, Professor Nicolas Rosenthal of Loyola Marymount University, author of *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (2012). He identified some key sources for us (including the above-mentioned Akins & Bauer) and has been supportive throughout this process. Becky compiled a bibliography for our group, then delved into several key secondary works, some of which she already had at hand from teaching California history. A few secondary sources were especially useful—Yvette Saavedra, *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771-1890* (2018); Thomas Osborne, *Pacific Eldorado: A History of Greater California* (2013); and Robert W. Cherny, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, and Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Competing Visions: A History of California* (2014).

When it comes to the history of All Saints Church itself, All Saints has been fortunate to have had many members over the years who were enthusiastic to learn and communicate its history, and who already undertook much of the work that we needed to do. Two people in particular stand out. The first was Reverend Leslie Learned, rector of All Saints Church for 1908–1936, who wrote up a report called *The History of All Saints Church* in 1942. The second was Jack LeVan, a long-time member of the All Saints Church Archives Ministry, who compiled his own history of the church, *All Saints Church: A Pictorial History, 1882-2008* (2008), as well as a digital transcription of Learned's document. Unfortunately, LeVan passed away in 2021, and was not able to personally be a part of this project, although his work proved invaluable to it. As we began writing the narrative, Becky compiled a timeline of key moments in the history of the land under and around All Saints, which we used as a scaffolding for the story and to identify gaps in our research.

In order to trace the details of the earliest land transactions, we initially hoped that we might locate the original property deeds through the Country Recorder's Office. In Spring of 2022, Barbara DuBransky searched for records relating to All Saints Church at the Real Estate division of the Los Angeles County Office of the Registrar in Norwalk (divided into records before and after 1958), the Pasadena Hale Building, and the County Assessor's Office in downtown Los Angeles. This was an attempt to establish a chain of title from the All Saints ownership of the Euclid Avenue and Woodland Road plots of land back through their previous owners to the first title after the Tongva residence on the land.

This proved more challenging than expected. For example, the Euclid Avenue property was acquired by All Saints in the late 1800s—the County Registrar holds records for this period of time on microfiche and, due to the volume of records, precise dates are necessary to find documentation, which cannot be searched simply by address or by the name of the entity. Barbara was nonetheless

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<sup>75</sup>Perez, Edgar. "Tell The Whole Story: The Gabrielino-Tongva Nation". Uploaded by All Saints Church, 3 Feb. 2022. [www.youtube.com/watch?v=E7TGCUYrV\\_s](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E7TGCUYrV_s).

able to locate some later records referenced, "The Rector, Church Wardens and Vestry of All Saints Church of Pasadena", and some referenced, "George Regas", and was thus able to find records indicating the transfer of the Woodland Road rectory to George Regas and back in 1984 and 1995, as well as the Corporation Grant Deed for the property exchange between All Saints Church and the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1965.

Ultimately, we did not have information specific enough to target our search of the county records, and insufficient time and labor to pursue this avenue of investigation in depth, so we shifted our focus to the archives at All Saints Church itself.

The All Saints archive proved to be an important resource in putting together the story of the church itself and its various property acquisitions and sales, providing primary sources relating not only to the official details of land decision-making but also the rationale and communication of such decisions to the congregation, and filling in the gaps that had not been explored in great detail during previous work. Extensive collections of Vestry minutes, issues of the *All Saints Record* (a monthly church newsletter), yearbooks, financial records, and other miscellaneous items were all kept, stored, and organized by the Archives Ministry. With the exception of the very earliest years of the church, records of some kind or another were available all the way back to 1890, allowing us to directly investigate the story of All Saints' land throughout the majority of its existence.

We began by undertaking an inventory-taking exercise in a few of the primary on-campus locations of archival material. This was done by Hannah Earnshaw, together with Keith Holeman, the Director of Communications at All Saints Church, and Steven Williams, co-convenor of our Telling The Whole Story sister group dedicated to the stained glass windows and sanctuary iconography. Next, Hannah went through the gaps and unanswered questions in our narrative so far and matched them to archival records likely to help us find answers, allowing us to prioritize and focus our efforts. After that, Hannah led several sessions examining the identified archival records, taking photographs, and constructing timelines of several key periods in the All Saints story—in particular the 1920s and 1960s major land acquisitions. In addition to Hannah, Keith, and Steven, Chris Runco from the Stained Glass group also assisted with this effort.

As well as the church campus itself, we also wanted to tell the story of the acquisition of property for the rectories. Using Ancestry.com, Becky searched for the residences of the All Saints rectors from the late 1800s to the present, identifying three properties—the first rectory on the site of the 132 North Euclid Avenue campus, the second at 1000 South El Molino Avenue, and the third at 540 Woodland Road (still in use as of 2023). She used city directories and the U.S. manuscript census to find these properties, then situated the rectory properties within the "redlining" maps of Pasadena, to link those neighborhoods to a broader history of segregation in Pasadena. In addition to the rectories, we also discovered through our archival search two other clergy residences bought and sold by All Saints over the years, for which Becky similarly identified the historical neighborhood classification. It is possible that All Saints had other clergy residences, although due to the focused nature of our archival search, we have not identified any others, so we take these two as likely typical for such purchases over the church's history. We also noted that All Saints also took part in the creation of at least two missions—a North Mission in 1906 that later became St Mark's Episcopal Church in Altadena, and St George's Episcopal Church in La Cañada, a tri-parochial venture along with St Mark's and St Luke's-of-the-Mountains Episcopal Church in La Crescenta in 1960. We did not have the time and labor to investigate these further for this report.

The lasting impact of the Spanish Mission era, as well as the ongoing hostility to California Native Americans over time, culminated in unique challenges faced by the Tongva through to the present day. Therefore, we wanted to include a section on the Tongva people in the 20th and 21st centuries to highlight the present-day impact of that history. We felt that only by including the experiences of indigenous people themselves could the whole story be told.

Our committee conducted a Zoom meeting with three members of the Gabrielino/Tongva Nation, who shared their stories with us. To follow up and go deeper, Becky conducted an oral history interview with Edgar Perez, to get a more complete life story from him. That oral history was integrated into the narrative and the entire interview is included in our accompanying materials. We also learned a great deal from a past oral history project with members of various Tongva groups undertaken by

Claudia Jurmain and William McCawley and published in 2009 as *O, My Ancestor: Recognition and Renewal for the Gabrielino-Tongva People of the Los Angeles Area*. Finally, presentations and conversations with members of the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy have provided additional historical context, as well as useful information about the native vegetation and ecology of the Los Angeles basin.

We are grateful to those who reviewed this report and offered useful feedback.

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This report researched and written by Hannah Earnshaw and Becky Nicolaides.

Research assistance by Barbara Andrade Dubransky and Keith Holeman. Oral history transcribed by Kazi Salsabil.

Reviewed by:

Edgar Perez, elder and former Tribal Council Member of the Gabrielino/Tongva Nation  
Kimberley Morales Johnson, Tribal Secretary of the Gabrieleno (Tongva) Band of Mission Indians  
Professor Nicholas Rosenthal, Loyola Marymount University  
Professor Yvette Saavedra, University of Oregon  
Norweeta Milburn, All Saints Church Vestrymember  
Claudia Shields, All Saints Church Vestrymember

Members of the ad hoc committee:

Hannah Earnshaw and Mike Kinman (co-chairs), Barbara Andrade Dubransky, Gauthri Fernando, Mike Hernandez, Becky Nicolaides, and Monique Thomas.

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