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Localizing Archival Memories of Spanish Language Education in California, Engaging with the Multilingual Histories of the Present

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Focusing on Spanish in California, this article offers language educators a critical perspective into how the languages we teach have histories constructed in shifting memories of language, speakership, and education. This article builds upon the 2007 MLA report's vision for curricular reform that situates language study in "cultural, historical, geographic, and cross-cultural frames within the context of humanistic learning." Cultural narratives and frames are connected to localized "archives" of histories and memories surrounding the learning and teaching of Spanish. Examining key texts and contexts, this article explores European and American imperial discourses surrounding language in education in connection to indigenous memories by the colonized or "reduced" Indians who were the among the first learners of Spanish in early multilingual California. This article advocates understanding archival texts as a step toward articulating an explicitly critical and historical component to recent reform movements in foreign language education. It is suggested that critical archival perspectives offer possibilities for rethinking and expanding the curricular space of history and memory in undergraduate and graduate Spanish programs, as well as in teacher education programs.

INTRODUCTION

The ongoing histories and memories of Spanish in the United States are present but largely underexplored in foreign language education. A brief description of the California missions in a widely-used first year Spanish textbook illustrates how history is memorialized in these "popular tourist attractions" that "are visited by millions of tourists every year" (Knorre, Dorwick, Pérez-Gironés, Glass, & Villareal, 2007, p. 100). The textbook passage frames the missions as places of memory and zones of cultural-linguistic contact that connect university students with the histories of Spanish, Mexican, and Native American presence in the United States:

The twenty-one *misiones* in California along what was called *el Camino Real* (the Royal Highway) were founded between 1769 and 1817 as outposts for bringing the Catholic religion to new lands. The indigenous people of California whose territories were colonized by these first Spanish settlements were deeply impacted. Some groups eventually became known by the name of a nearby *misión*—for example, the *diegueños* (*Misión de San Diego*), the *luisenos* (*Misión de San Luis Obispo*), and the *gabrielinos* (*Misión de*

San Gabriel). Many of these missions later became important cities, including San Diego, San Francisco, and Santa Barbara. (p. 100)

As foreign language educators charting future directions to broaden language study, how do we engage with the complex nexus of history and memory surrounding Spanish in the United States, and particularly in the postcolonial context of California? How can we develop in learners the translingual and transcultural competence necessary to comprehend and to analyze narratives that are globally and locally situated in “cultural, historical, geographic, and cross-cultural frames within the context of humanistic learning” (MLA, 2007, p. 4). This article extends these concerns for the future into the realm of history and memory around the concept of archive.

As I will use it here, the notion of archive localizes history and memory in language learning testimonies, autobiographies, and memoirs. It offers language educators access to complex narratives that highlight the interplay of power and subjectivity in learners as multilingual social actors (Kramsch, 2009). The archive of Spanish language and education in California brings critical attention to the complex and dynamic spaces in which cultural practices of history and memory play a significant role. The archive of memory-laden texts offers us insight into the complexity of language learning and teaching in and between shifting contexts.¹ The archive can be studied in the light of the practices and discourses surrounding language and education inscribed in these diverse spaces: from the multilingual missionary practices centering on conversion of the native peoples, to indigenous memories of language education, to accounts by Californios (i.e., Spanish-speakers in pre-statehood California) of language education (see Train, 2009, 2010, 2011b).

These archived spaces of history and memory involve cultural practices of collective and individual remembering and forgetting that are relevant to what constitutes Spanish as a language in California. Within the tension-filled archive, we can glimpse universalizing practices that have made Spanish into a language that has come to be taught and learned in the ever-changing cultural and political spaces of an enduringly multilingual California. The archive also points to the distancing of complex local practices from more reductive notions of Spanish and speakership. In the following sections, I will focus on several texts and contexts that connect the reductive European and American discourses to the indigenous memories of the colonized or “reduced” Indians who were, in effect, among the first learners of Spanish in multilingual California.

COLONIAL TRANSLINGUAL ARCHIVES OF LATIN, SPANISH AND CALIFORNIA NATIVE LANGUAGES

The founding of the first European settlement at San Diego in 1769 marked the arrival of the Spanish language and Western notions of education to Alta California.² Both came already infused with centuries of memory and history attached to the complex and shifting web of practices, ideologies and policies that constituted European regimes of imperial power. “Reduction” was a central trope in the memories and histories of European world empires that applied to language, communication, speakership and education in multilingual contexts.

A fundamental assumption of world empire has been the need for a universalizing and standardizing language that would reflect and support imperial power over vast multilingual and multiethnic territories, incorporating peoples holding a wide variety of customs, beliefs and languages (Pagden, 2001, p. xxiii). Latin was the original language of empire and its teaching was designed to reduce linguistically and culturally diverse peoples to a governable body of imperial subjects. The political reduction of peoples coalesced with the linguistic reduction of language into a codified, teachable and exportable form. This language-form was fundamental to the emergence of a multi-tiered curriculum beginning—and for many learners ending—with a reductive instructional model centered on standardized questions and rote responses.³ The Christian Church appropriated the imperial Latin model for its pedagogical project of world-wide evangelization based on conversion through instruction in the faith. The stage was thus set for what Willinsky described as “education's continuing contributions to what were and continue to be colonizing divisions of the world” (1998, p. 16).

Memories and histories of language and education found their imperial avatars in the emerging western European nations that were expanding beyond the confines of Europe. The publication in 1492 of Antonio de Nebrija's foundational account of Spanish and its teaching, *Gramática castellana*, can be said to mark the inception of Spanish language education (see Train, 2007, 2009). In the opening sentence of the *Gramática*, Nebrija addressed his Queen, Isabella, and proclaimed: “Language has always been the companion of empire” (“*siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio*”) (Nebrija, 1946, p. 5).⁴ Nebrija echoed other influential language professionals in Renaissance Europe who were building a cultural, political, and pedagogic program around the legacy of classical imperial culture and an emerging Christian humanism.

Nebrija constructed his account of Spanish within the standardizing frame elaborated through centuries of pedagogical and metalinguistic theory and practice surrounding the constructs of Latin language and its authorized Latinity (*latinitas*) codified in an “art” (*ars*)⁵ for the teaching of imperial subjects (Train, 2009). Nebrija claimed that his *arte* or grammar would “reduce” for the first time ever the Castilian practices of language—framed as “our language”—to a similar “state of art” (*artificio*): “*reduzir en artificio este nuestro lenguaje castellano*” (Nebrija, 1946, p. 9). Nebrija's grammar memorialized discursive and pedagogic categories of Spanish language speakership within the emerging modern project of language instruction that situated national and (non)native identity with respect to empire.

The “reduced” Spanish language fast became associated with another modality of reduction centering on the military, cultural and spatial subjugation and conversion of the non-Western native peoples to the European native ways. As part of the universalizing Christian imperial project, the reduction process reached a truly global scale for the first time with the arrival of Columbus and the Spanish language to the Americas in 1492, some 3 months after Nebrija presented his political-pedagogic reduction of the language in his *Gramática castellana*.

Imperial policy governing Spain's overseas colonies justified the universalizing Christian mission to conquer and to “humanize” the American Indians on the Roman model of “reduce and teach”(Solórzano Pereira, 1648, p. 40). For the vast majority of Indians in Spanish America and particularly in Alta California, the imperial educational experience of reduction centered on Christian teachings (*doctrina*) presented in catechisms.

Given the immense linguistic diversity of the Americas, the Church officials ordered that the *doctrina* would be translated into “many languages”, such that the religious interpreters and priests should instruct the Indians only in the “most necessary things” and “leave what the Indians will not understand or attain, and will not need for now” (Catholic Church, 1769, p. 45). In most cases, and particularly in Alta California, the colonial education for indigenous peoples was limited to the most reductive and expedient form of standard curriculum designed for effective conversion to Christianity and for acculturation to European practices. By the 18th century, ecclesiastical and civil policy concerning language in education had officially shifted to a Spanish-only model of instruction for Indians, as imposed by the Bourbon Kings and the Church hierarchy (Catholic Church, 1769; Yannakakis, 2008). However, the memory of the earlier multilingual communicative model that had informed missionary practices remained, particularly in Alta California where the indigenous languages were at the core of Indian education in the missions.

The Spanish language came to Alta California at the tail end of the Spanish imperial project—centuries after the early articulations cited above, and after centuries of perfecting a missionary-military complex of colonization centering on the establishment of missions (*misiones*, *reducciones*), forts (*presidios*), and civil municipalities (*pueblos*). From the beginning, the Franciscan missionaries from Spain and New Spain (Mexico) constructed an extensive collective and individual memory and history of their linguistic and pedagogic work among the Indians of California. However, the colonial and postcolonial voices of indigenous Californians were largely silenced.

The most notable exception can be found in an Italian cardinal’s papers held in a library archive in Bologna. It is an account left by Pablo Tac, one of the few known indigenous scholars from Alta California (see Haas, 1995; Haas, 2010, 2011; Tac, ca. 1835; Tac, Hewes, & Hewes, 1952; Tagliavini, 1926, 1930a, 1930b). Tac was born at the Mission San Luis Rey in 1822, at the beginning of Mexican rule over Alta California. Tac and another slightly older Luiseño Indian boy, Agapito Amamix, were chosen by the Mission administrator, Father Antonio Peyri, to go to Mexico City to further their studies, apparently with the goal of educating a small cohort of natives who would return to California to engage in missionary work among the Indians. In 1834, Tac and Amamix went from Mexico to Rome where they were enrolled in the Urban College of Propaganda Fide, the seminary charged with the missionary efforts of the Catholic Church throughout the world. Unique among the California Indians, both boys received a Western education on par with the most educated Europeans and Americans of the day. The registry of the College shows that Pablo Tac, “*Californiensis (Mexicanus) ex Missione St. Ludovici Regis*”, studied 4 years of grammar from 1834 to 1838 and Rhetoric from 1838 to 1839. After taking his vows to pursue missionary work, Tac studied Humanities and Rhetoric in 1839-1840, and, after apparently recovering from a severe case of smallpox in 1849, he studied Philosophy in 1841 (Tagliavini, 1930a, p. 634).

At some time during his residence in Rome, Tac was asked by the future Cardinal Mezzofanti, the Vatican Librarian and one of the famous polyglots of the day, to codify the Luiseño language according to the standard European conventions of linguistic description for pedagogic purposes. Following standard European linguistic practice, Tac prepared a brief grammatical outline of Luiseño in Latin (*Rudimenta*) and a longer account in Spanish (*Estudio*), both divided according to the traditional parts of speech set out by

Donatus: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions (Haas, 2011; Tagliavini, 1926). Adhering to the traditional European codification of lexical items, Tac composed an alphabetically-arranged bilingual vocabulary list of some 1,200 Luiseño words with their Spanish equivalents (Haas, 2011; Tagliavini, 1930b).

In addition to this linguistic memory, Tac left what has come to be a cornerstone of indigenous history embodied in one of the few native accounts of mission life in Alta California, *Conversión de los San Luiseños de la Alta California* (Haas, 2011; Tac, Hewes, & Hewes, 1952; Tagliavini, 1930a). Since Tac's description of the colonization process has been studied elsewhere (most recently in Haas, 2011), I will limit my remarks to Tac's recollections of the social and cultural context of language use and education at the Mission San Luis Rey during his childhood from 1822 to 1832. Tac notes that the use of Spanish in the multilingual space of the mission was tied to authority, concentrated in the sole Spanish missionary with a detachment of 10 Spanish soldiers. In order to transmit his authority, the missionary enlisted seven bilingual or multilingual Indian *alcaldes* (mayors), who had a greater communicative ability in Spanish and were more acculturated to European practices than the other Indians:

As the Franciscan Father was alone, completely alone [*solito*, or, *sólito*, “accustomed”] with his Spanish Soldiers. Seeing that it would be very difficult for him to command these people alone—especially people who had left the woods [to come to the mission] only a few years earlier—he appointed *alcaldes*. For that reason, he chose *alcaldes* of the same tribe who knew how to speak more Spanish than the others and had better customs than the others.⁶

El Padre Fernandino como el era solo y muy solito con sus Españoles Soldados, viendo que seria muy dificil que el solo pudiese mandar a aquella gente, y mas gente que pocos años ante dejado habia los bosques, puso Alcaldes, puso por esso Alcaldes de la misma gente, que sabian mas que los otros hablar Español y que por costumbres mejores eran de los otros. (Tagliavini, 1930a, pp. 642-43; Haas, 2011, p. 182)

Tac describes that these native *alcaldes* had a staff as symbol of their authority to judge the other Indians (“*con sus bastones por señal que ellos podian juzgar a los demas*”) (Tagliavini, 1930a, p. 643; Haas, 2011, p. 182). As elsewhere in the Americas, these native intermediaries were linguistically and culturally invested with a certain power as cultural brokers (Phillips, 1989; Yannakakis, 2008).

In his description of the daily activities of the missionized Luiseño Indians, Tac remembers an orderly social world clearly differentiated by generation and gender. The elder man of the house (“*el viejo de casa*”) goes out hunting, while his wife stays at home, weaving and sowing clothes, and cooking. Their children stay in the Mission, working if they are old enough. The daughter weaves with her mother. The son works with the men. If the children have children of their own, the young boys go to school to learn the alphabet, then they learn the Catechism, and finally they sing in the Mission choir (“*los hijos a la escuela a aprender el abecedario, y si ya saben, aprender el Catecismo, y si eso tambien, al coro de los cantores*”) (Tagliavini, 1930a, p. 644; Haas, 2011, p. 150). The young boys who had graduated to singing in the choir worked during the week and sang only on Sundays (“*y si*

fue cantor, al trabajo, que ya todos los cantores Musicos, el dia de trabajo trabajan y el Domingo al coro a cantar") (Tagliavini, 1930a, p. 644; Haas, 2011, p. 150). Tac notes that education for the Indians involved an indirect access to literacy based on reciting and memorizing written texts, which remained firmly under the control of the missionary. He describes that the Indians never had books but that the missionary taught them to memorize what he read from the book ("*pero sin libro, porque ya antes el Maestro los in-segna a Memoria teniendo el el libro*") (Tagliavini, 1930a, p. 644; Haas, 2011, p. 150).

Formal education for the male Indians seems to have been reduced to learning the sounds of Spanish by memory in order to learn the basic Christian texts (e.g., catechism) and songs by heart. In the mission, the goal of education was to perform Christianity, which centered on learning the basic Christian teachings (the requisite for Christian personhood), learning to work all week in the mission, and learning to sing the liturgical texts needed to celebrate mass on Sunday.⁷ The Indian girls received an even more reduced education focused on the performance of manual work, such as weaving the Indians' blankets and the Franciscan father's robe ("*La hija se junta con los solteras que todas hilan para frazados de los Sanluisenos, y para la tunica del P.[adre] Fernandino*") (Tagliavini, 1930, p. 644; Haas, 2011, p. 150). As one historian observes: "Tac's treatise, in essence, defines the complex social identities that developed among California's mission Indian population through conquest and colonization" (Haas, 1995, p. 19).

Historians have recently asked what the California Indians learned at the missions (Hackel, 2005; Sandos, 2004)? It has been pointed out that music instruction in the California missions, rather than formal education, had facilitated the adoption of the Spanish language as it "took the choristers far beyond the rote language memorization of other mission Indians because language learning is facilitated when it is associated with or accompanied by music instruction" (Sandos, 2004, pp. 147-148). The value of music in language learning can be significant, and has been undoubtedly an important tool in language learning and conversion in mission spaces throughout the world. In Tac's account, however, it is not clear in what language or languages the Indians memorized the Catechism, given that these basic Christian teachings were often translated into at least one of the local languages used by the Indians at each mission. It is probable that the Indians learned by rote the liturgical music in Latin, without necessarily understanding the linguistic content of the lyrics.⁸

A more accurate view would be to see the Indians' learning of European languages as connected to a "symbolic competence" (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008) that emerged in complex ways in the multilingual ecology of the mission as part of becoming Christian and doing Christianity. Because this memory-focused language education grounded in symbolic competence was largely reduced to performing Christianity, it points to a nexus of power relations and social identities surrounding the European colonization of indigenous peoples. Education for the Indians required the ability to perform the basic culture-language practices that conferred Christian identity. However, the same education also highlights "the disruptive role of the mission that undermined the traditional political ordering of space and brought baptized and unconverted villagers alike under its control" (Haas, 1995, p. 18).

POSTCOLONIAL MEMORIES OF NEW EMPIRES AND NEW REDUCTIONS

Although the untimely deaths of Amamix in 1837 and Tac in 1841 prevented them from coming back to California, the memory of educated Spanish speaking Indians remained. During a trip to central California in May of 1878, one of Hubert Howe Bancroft's assistants, Thomas Savage, interviewed one Julio César, whom he described as "a full blooded Indian, native of the mission San Luis Rey, aged about 54 years" (Cesar, 1878). Born in 1824, this Indian informant would have been a contemporary of Tac and Amamix. However, César recounts that he first "served" at the Mission "singing in the choir during masses" ("*cantando en el coro, en las misas cantadas*", p. 1) at the age of 14 (about 1838), several years after the two Luiseño scholars had left San Luis Rey. Julio César's name (<Julius Caesar) embodied the imperial educational model provided to his two compatriots in Rome. However, his account is a testimony to the reduced education he received at San Luis Rey, and to the Spanish missionaries' general neglect of Indian education in either Spanish or the local indigenous languages, a situation that continued after Mexican independence in 1821. Prompted by Thomas Savage to describe his education at the mission, César gave the following response:

To the question that was asked of me, if they used to teach us to read and write, I answer that they would only teach us to pray and to sing mass from memory. They didn't teach us to read the church music. There were singers and instrumentalists, but everything was from memory. I never saw them give a sheet of music to anyone.

A la pregunta que se me hace de si nos enseñaban á leer y escribir, contesto que nos enseñaban solam[en]te puro rezar, y cantar misa de memoria, pues no me enseñaron á leer la música de iglesia. Habian cantores, é instrumentistas, pero todo era de memoria. Nunca vi que le pusieron papel de música á ninguno. (Cesar, 1878, p. 5)

Asked to remember educational practices from some 40 years earlier at the Mission, Julio César distanced the oral/aural instruction, rote memorization and recitation that had characterized his educational experience from the literacy practices that the interviewer in his prompt associated with schooling. However, César also evoked the memory of a far-off place of literacy education for Indians, geographically and temporally remote from his own experience at San Luis Rey.

I remember having heard that at El Alisal there was a school for teaching young Indians to read and write; and that from each mission they would take two little Indians to study them. But that was before I was born. Already in my day that was not done.

Me acuerdo haber oido decir que en el Alisal habia una escuela para enseñar a inditos á leer y escribir; y de que de cada mision llevaban allá dos inditos; pero eso fué ántes de nacer yo--ya en mi tiempo no se hacía. (Cesar, 1878, p. 5)

In fact, a school at the El Alisal ranch near Monterey was operated briefly from 1834 to 1836 by Patrick Short, an Irish priest, and William E. P. Hartnell, an Englishman who had married into a Californio family (Dakin, 1949). However, this private school, called *El Colegio de San José* or the *Seminario Patrocinio*, was in existence during César's lifetime. Hartnell placed an advertisement for his new school in December 1833 offering an ambitious curriculum:

Instruction will be in the following educational subjects: Writing and reading, Spanish, French, English, German and Latin Grammar, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Mathematics and Philosophy. There will also be particular care given to teaching the youths Christian Doctrine and to watching over their habits and manners.

Se dará instruccion en los siguientes ramos de educacion. Leer y escribir, Gramática española, francesa, inglesa, alemana y latina, Aritmetica, Teneduria de libros, Matematicas y Filosofia. Se tendrá tambien particular cuidado en enseñar á los jovenes la Doctrina Cristiana y en velar sobre sus costumbres y modales. (Hartnell, 1833)

Moreover, there is evidence that Indians were enrolled there. While Hartnell and Short were planning their school, they found that in January 1833, the President of the Franciscan missions, Narciso Durán, had circulated a letter to all of the Reverend Fathers in the Californias suggesting that they send intelligent Indian neophytes to continue their education at the mother College of San Fernando in Mexico City. This letter was in line with Father Peyri's decision to take Tac and Amamix to Mexico in January 1832, and then to Rome in 1834. Hartnell and Short saw an opportunity for pupils so they offered Father Durán places for some Indian boys in their planned school with expenses for the Indian pupils to be paid from the Pious Fund that supported missionary efforts in California (Dakin, 1949, p. 175). The school opened in March 1834, and in 1836 records show 6 Indian boys and 5 white boys aged 9 to 17 enrolled in the school, in addition to Hartnell's numerous children (p. 183). The school closed for lack of funds in the fall of 1836 (p. 187).

Despite any of the above historical "facts" to which he may or may not have had access, Julio César constructed his memory of language education by affectively and temporally distancing any possibility of his own education, or that of other Indians growing up in Alta California during the 1820's and 1830's. However, he continued his recollection by localizing the existence of educated Indians within another problematically remote and present space:

When Father Peyri left California, he took with him two boys from the Mission San Luis Rey to Rome. One of them was named Diego, and he returned to California, and I saw him in San José, (the town) where he died. The other, whose name I don't remember, came to sing mass. I heard that after being ordained he lived in Mexico and died there.—He doesn't know [it's not known?] for sure if this is the truth).

El P. Peyri cuando salió de Cal. se llevó dos muchachos de San Luis Rey para Roma--uno de ellos se llamaba Diego, y volvió á Cal., y lo vi en San José (pueblo) en donde murió--el otro, cuyo nombre no recuerdo, llegó á cantar misa--oí decir que despues de ordenarse vivió á México y allá murió--No [se?] sabe de positivo si esto es verdad). (Cesar, 1878, p. 5)

César apparently conflates the two educated Indians he knew with the two Indian boys—the historically documented Tac and Amamix—who left the Mission San Luis Rey with Father Peyri to become the model of educated Indians. César even further localizes the existence of educated Indians by making himself an eye-witness who saw an Indian named Diego in San José who had been educated in Rome.

Julio César's memory takes on a further level of complexity as entextualized in the line: “*–No sabe de positivo si esto es verdad*”). Upon close reading of Thomas Savage's handwritten transcription of César's narrative, it is not clear whose point of view is represented. This line could be a misrepresentation of César's words in which the transcriber omitted a reflexive pronoun (*no se sabe*) with the meaning: “It is not known for certain if this is the truth”. Or Savage could have been writing a parenthetical metadiscursive comment, having omitted the opening parenthesis (*No sabe de positivo si esto es verdad*) [“(He doesn't know for certain if this is the truth)”]. In this case, it is imaginable that Savage was trying to provide his reader with some important information gleaned from the context of the oral interview. Perhaps a tone in César's voice or his gestures indicated uncertainty as to the speaker's willingness to commit to hearsay about where the second Indian lived and died. This reading would be supported by the existence of what appears to be the closing parenthesis at the end of the sentence; although the marking could simply be a final flourish of the pen at the end of the paragraph. Without resolving any ambiguity, a philological attention to this brief text highlights the fundamental complexity of memory and its transcription into history.

Cognitive psychologists (Boyer, 2009) remind us that memories and their gathering into larger individual and collective narratives, or histories, are part of how humans inhabit and construct our present and future surroundings and selves. Looking back on his life over more than a half century, Julio César re-constructed his memory of language education by affectively and temporally distancing any real possibility of any formal education for himself, or for most other Indians growing up in Alta California during the 1820's and 1830's. As we have seen, his account was not a haphazard assemblage of random memories concerning education and language. Rather, his local experience was expressed—through the mediation of the interviewer's transcription—in terms that highlighted his complex position as a member of a linguistic and cultural minority. The local ecology altered by the Spanish colonization project positioned him as a Spanish-language learner in the mission, and as a Mexican Indian in Alta California with limited civil rights and where Indians were in fact a large majority of the population. Julio César then became a Spanish-speaking Indian in California-the-31st-State-of-the-Union, where his memory of Hispanic California was appropriated by Bancroft's project to write a historical narrative from the position of the new English-speaking, white American majority. Julio César's experiences with language and education were shaped, almost predictably, by larger ecologies, histories and narratives that constructed his minority positions. While being an educated Indian was poignantly beyond Julio César's personal experience, his recollection nevertheless localized the existence of educated California Indians within another problematically remote and present space of a larger global community. It is a complex gesture of memory in which oppression, hope and resistance seem to coalesce.

MAKING NATIVE LANGUAGES FOREIGN IN MEXICAN AND AMERICAN CALIFORNIA

The archive of memories surrounding language and learning in early California provide a textual body characterized by entangled histories of localization and distancing, of appropriation and conflict, of opportunities and injustices. True to Nebrija's blueprint for reduction, Spanish was the language that indigenous Californians, like Pablo Tac and Julio César, learned as newly conquered subjects of a global multilingual empire in which linguistic and cultural diversity was circumscribed by European practices, grounded on the legitimacy of Latin and its heir Spanish. The native peoples saw their languages and identities positioned as less human, more "barbarous" and "foreign", as the Spanish speaking settlers and soldiers became the new "native Californians", *los Californios*. Within the Spanish and Mexican colonial and imperial ecologies of California, Spanish and sometimes local indigenous languages "reduced" to the Latin model gained ontological and epistemological capital. These reduced languages granted access to what was framed as universal religious faith and humanity. In the 1840's, however, the ecology of Spanish and Spanish speakers changed dramatically. English and English speakers displaced the Californios and the indigenous peoples, particularly after the United States' military campaign that led to the annexation of California in 1848, and then statehood in 1850.

As was the case in other regions of the Southwest, the Americanization of Mexican California has been linked to the political, cultural, and ideological complex known as Manifest Destiny, which served in the 19th century to explain, justify, and promote the territorial expansion and the supposed world mission of the United States. In the years leading up to the U.S. military intervention in Mexico and the subsequent U.S. annexation of California, English became the language of a U.S. Manifest Destiny with its own largely Protestant 'civilizing mission' that reductively defined and redefined the humanity of certain groups and individuals in society. The violent takeover of California by the United States announced a new racial and linguistic order in which recent English-speaking colonists from the U.S. refused to see Californios as equals, but rather as "people ethnically and racially inferior" (Heidenreich, 2007, p. 92). The delegitimizing, even dehumanizing of persons who spoke indigenous languages and Spanish in the 19th century followed the imperial design of Manifest Destiny to extend U.S. hegemony and to "civilize" the world according to a vision of U.S. superiority and racial inequality (Horsman, 1981).

This racialized imperial mission of reduction intersected with nationalist ideologies of nativism (Higham, 2002) and Americanization (Pavlenko, 2004) that surfaced in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These ideologies underpinned powerful movements with significant political, cultural and educational consequences, such as an English language-focused model for schooling. In 1855, the California state Bureau of Public Instruction stipulated that all schools must teach strictly in English. This linguistic purism went hand in hand with the nativist sentiments expressed in the California legislature in that same year, including the suspension of the publication of state laws in Spanish (Pitt, 1966, p. 226). A neo-imperial complex emerged that reduced the range of what constituted 'real' Americans to a construct of English-speaking Anglo-Saxons, in contrast to the diversity of immigrant and non-English speaking residents of the United States.

LESSONS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF SPANISH IN CALIFORNIA

The histories and memories that constitute the archive of language, learning and speakership in California take on a new resonance in the post 9-11 context of language education. As tomorrow's memories emerge from today's practices, how do language educators and learners develop a critically informed stance toward the conflicted histories and memories of Spanish as a world language? "Native," "non-native," "foreign," "heritage," "minority"—the complexities of Spanish language speakership become increasingly apparent for educators in California. How can language educators engage with these ongoing histories and memories in order to address the multi-faceted and translanguaging dimensions of Spanish in the global and local experiences of learners and teachers today and tomorrow? In reshaping the humanistic study of language and culture, how can we find critical perspectives that help us recognize the tensions and contingencies surrounding the memories and histories of any given language and its speakers?

The archival texts examined in this article point to valuable lessons for language educators about the shape and place of history and memory in the teaching and learning of Spanish. The approach offered here explicitly adds another dimension to ongoing critical approaches to language education that situate the languages we learn and teach within continually reshaped local, global, and (post)colonial contexts (e.g., Kramsch, 1993; Lin & Martin, 2005; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2010; Shin & Kubota, 2008; Train, 2003, 2011a). This perspective provides language educators with an avenue to connect with a significant body of research in the humanities and social sciences that frames context in postmodern terms of a critical "history of the present" (e.g., Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Derrida, 2005; Foucault, 1969, 1975; Pennycook, 1998; Popkewitz, 2008). A critical understanding of the historically-informed present further links teaching and learning to local practices and global contexts framed in terms of complex ecologies (see Bowers & Flinders, 1990; Canagarajah, 2005; Creese & Martin, 2003; Haugen, 1972; Kramsch, 1993, 2002; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008; Pennycook, 2004, 2010 ; van Lier, 2004). However, the presence of history is far from simple. It requires educators to develop a reflexive understanding of the distance between any cultural-linguistic here-and-now and the ruptures, continuities, and diversities over time and space that shape our current practices.

The indigenous accounts by Pablo Tac and Julio César point to real and complex historical moments during the colonization of California by European and American imperial regimes. The experiences of indigenous Spanish language learners in California are embedded in historical fact. The building of missions and the contact between diverse peoples, cultures and languages are historical facts, as alluded to in the reductively oblique passage from the textbook quoted in the introduction. In providing a more complex perspective of European conquest, the accounts of Tac and César highlight the important function of history in the "adjudication of truth-claims" (LaCapra, 1998, p. 20). The archives allow us, even ethically require us, to recover the most unsettling historical aspects of Spanish language education in California.

History as an empirical and ethical space of knowledge for present and future educators and students about what "truly happened" in the lives of Spanish language learners and speakers in early California is one part of the story. History is also about its

telling, or in conventional terms, its writing in historiography. What we can recover of the history of Spanish in California is shaped in shifting cultural contexts in which narrative discourse and historical representation play an important role (White, 1987). As part of the telling of history, historians grapple with the complex relation between historiography and memory (see Nora, 1984). One prominent historian recently remarked: “Like memory, the writing of history is as much a product of the past as it is a child of its time” (Rouso, 2010, p. 1). Memory is a crucial source for history and has complicated relations to the documentary sources that make historiography possible (LaCapra, 1998, p. 19).

The archival evidence of Tac and César’s accounts offers unique insights into the relation of history and memory in California. Current understandings of California’s past has been shaped by Hubert Howe Bancroft’s Archives of California (now in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley). A significant part of Bancroft’s archives was a project of salvage ethnography in the 1870’s that attempted to record the last words of the largely dispossessed and mostly impoverished Spanish-speaking *Californios* and Indians—the inhabitants of formerly Spanish and Mexican California. Remembered in his own memoirs as part of his “literary industries”, Bancroft sought to extract from the remaining Californios and a handful of Spanish-speaking Indians their recollections of events from before U.S. statehood (1850) in order to compile his monumental *History of California* (Bancroft, 1891). Bancroft’s agents traveled the length of California collecting, transcribing, and shaping these oral narratives, mostly in Spanish, told to them by the actors of California history (Beebe & Senkewicz, 2006; Cerruti, Mollins, & Thickens, 1954). Various entextualized as “dictations”, “reminiscences”, “*memorias*” and “*recuerdos*” (memories), these accounts gave a “native” Californian voice to Bancroft’s project to write the history of California from an Anglo-American perspective of the new imperial conquerors, self-styled founders of a new capitalist, English-speaking world order grounded in an emerging sense of United States power and identity (see Bancroft, 1884-90, 1888; Bancroft, 1891; Padilla, 1993; Sánchez, 1995; Train, 2011b). Complex acts of memory and history, these texts have been seen to variously embody, individually and collectively, visions of Anglo-Saxon superiority and U.S. domination over the former Mexican territory and its citizens, the beginnings of Mexican American autobiography (Padilla, 1993), mediated testimonial narratives that engaged in social practices while also constructing new discourses of ethnicity and marginalized identities (Sánchez, 1995).

For Spanish language educators today, these archival sources—along with others—open up spaces for new histories of Spanish in California grounded in “critically informed memory” (LaCapra, 1998, p. 20). The memory-infused archive provides avenues for critical perspectives that reject a reductively nationalistic tendency to erase or to marginalize historical facts that might trouble modern unitary notions of nation-language-culture-identity. As the French historian Ernest Renan suggested in 1882: “*Pour tous il est bon de savoir oublier*” (Renan, 2011, p. 67). For him, it was better for everyone to know how to forget the inconvenient truths of the past in the interest of national and cultural unity. However, a critical historical frame offers possibilities from which to reshape our memories and histories of language/s and speakership in order to redesign our educational practices in ecological ways. Critical historical engagement in the present goes beyond the long history of reductive practices that downplay the complexity of language, speakership, and language learning (van Lier, 2004, p. 11).

These critical horizons are especially useful for foreign language educators who have begun to interrogate the “foreign-ness” of Spanish in the United States. Spanish is the most used and most taught language other than English. Spanish may be more accurately termed the “national foreign language” of the United States (Alonso, 2006). The foreignness of Spanish is problematized by the growth of Spanish for native speakers and heritage language programs designed for Spanish speakers for whom traditional Spanish-as-foreign-language have not provided adequate learning opportunities (see Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2008; Roca & Colombi, 2003). The complexities of Spanish as a foreign language in California become increasingly apparent with over 8 million speakers, including nearly 100,000 students enrolled in post-secondary Spanish classes in 2009 (Modern Language Association, 2012). An increased need for literate and competent speakers of languages other than English has led to important work in showing California as a case study for developing Spanish as a minority language resource (see Valdés, Fishman, Chávez, & Pérez, 2006). Despite the awareness of the complexities of Spanish in the lives of Californians, its foreignization in California continues the legacy of monolingual reductionism (Train, 2010). Ironically, Spanish has increasingly become the sole foreign language in the K-12 curriculum for many students, as funding for other commonly taught foreign languages (e.g., French, German, Japanese) is cut. Most California high school students have little or no access to classes in less commonly taught (e.g., Italian, Russian) and “strategic” languages (e.g., Chinese).

Critical archival perspectives open possibilities for rethinking and expanding the curricular space of history and memory in undergraduate and graduate Spanish programs, as well as in teacher education programs. It is not sufficient to focus on the “history of Spanish” in terms of the development of formal and structural linguistic elements (i.e., phonology, morphology, syntax, words) from Latin to the present. Archival texts, such as those by Tac and César, would add to those existing approaches based on the “cultural relevance of diachronic linguistics” in foreign language teaching (Arteaga & Herschensohn, 1995, p. 213). From the beginning of the curriculum, students can develop a historical understanding of the debates and tensions around language as a cultural and political institution. Archival-informed lessons from early California can be used to build a broader curriculum that includes the historical development of Spanish as a pluricentric world language, with (post)colonial normative centers beyond the language’s European origins in Spain (Mar-Molinero, 2004). A historically-grounded sociolinguistic approach is crucial in providing teachers and students with a more robust understanding of variation necessary to develop communicative competence across the dialectal and cultural differences that are part of becoming a Spanish speaker in the 21st century (Arteaga & Llorente, 2009).

The archive of Spanish in California also highlights the importance for educators and learners to critically engage with narratives of collective and individual memory, imagination and ideology. Reading Tac and César, we are confronted with complex instances of individual memory as “part of a range of distinctly human cognitive capacities, having to do with representation of what is not actually the case” (Boyer, 2009, p. 16). It is crucial to avoid reducing collective memory to individual processes of memory, while also recognizing the “points of contact” between collective and individual remembering (Wertsch, 2009, p. 134). Engaging with memory as socially-situated experience and cultural

narrative at individual and collective levels provides critical spaces for educators to question reductionist and universalizing stances toward the study and teaching of language.

An understanding of the archive of Spanish language is a step toward articulating an explicitly critical and historical component to recent reform movements in foreign language education. In considering the historical dimensions of language learning experience inside and outside the classroom, educators and learners have another tool to grapple with the complexities of our practices. In seeking a way forward through critically understanding the historical depth of context, we may avoid reducing what we do as teachers and learners to an overly-simplified here-and-now and to what may often seem an increasingly prescribed future.

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NOTES

1. The archive is located in multiple cultural and material spaces—increasingly constructed in print and digital media—and places where the entextualized narratives examined in this article would not exist today, were it not for their material presence and conservation over the centuries. In particular, access to these texts and the contexts surrounding them has been possible through a local and global network of archives, from those in California (the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, the Huntington Library in San Marino, and the California Historical Society in San Francisco), to the Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio in Bologna, Italy, to the printed and digitized re-entextualizations of these texts. For example, Julio César's account is in manuscript form at the Bancroft Library (BANC MSS C-D 109) and also at the Online Archive of California (<http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb6s2009st/>) and Pablo Tac's manuscripts are in Bologna, while a microfilm version of the manuscripts is located at the Huntington Library (MSS MFilm 00255) and there are now several print editions available (Haas, 2011; Tagliavini, 1926, 1930a, 1930b).

2. Alta ('Upper') California was the Spanish and later Mexican territory corresponding to a portion of the present-day state of California from San Diego north to Santa Rosa. The term *Alta* or *Nueva* ('New') *California* was invented to distinguish between the territory more recently colonized by Franciscan missionaries beginning in 1769 from the peninsula of Baja ('Lower') or Vieja ('Old') California, which had been previously colonized by Jesuit missionaries in the late 1600's. Spanish colonial and early Mexican texts often refer to these two provinces in the plural as *las Californias*. From the perspective of the conquering United States, the term *Alta California* was reduced after statehood in 1850 to 'California', *tout court*. Interestingly, the term *Baja California* still remains, as reflected in the current Mexican states of Baja California and Baja California Sur.

3. The mid-4th century Roman grammar teacher Aelius Donatus, the author of a four-book *Ars grammatica*, provided the most influential model of this late-imperial language pedagogy. In particular, Donatus' first book (*Ars minor*) is a reduction of Latin morphology to the now-familiar 8 parts of speech presented in a catechistic or question-and-answer format designed for beginning learners:

How many parts of speech are there? Eight. What are they? Noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition, interjection.
Partes orationis quot sunt? Octo. Quae? Nomen pronomen verbum adverbium participium coniunctio praepositio interiectio. (Holtz, 1981, p. 585)

The *Ars minor* can be said to constitute a sort of “grammatical catechism for beginners” (Holz, 1981, p. 99). The memory of Donatus' systematic codification to writing of a pedagogical oral activity based on a closed dialogue in catechistic format became, as one modern commentator put it, “for one thousand years the leading textbook of grammar” (Chase, 1926). Still today, the canonical 8 parts of speech find their avatars in modern language textbooks.

4. All translations are the author's, unless otherwise indicated.

5. The notion of *ars/ artes* in Latin is not exactly equivalent to the modern English cognate “art”. The concept *ars* designated what passed for a codified body of classical and then medieval science, a branch of learning. Etymologically, *ars* was seen to be linked to *artus*, meaning “straight”, such that the *artes* were seen to enclose all things in narrow rules and supposedly clear precepts (Curtius, 1953, pp. 37-38). In terms of current sociocultural theory, the *artes* tradition can be framed in terms of an “artifact” (< *ars* + *factum*, from the verb “to do”) that evokes the goal-directed activity of using tools to mediate between human cognition and the social and physical environment (see Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Framed in post-structuralist terms, the figure of “the art of governing” would be taken up later in modern practices of governmentality attached to techniques of normalization and technologies of power (Foucault, 2004).

6. In contrast to Western educational practices focused on the performance of Christianity, Pablo Tac's account also offers an interesting view into traditional indigenous education. He describes how the Elders taught young boys over 10 years of age to “learn perfectly” the traditional dance and songs that were central to performing indigenous cultural practices (Tagliavini, 1930, p. 645-46).

7. Sandos (2004, p. 152) calls attention to the “unintended results” of the missionaries' “intended consequences” of conversion: “The small group of Indians who sang in the mission choirs and played instruments gained enormously from the missions. They learned the language of the colonizers better than other Indians did, which helped them learn tasks for which there was better compensation than for tending herds, sowing fields, clearing, planting and picking the fruit from orchards, making adobes, or constructing buildings. They learned skills that could be sold to settlers in addition to the money they made playing secular music at settlers' fiestas. These Indians became a significant, albeit legally inferior, part of frontier Spanish society.” (2004, p. 152)

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