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Mendocino: race relations in a northern California county, 1850-1949.

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MENDOCINO:

RACE RELATIONS IN A

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COUNTY, 1850-1949

A Dissertation Presented

By

LINDA PACINI PITELKA

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Vince and Morgan Pitelka accompanied me on a voyage that transformed our family. We changed our lives together, and I could not have completed this journey without their company and their support. This dissertation is dedicated to them with my love.

ABSTRACT

MENDOCINO: RACE RELATIONS IN A
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COUNTY, 1850-1949

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Beginning in the 1850s, California became a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society where many cultures met and engaged in a struggle for wealth and cultural dominance. This study documents such an encounter between two of those groups, Anglo Americans and Indians, in the Northern California county of Mendocino. It argues that race was the most crucial element underlying the development of the society in Mendocino County from the frontier era to the Great Depression.

Anglo American settlers brought with them to California clearly defined ideas about race that helped them justify conquest of the Indians. Greed for land combined with the racial ideology of the era to create a frontier society where race largely determined the control of land, resources, and power. Indians and other people Anglos defined as nonwhite became a cheap workforce with

limited access to the promise of California. Geographically isolated rural counties like Mendocino tended to be narrow and provincial. In such regions race was an even more potent force than in more cosmopolitan parts of the state.

In spite of racial divisions, some white reformers and employees of the federal government worked on behalf of the Indians. Although well meaning, they often acted as agents of assimilation policies that undermined and disrupted native cultures. At times, however, some of them became agents of change, helping the Indians find ways to resist and survive attacks on them. And against all odds, Indian people did find ways to survive, most often from their own efforts, not those of reformers. Using complex strategies of accommodation and resistance, they adapted to a changed world by drawing on traditions of community and spirituality inherent in California Indian village life. New leaders emerged and in concert with white reformers, some Indians began to actively organize, first around issues of education and land, and later for an end to segregation and the right to vote. But in spite of many gains, racial divisions on the local level remained strong, indicating that in a region with such a history, reform without attention to the importance of race is unlikely to create fundamental change.

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INTRODUCTION

The dilapidated houses at the Pinoleville Rancheria in Mendocino County, California seem to sink into the ground, leaning a bit off-center and surrounded by dry uncut grass. Once this rancheria was a place designed to keep its occupants, the Pomo Indians, separate from the all-white town of Ukiah. Now the town has grown to absorb it. Even so, signs of rural poverty are salient reminders of Pinoleville's history. Broken-down cars rust in the yards of unpainted shacks. The streets are unpaved and deserted, dusty and dry. The Indians seem to have disappeared. But in the middle of a field of dry grass sits a visible reminder of the Pomo Indians who once lived here. An old, rusty trailer looks as if it is disappearing into the earth. Written large on the trailer in red paint are the words: "The mouse's dreams would terrify the cat." The most visible reminder the Pomo Indians left in Pinoleville was their anger.

Although Pinoleville is no longer a Pomo rancheria, the Pomo Indians retain tribal relations and some of them live on land they own in common. Some have become political activists. Most recently the tribe has been active in the movement to unite colonized indigenous people from around the world. In March of 1994 a delegation of Pomo people traveled to Chiapas in Mexico to

express their solidarity with the Zapatistas in their recent struggles with the Mexican government over land. The issues that inspire the Pomo today are the same as they have been for a century: land and culture. But they have broadened the scope of their activism far beyond the Ukiah Valley.

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The meeting of cultures that took place in Mendocino county is reminiscent of many such meetings in California and the West. To this rural region rich with potential resources to be exploited came Anglo-American settlers from the eastern United States, people steeped in the ideology of nineteenth century capitalism. They found an indigenous people whose culture had been formed out of their close economic relationship to the land and its resources.

This was not simply a meeting of two cultures. California was a multi-cultural frontier where Anglo Americans, Native Americans of many different tribes, Hispanics, Asians, and European immigrants all came together in competition for land, wealth, and power. The adaptation of these groups to each other and to this land is a complex story. This dissertation follows only a few strands of it from the frontier era to the mid-twentieth century. At the heart of the story is a struggle for

cultural dominance, a conflict in which race largely determined the control of land and resources in one California county.

Mendocino County is diverse in landscape, population, and economic structures.[1] Its 2,246,400 square miles encompass mountainous areas used for sheep and cattle ranching, stands of redwood trees that provided the resources for a thriving lumber industry, and fertile valleys where farmers grew hops and other grains, and later planted wine grapes and fruit trees. In some ways these three regions inspired three distinct kinds of settlement. The coastal lumbering areas attracted lumbermen from New England and a work force from around the world. Southern Democrats with strong views about race relations dominated the mountainous ranching areas. The farmlands in the river valleys attracted a mix of all these groups, from Republican reformers, both women and men, to Chinese workers.

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[1]For articles on the potential and pitfalls of local history, see: Robert R. Dykstra and William Silag, "Doing Local History: Monographic Approaches to the Smaller Community," American Quarterly .....; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Community Studies, Urban History, and American Local History," in The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980): 270-291. See also Thomas Bender, Community and Social change in America (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978).

For many years, studies of the Western United States revolved around the famous frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, that claimed the very process of frontier settlement shaped American democracy while immigrants disappeared into the melting pot and emerged in a new, American mold. Turnerian concerns are inadequate for understanding this topic, since they do not take into account the ethnic and racial diversity of the West. However, some recent scholarship is more helpful. Patricia Nelson Limerick interprets the intersection of ethnic diversity and capitalism as the linchpin in explaining the West. Donald Worster argues that the control of resources is the key to power relations in the West, and that in many areas, only the government or big businesses had the needed capital to control them.[2] Sarah Deutsch bids historians of the West remember that

> the experiences of both majority and minority groups occurred in the context of multiracial or multicultural dynamics. Any larger historical narrative of the region must partake of an interactive mutifaceted model. It must allow the constant interaction and diversity within and between groups itself to become the story. By doing so, it builds a framework within which we can understand the continual tensions created

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[2]Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York: Norton, 1987) and Donald Worster, Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West (New York: Pantheon, 1985).

> by forces that simultaneously erode boundaries and re-create them.[3]

For these scholars the American West was, in essence, a place where many cultures met while engaged in the search for wealth. Such new interpretations call for more research into the complex relations between the races, classes, and cultures that inhabited the American West.

Although the American-born settlers quickly became the dominant group in California, they were divided by regional and class interests. But in spite of these divisions, they were loosely and informally united in their goals and values. For the most part, they viewed both Indian and foreign cultural values as threats to their own ideas about capitalism, democracy, and above all, progress. They saw other cultures in California through stereotypes of their own making, and promoted these stereotypes through institutions that they formed and dominated: churches, schools, governments, social organizations, and reform groups.

Too often, historians have studied the cultures that met in the West in isolation. They have interpreted

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[3]Sarah Deutsch quoted in Howard R. Lamar, "Westering in the Twenty-First Century: Speculations on the Future of the Western Past," in William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992) p. 267.

American Indians either as passive victims of oppression or as savages. But the story of Native Americans has much in common with that of race relations in the southeastern United States, and with colonization in other parts of the world. Native people in California experienced racial violence, forced servitude, and economic domination by a conquering people. Yet they were agents in their own survival, utilizing complex strategies of accommodation and resistance.

Anglo-American conquest was very hard on native people, who died in large numbers. It is not enough to document that and ignore the fact that they did survive. They did so by a complex process of adaptation, passive resistance, and adherence to cultural values that still served them under these new circumstances.[4] Ethnic minorities adapted as well, learning to revise their cultural values to new circumstances and to make use of Anglo-American values in the process. Adaptation was not entirely one-way; cultural interaction shaped the lives of all the people of California. Thus, the study of cultural interaction and adaptation should provide a more accurate understanding of the development of the multi-

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[4]Albert L. Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

cultural West and of the social forces still at work there.

Chapter One centers on the early conquest and domination of the native peoples of the county by Anglo-American men. In the 1850s Anglo-Americans and Indians fashioned their relations primarily out of local concerns. Indian policy in California suffered from lack of coordination and purpose by the government as well as from local racism and sabotage. The actual implementation of policy on the local level had its basis in the idea that the Indians stood as obstacles before the inevitable triumph of progress and civilization. This assumption came to dominate what little debate took place.

The settlers either killed the Indians, indentured them to work on their ranches, or herded them onto reservations. Indian women and children were in danger of being captured and sold as servants. The frontier settlement period was characterized by a high level of violence and an almost frantic pursuit of property and profit inspired by Gold Rush dreams of quick and easy wealth. The ultimate success of Anglo-Americans in dominating both resources and culture set the tone for future relations with other ethnic groups such as the Chinese and European immigrants, and would shape race and ethnic relations well into the twentieth century.

Despite its speed and ruthlessness, the conquest of California was hardly smooth or unified. The victors were never one harmonious group. The second chapter looks at the Anglo-Americans that arrived in Mendocino County in the mid-nineteenth century. They came from separate regions with different backgrounds, interests, and goals. They brought divisions with them in the form of religious values, class distinctions, and sectional conflicts that profoundly shaped their ideas about race and ethnic difference. Other conflicts arose from the nature of California life, especially the division of land and resources.

Ultimately, Anglo settlers constructed communities that provided arenas for conflicts over race, class, and land allocation. In Mendocino County, the result was a narrow, provincial society, cut off from outside influences, that concentrated both land ownership and wealth in relatively few hands at least until the end of the nineteenth century, and created elites that would profoundly influence race and ethnic relations for decades to come. This chapter argues that the original division of land and resources helped to shape the parameters of power in Mendocino county for the remainder of the nineteenth century, and set up a social structure that would endure for much longer.

Chapter Three moves back from events on the frontier to focus on the way Anglo-American migrants to California used the racial doctrines of their time to justify and order their conquest of the California Indians. They adapted and expanded these ideas to control subsequent groups that were "different" and threatening to Anglo-American domination of California's wealth -- European and Asian immigrants. Racial hierarchies served the interests of the dominant group in California, providing them with a rationale for their exclusive control of land, resources, and power. This chapter focuses on the ways Anglos applied racialist theories to the Indians of California. It also looks at how definitions of race affected Italians and Chinese immigrants in Mendocino County.

From the beginning Anglo-Americans stressed their belief that the California Indians constituted a doomed race. Many whites believed the Indians would die out in the next generation. Yet the California Indians survived. By examining the case of the Pomo Indians of Mendocino County, Chapter Four argues that the Indians survived not by adopting Anglo customs, but by adapting traditions of community and spirituality to their new circumstances. Part of their survival involved a new pan-Indianism, the ability to conceive of themselves as connected to other Indian people beyond their own group. This step was

crucial for the entry of the Pomo and other Indians into political activities in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Chapter Five analyzes the activities of Anglo-American reformers, the "friends of the Indians," through the schools, churches and reform groups in Mendocino County. The chapter also shows the response by Indian people to this activity, from resistance to co-operation, to the creation of all-Indian reform groups to work on their own behalf.

Much of the new political activity came to an abrupt end with the onset of the Great Depression. Chapter Six examines the impact of the economic crisis on race relations in two Mendocino County towns. White people intensified racial boundary lines in the face of job shortages and competition for federal money. Some took a defensive position as they realized that their power was eroding because of the economy, the increased influence of the federal government in local affairs, and the incursion of mass culture into their formerly isolated lives. Such defensiveness exacerbated racial divisions. Yet not all white people responded this way. Local reformers, mostly women, continued to work for and with the Indians to relieve their poverty. And the Indians continued to speak up on their own behalf.

A comprehensive social history of California has yet to be written. This study takes only a small step toward an understanding of the role of race and ethnicity in local affairs in the American West. Many more local studies are needed to explore race and ethnic contact in other regions of California and the West. Such studies must focus on the crucial connections between the frontier era and the twentieth century. They must take into account not only the significance of race in the West, but delve into the complex topic of racial and ethnic mixing. Another theme that deserves more attention is the influence of gender on power relations within each ethnic group and in the larger social structure of the West. Such studies would put race and ethnicity where they belong: at the very center of the history of the American West.

CHAPTER 1

THE CONQUEST OF MENDOCINO COUNTY, 1850-1880

> This is the period of excitement, of trial, and of rapid transformation. Everything that has since happened in California, or that will ever happen there, so long as men dwell in the land, must be deeply affected by the forces of local life and society that then took their origin.[1]

When Anglo-Americans took control of California in the Bear Flag Revolt in 1846, their immediate goal centered on establishing the dominion of the United States over California as soon as possible.[2] To accomplish this,

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[1]Josiah Royce, California, From the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character, (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Press, 1970).

[2]In the context of Manifest Destiny and the imminent war with Mexico, Secretary of State Buchanan sent a courier to California in 1845 with a message for Thomas Larkin, confidential agent at Monterey. The message instructed Larkin to let Americans in California know that if California would free herself from Mexico, she would be welcomed into the United States. Buchanan hoped to provoke a peaceful takeover of California. The message was delivered also to Army Captain John C. Fremont, son-in-law of the influencial senator from Missouri, Thomas Hart Benton. Fremont, in charge of an exploring party of 65 men, had just been ordered by Mexican authorities suspicious of his motives to leave the state. Fremont interpreted the message extremely liberally, rounded up some other Americans and seized the town of Sonoma, proclaiming an independent "Bear Flag Republic" in June of 1846 (news of the start of the Mexican War had not yet reached California) and effectively claiming California for the United States, but thwarting hopes for a peaceful acquisition of the state. Frederick Merk, History of the Westward Movement (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), pp. 357-8. See also Josiah Royce's interpretation of these events in California (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine

they set out to secure control of land and valuable natural resources in the region previously controlled either by the Spanish or by a variety of Indian tribes. This chapter will elaborate one aspect of that struggle, the conquest of the Indians of Mendocino County, California by Anglo-Americans between 1850 and 1880. The events portrayed here reveal more about the invaders than about the Indians, whose tale of survival and adaptation will be the subject of later chapters. Anglo-Americans saw the Indians as obstacles to the achievement of economic and cultural hegemony in California. The ultimate success of Anglo-Americans in accomplishing dominance of both resources and culture set the tone for future relations with other ethnic groups like the Chinese and European immigrants, and would determine race and ethnic relations well into the twentieth century. Here in the frontier era lie the origins of the conflicts between races, classes, and cultures that shaped the later history of California. The invasion of California by Anglo-Americans cannot be interpreted simply as a continuation of the old story of the westward movement. California was unique in several ways. Because of the Gold Rush, white settlement in California became

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Press, 1970).

concentrated into a very short period, intensifying and heightening the process into a frenzy of acquisitive activity, a kind of mass-hysteria. In 1848, the non-Indian population of California numbered less than 15,000. By 1852, it had increased to 223,856. This new population was predominantly male with women comprising only one-twelfth the total population. Although the newcomers came from a variety of backgrounds and had diverse goals, it is clear that most emigrants initially intended to plunder California's treasure and return home. Settlers in search of gold had very high expectations for attaining wealth, and they attacked perceived obstacles with a vengeance, including the California Indians. Their disappointment and desperation knew no bounds when, as usually happened, they failed to strike it rich.[3]

But, as James Carson observed in 1852, "if a man comes to California and stays two years, he will never

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[3]Douglas Dale Martin, "Indian-White Relations on the Pacific Slope," (Ph.D., University of Washington, 1969), p. 55; Walton Bean, California: An Interpretive History (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), pp. 122-123. Some important studies showing the impact of the Gold Rush on California include: Josiah Royce, California (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Press, 1970); Carey McWilliams, California: The Great Exception (New York: Current Books, Inc., 1949); Ralph Mann, After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849-1870 (Stanford, 1982); Kevin Starr, Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

want to leave it."[4] In spite of disappointment in the gold fields, many forty-niners soon discovered other reasons to make their homes in California and began to look for land. The California Indians were in their way.

In California, Anglo-Americans had reached the limits of the continent. No longer could settlers count on relocating the Indians to the west, although some expressed a wish to remove them east to the deserts. However, most realized, as the Alta California pointed out in 1851, that unlike the eastern states, California had left "but one alternative in relation to these remnants of once numerous and powerful tribes, viz: extermination or domestication."[5] Although they might dislike the implications, Anglo-Californians had to face the fact that unless they chose the alternative of extermination, the Indians would become an integral part of California society. Anglos who could not accept the idea of extermination continued to search for ways to avoid allowing Indians and other outsiders access to full participation in California life.

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[4]Quoted in Kevin Starr, Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915, p. 64.

[5]San Francisco Alta California Jan. 14, 1851.

In Mendocino County Indian culture began to be disrupted in the mid-nineteenth century. It would be difficult to imagine a people more different from the Indians than the Anglo-Americans who conquered California. In spite of many dissimilarities, almost all Americans shared basic assumptions about the use of resources, politics, and the sanctity of private property. From the earliest contact between the Anglo-Americans and the Native Americans of California cultural differences allowed for even less understanding and communication than had been the case in earlier White/Indian confrontations. Anglo-Americans found the Indians of California to be even more different from Anglo culture than other Indian groups. Economically, the California Indians existed in close interdependence with nature in a naturally abundant environment. Anglo-Americans, on the other hand, understood natural resources as commodities to be bought and sold for profit. Socially, the Indians lived in small, independent villages with few class distinctions, and few loyalties beyond family and village. They practiced highly structured systems of etiquette and behavior so as to avoid dangerous conflicts in personal relationships. Since they had some success in this, their relations with other Indians were remarkably peaceful. The Anglo-Americans brought with them nineteenth century

ideas about manifest destiny, capitalist expansion and racial hierarchies. They had ethnocentric views about the value of cultural diversity, especially concerning religion and materialism. In addition, they interpreted democracy essentially as the freedom for all men to pursue profit. When these two cultures met, there was little room for understanding.[6]

But in spite of their many commonalities, Anglo-Americans in California soon became divided over the conduct of Indian affairs, and the Indians were caught between white conflicts. Policy depended more on white than on Indian needs, but white needs were often contradictory. Local whites living in frontier areas near the new reservations wanted to exterminate or remove the Indians to acquire more land for themselves. White

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[6]For information about the ideology of 19th century Americans see: Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); Richard Drinnon, Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building (1980); Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence (1973); Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (Yale University Press, 1967); Ronald T. Takaki, Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth Century America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979). For summaries of California Indian culture see: Robert F. Heizer and Albert B. Elsasser, The Natural World of the California Indians (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Lowell John Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn, Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective (Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1976); Robert F. Heizer, ed., California. Handbook of North American Indians edited by William C. Sturtevant, vol. 8 (Washington, D.C., 1978).

ranchers with a need for cheap labor looked to the Indians as a potentially usable work force. White laborers feared that the Indians would drive wages down and wanted to avoid the competition by removing them to reservations. White missionaries took on the goal of converting the Indians to Christianity. The U.S. government developed conflicting policies of education and assimilation. The Indian Service always funds and suffered from poor organization, and its distance from California further hampered efficient performance. In the 1850s it took as much as three or four months to send a communication to Washington, D.C. and receive a reply. Although some government officials tried to protect the Indians, inconsistent policie and funding, along with incompetent or corrupt agents in the field, made success impossible. And too often, the state government, pressured by local interests, worked at cross purposes with federal authorities.[7] Conflicts among whites resulted in vague and inconsistent policy, resulting in much local level violence justified by racist ideology.

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[7]Douglas Dale Martin, "Indian-White Relations on the Pacific Slope, 1850-1890," (Ph.D. University of Washington, 1969), p. 48-49. For information on federal Indian policy see: Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

The Native People

Because they lived in an area well to the north of the Spanish mission settlements, the native peoples of what is now Mendocino county (Central and Northern Pomo, Yuki) had little contact with whites of either Spanish or American descent, until the 1840s. But they had surely heard about them from the Pomo bands living farther to the south and east, with whom they had trade contact. These early rumors could not have been positive, since the Spanish often sent expeditions into the northern regions of California to capture Indians to serve as servants and rancho laborers. For example, in 1843, Mariano and Salvador Vallejo led such an expedition from Sonoma to Clear Lake (to the east of Mendocino) where they killed many Indians and captured between one hundred and three hundred of them.[8]

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[8]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, 1579-1978, (Ukiah, California: Mendocino County Historical Society, 1980), p. 4. See also the descriptions of Mexican raids into the interior of California in S.F. Cook, "The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization:III, Ibero-Americana: 23 (1943). Lyman Palmer, History of Mendocino County, California (San Francisco: Alley, Bower & Co., 1880, reprint edition with addenda, Fort Bragg: Mendocino County Historical Society, 1967), p. 70 quotes Dr. Vallejo, son of General Vallejo as writing that in 1835, Vallejo's troops came up to the Ukiah valley to get Indians to work, and that later slave expeditions entered the area.

Whites settled permanently in Mendocino county in 1844, when Fernando Feliz settled on a Mexican land grant located near the present town of Hopland. A year later, Vincente Juarez settled on a land grant covering 33,000 acres of Yokaia Pomo land that came to be called the Yokayo Rancho. The local Indians worked on these ranches as laborers sometimes willingly, but often by force. Mexicans would simply lasso a passing Indian and take him to the rancho. When they needed more workers, the Vaqueros would surround a rancheria (native village), kill those Indians who resisted, and then select the needed workers from the survivors.[9] Anglo ranchers would later continue using Indians as a captive agricultural labor force.

Indians and Anglo Law

For Anglo-Americans to establish claims to the best land, they had to resolve the legal position of the California Indians as soon as possible. American control in California had begun officially with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which gave the California Indians several legal protections. It stated that the Indians should become citizens of the United States "as soon as possible," and "in the meantime, they shall be

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[9]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, 1579-1978, p. 4.

maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, their property and the civil rights now vested in them according to Mexican law."[10] Many Indians had rights under Mexican law to property in mission lands deeded to them after secularization of the missions in 1834, and to private land grants.

However, most Americans in California were loathe to extend legal protections to the Indians or to allow them to retain control of valuable land. Accordingly, the California Constitution of 1849 explicitly denied citizenship to Indians, and the Private Land Grant Act of 1851 established a commission for verifying titles to Spanish and Mexican land grants. The duty of the commission included setting aside for Indian use all lands occupied by them and to investigate and confirm their legal title. The burden of proof, however, remained on the Indians themselves. The commission gave the Indians two years in which to file claims to prove their continued occupancy of a grant. However, the commission did not provide for informing the Indians of these laws.[11]

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[10]Quoted in Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 6

[11]Paul W. Gates, "The California Land Act of 1851," (California Historical Society Quarterly) 50 (December 1971) pp. 395-430. See also Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 6.

In 1851, the United States government passed an act providing funds for Indian Commissioners to make treaties with the California Indians and to establish reservations that would not be near white settlements or the mines. In August of 1851, the Commissioners sent government agent Redick McKee to Northern California. In central Mendocino county, he sent out messengers to order the chiefs in the area to attend a meeting for negotiation of a treaty. The Yokaia (Ukiah valley) chief, and the chiefs from other Pomo villages, attended the meeting. McKee brought gifts for the Indians including blankets, beads, axes, and saws. The terms of the treaty had to be translated first into Spanish and then into the several different dialects of the Indians present.[12]

The treaty provided for the Indians to give up their land, and to move to a reservation to be established at Clear Lake. The United States government would then provide them with food, clothing, tools, and medical care. After a huge feast and more gifts, all the chiefs but one signed the treaty with an "X." The representative of the United States government also signed the treaty. It is

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[12]Robert F. Heizer, ed., George Gibbs' Journal of Redick McKee's Expedition Through Northwestern California in 1851 (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, 1972), pp. 8-14; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 8.

doubtful that the Indians were aware they were ceding their land. In fact, McKee made no attempt to learn from the individual Indians signing the treaty which land they owned. He assumed these chiefs to have the authority to sign away their tribal land forever.[13]

Although the Indians continued to believe in the validity of this treaty, the California delegation in Congress lobbied hard, and Congress rejected this treaty and seventeen others like it. These treaties would have set aside six to seven percent of the land in California for the Indians, an intolerably large amount in the opinion of local white critics. Senator John B. Weller of California explained that he voted against the treaties because he knew Californians would never allow the Indians the undisturbed possession of so much land, some of which was in the mining areas. He wrote, "now after the Indians have complied with them - after they have done everything in their power to execute them [the treaties] in good

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[13]Robert F. Heizer, "Treaties" in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978), p. 703. For information on the commissioners and treaties, see United States Senate, Senate Executive Document, no. 4, 33rd Congress, Special Session, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, communicating in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, a copy of the correspondence between the Department of the Interior and the Indian Agents and Commissioners in California, Government Printing Office, 1853.

faith, by coming down out of their old homes and occupying the reservations, I only ask that an appropriation of $100,000 should be made for their temporary relief."[14] Without the ratification of these treaties, Indians had no rights to land at all, and most had no choice but to become dependent on the good-will of local whites or on the policies of the government.

An Indian Labor Force

Anglo settlers adopted the Spanish tradition of using Indians for cheap labor in the establishment of their ranches and businesses, and Indian labor in agriculture and domestic service made an important contribution to the success of many enterprises. Some settlers ruthlessly exploited their Indian workers, subjecting them to forced labor, and in many areas they remained in a state of peonage comparable to those existing on the Mexican ranchos. Many Anglo-Americans wished to make sure that

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[14]Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, The Other Californians (University of California Press, 1971), pp. 77-78. See also Robert F. Heizer, "Treaties," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978). See also Douglas Dale Martin, "Indian-White Relations on the Pacific Slope," pp. 60-61.

they could continue their easy access to very cheap labor.[15]

It was in the context of Indian peonage that Mendocino and Lake County Indians first encountered the Anglos. In 1847, Andrew Kelsey and Benjamin Stone purchased a herd of cattle and the right to pasture them at Clear Lake (east of the Ukiah valley). Stone and Kelsey employed Lake Pomo Indians as ranch workers, and imposed cruel discipline on them. The ranchers took the wife of one Indian, Augustin, for their own use, whipped the Indians for sport, and fed them poorly. They used 50 Indians as packers to carry supplies to the gold fields in the Sierras, and after selling the supplies, returned without the Indians. In 1849 they decided to get rid of the Indians they did not need to work on the ranch by sending them to Sutter's Fort, hundreds of miles from their homes, as workers. In retaliation, the Indian woman earlier taken from her husband poured water down the barrels of their guns, rendering them useless. The Indians then killed Kelsey and Stone.[16]

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[15]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), pp. 82-83.

[16]Albert L. Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier (Yale University Press, 1988) pp. 104-106; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 7. Augustin's account is in Lyman Palmer,

To avenge the deaths of Kelsey and Stone, the U.S. Army attacked the Clear Lake Pomo in 1850, killing sixty to one hundred people who had taken refuge on an island in the lake, in the Bloody Island Massacre. The next day the soldiers followed some Indians into the Ukiah Valley and attacked the Indians there. The soldiers returned to Sonoma with no recorded casualties.[17] Though many army officers understood the reasons for Indian attacks on whites and often tried to protect the Indians from settlers, they invariably punished white deaths by killing hundreds of times the number of Indians.

Some of the earliest state legislation (including the state constitution) illustrates the developing attitudes about the potential place of Indians in California life. Indeed, the choice was still "domestication or extermination." Indians could be agricultural workers; if they did not take such jobs, they could be forced into servitude. If they fought back, they would be killed. "An Act for the Government and Protection of the Indians,"

History of Napa and Lake Counties, California (San Francisco: Slocum, Bowen, 1881), pp. 49-62. See also the account of Cha-balla in Helen Carpenter, Unpublished Manuscript, pp. 148-150, Helen Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, CA, hereafter cited as Helen Carpenter, Unpublished Manuscript.

[17]Alfred Parsell, "The Kelsey Stone Massacre," (Project Report, New York University, 1940), p. 10.

passed in 1850 prohibited whites from compelling Indians to work against their will, yet held Indians to arrest "on the complaint of any resident" if they could not support themselves or were found loitering or "strolling about" or leading an "immoral or profligate course of life." This meant that Indian workers might be purchased from county officers at public auction, since the law allowed officials to hire out Indians deemed vagrant for the highest price for a term not to exceed four months.[18]

In addition, the law of 1850 provided that Indians guilty of any offense warranting a fine could be bailed out by white persons willing to the pay the fine. This would obligate the Indian to work without pay for his benefactor. In essence, the law made Indian criminals available to whites as unpaid labor. Although the law specifically stated that whites must treat "their" Indians humanely, it also hindered enforcement with a clause that specified: "in no case shall a white man be convicted of any offense upon the testimony of an Indian."[19]

A third important provision of the 1850 law established a system of apprenticeship for Indian

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[18]Quoted in James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), p. 86.

[19]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 87.

children, under which a white citizen could appear before a justice of the peace and, if they convinced the justice that they had used no compulsory means, he would issue a certificate authorizing "the care, custody, control, and earnings of such minor, until he or she obtain the age of majority." The only responsibility required from the white was to feed, clothe, and treat apprenticed children humanely.[20]

Even the 1850 law did not go far enough for many Californians, who continued to call for more easily obtained apprentices with longer terms of service. After the state government formed a legislative committee in 1860 to investigate Indian affairs in Northern California, the minority report, written by state senator J.B. Lamar of Mendocino County, recommended "a general system of peonage or apprenticeship, for the proper disposition and distribution of the Indians by families among responsible citizens." In 1860 a revision of the law permitted any person wishing to procure Indian children to appear before a judge to prove that they had obtained the children with the consent of parents or "persons having the care or

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[20]S.F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: The American Invasion, 1848-1870 Ibero-Americana, No. 23, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943); James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 87.

charge of any such child or children." In practice, Indian children could be acquired from third parties and without parental consent. The new law also provided for the indenture of Indians with no settled home or means of livelihood or prisoners of war. It also lengthened the term of indenture.[21]

Especially in Northern California where Indian problems were most intense, settlers interpreted this law as allowing a system of involuntary servitude. A white person could acquire apprentices easily as long as he could convince a judge to sign the papers. Because of the law, whites felt justified in taking extreme measures to control Indians they saw as their property. In Ukiah, Bob Hildreth claimed in 1865 to have purchased one Indian from his owner, Jarboe. However, Jarboe's wife had set his Indians free after his death. Nevertheless, when the Indian protested that he now worked for another man,

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[21]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 91. Indian men fourteen and under could be held until age twenty-five; those obtained between fourteen and twenty could be held until they were thirty. Indian women could be held until they were twenty-one and twenty-five years old. Terms of service for adult Indians were limited to ten years at the discretion of the judge.

Hildreth tied him to his horse and dragged him to death.[22]

The abduction and sale of Indians, especially young women and children, became a lucrative business in California from 1852 to about 1867. Most of the Indians seized came from Mendocino and other remote northern counties, but their captors sold them all over the state.[23] Word about the kidnapping of women and children spread quickly and the Indians feared the forced breakups of their families by the whites. As early as June of 1856 when Indian Agent Storms came into Round Valley in Northern Mendocino County to explore the site for a possible reservation, he found the Indians much afraid of whites because white men had already taken away several women and children.[24] George M. Hanson, Superintending Agent of Indian Affairs for Northern California wrote in his November, 1861 report that "in the frontier portions of Humboldt and Mendocino counties a band of desperate men

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[22]S.F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: The American Invasion, 1848-1870 Ibero-Americana, No. 23, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), pp. 55-56.

[23]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, pp. 94-97. See also Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard, Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars in Northern California, p. 40.

[24]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 40.

have carried on a system of kidnapping for two years past: Indian children were seized and carried into the lower counties and sold into virtual slavery." Hanson reported that the Indians retaliated by killing cattle belonging to the whites responsible. As a result, "a company of United States troops, attended by a considerable volunteer force, has been pursuing the poor creatures . . . The kidnappers follow at the heels of the soldiers to seize the children when their parents are murdered and sell them to the best advantage."[25]

Hanson's report of December, 1861 attests to the difficulty of stopping the practice of kidnapping under current laws, which held invalid any testimony given by an Indian against a white person. In addition, local juries were loath to convict white men on such charges even when based on white testimony. Settlers in the remote northern parts of Mendocino county such as Long Valley became particularly involved in the seizing and selling of children. According to Lieutenant Edward Dillon, commander of the nearest military detachment at Fort Bragg, kidnappers took as many as forty or fifty Indian children through Long Valley in April and May of 1861.

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[25]U.S., Senate, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861 (37th Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 1, vol. 1, Nov. 27, 1861, serial set no. 1117), p. 759.

When authorities arrested one resident of Long Valley, G.H. Woodman, for kidnapping thirteen children in 1861, the local jury in Ukiah, Mendocino County acquitted him.[26]

Like others accused of kidnapping Indians, Woodman complained that he was only seeking compensation for the stock he had lost to Indians during the previous year.[27] Lieutenant Dillon proposed a more sinister purpose to the stealing of children from the Indians. He believed that the kidnappers specifically intended to provoke the Indians to violence, thus providing a justification for

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[26]S.F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: The American Invasion, 1848-1870 Ibero-Americana, No. 23, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), p. 60. See also Helen Carpenter, unpublished manuscript, p. 154, Helen Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage Library, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California. According to Carpenter, Woodman was caught in Ukiah taking sixteen Indian children south. He could not be charged with kidnapping because he had not yet crossed the county line. The sheriff put the children in the jail for safekeeping, and later the district attorney of found "guardians" for the orphan children. The guardians paid the county between $50 and $100 per child.

[27]Estle Beard Papers, p. 2, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah. Helen Carpenter kept track of the children sold by Woodman in Ukiah; some were not treated well. In the worst case, a Mrs. Bassett locked her apprentice, Rosa, outside all night in a rainstorm because she was "offensively" ill. The child died. Carpenter reported that Woodman later gave up kidnapping for horse stealing; he spent some time in San Quentin and later returned to engage in "every shady transaction." Helen Carpenter, unpublished manuscript, p. 157.

their extermination, and allowing white settlement of their land. He wrote, "this brutal trade is calculated to produce retaliatory depredations of the part of the Indians and exasperate them to a high degree in order then to exterminate them."[28]

Some Mendocino county citizens defended the practice of taking Indian children on grounds of cultural superiority, arguing either that the tribe had consented, or that the children were better off in white homes. But the most important justifications were more practical. Apprenticeship opened land to white settlement and provided the inexpensive labor to develop that land. As one newspaper put it: "their removal has been beneficial to the community, since if they had remained they must have starved, unless the Indians had killed stock for them to live upon . . . The more [Indians] that can find homes in the lower valleys, the less stock the Indians will destroy to feed their children."[29] From another point of view, the editor of the Humboldt Times wrote: "What a pity the provisions of the law are not extended to greasers, Kanakas, and Asiatics. It would be so convenient . . . to carry on a farm or mine when all the

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[28]Quoted in James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 101.

[29]San Francisco Evening Bulletin March 27, 1861, p. 5.

hard and dirty work is permitted to be done by apprentices." In the opinion of most white settlers, the more Indians that could be removed from Mendocino County, the better, unless they became apprentices to local ranchers.[30]

The attitudes of local residents about Indians impeded the attempts of federal representatives to stop the practice of kidnapping, and local law enforcement made little attempt to help them. Hanson reported apprehending three kidnappers holding nine children from three to ten years of age, taken from Humboldt county. The sheriff released one prisoner after the other two swore he had not participated in taking the children. He in turn testified that "it was an act of charity on the part of the two to hunt up the children and then provide homes for them, because their parents had been killed, and the children would have perished with hunger." When asked how he knew their parents had been killed, he answered, "I killed some of them myself." After several attempts to bring these defendants to trial they jumped bail and escaped. Recognizing that justice was not to be found in local courts, Hanson and other opponents of Indian slavery began

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[30]Humboldt Times February 23, 1861.

to work against the law authorizing Indian indenture as the best way to stop the kidnapping of Indians.[31]

Opponents of Indian slavery like Hanson interpreted the indenture law as simply another term for slavery in that involuntary servitude could be forced on an Indian with no provision to guarantee the promised "food, clothing, and protection." He wrote, "a law like this is subject to enormous and outrageous abuse, and may be made the means by which the most wicked oppression may be perpetrated."[32] The Sacramento Union opposed the laws as permitting "involuntary servitude" in a free state. As historian James Rawls has pointed out, it is particularly ironic that, given the context of the national debate over slavery, the very state whose admission to the union had precipitated a national crisis in 1850 and been admitted as a free state, now allowed the forced labor of Indians.[33]

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[31]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862, 37th Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, November 26, 1862, serial set no. 1157, p. 459. See also S.F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: III The American Invasion, pp. 59-60.

[32]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861 (37th Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 1, vol. 1, November 27, 1861, serial set no. 1117), pp. 641-642.

[33]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 94.

It is impossible to determine how many Indian children were kidnapped in Mendocino county and Northern California. Cook estimates the total number stolen at between three and four thousand. Others estimate a higher number.[34] Nevertheless, the evidence of newspaper and other contemporary accounts reveals that the practice was not at all unusual. For example, Helen Carpenter, a resident of the county, claimed that by 1863 all but three or four families in Ukiah had been supplied with Indian children.[35]

Even after the repeal of the state's apprenticeship laws, selling of Indian children and holding of adult Indians against their will continued. According to the Sacramento Union "the respectable communities of

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[34]S.F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: The American Invasion, 1848-1870 Ibero-Americana, No. 23, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), p. 61. Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, p. 109 estimates 4,000.

[35]Helen Carpenter, unpublished manuscript, p. 157-8. Helen McGowan Carpenter (1835-1917), a native of Ohio, came to Mendocino county in 1859 with her husband Aurelius Carpenter and became an influential member of the community. She was a teacher in the local schools, the first woman to sit on the county board of education, and she helped to establish Ukiah's first public library. A strong advocate of woman suffrage (her mother-in-law Clarina Howard Carpenter Nichols was a suffrage leader from Vermont), Carpenter also wrote children's books, published essays in Overland Monthly, and wrote about local history. Helen Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage House.

Mendocino, Humboldt, Del Norte and Klamath [contain] a class of pestilent whites whose business it is to kill Indian 'bucks' and squaws for the purpose solely of getting and selling their children." The article noted that children in Sacramento county brought a price of between $30 and $200 and were to be found "in every fourth white man's house" and were "frequently the brightest and cunningest little chaps you ever saw." But the article goes on to acknowledge that though they seem happy, "they never forget their kindred entirely, and sometimes run away into the woods again." Even while the Union condemned the practice, it took pains to attribute this propensity for escape to a kind of inherited moral degeneracy, as in the case of an "intelligent looking girl of fifteen" who escaped only to "be captured . . . with a band of wild depredators . . . in the arms of a half-naked 'buck' with whom [sic] she is enamoured."[36] As reflected in the Union article, whites generally believed that most Indian children would be content to remain with whites if not coaxed away by other Indians, and that after a lengthy period in service, their tastes and habits would change completely. While the author insisted on the happiness of the apprenticed Indian children, he never

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[36] Sacramento Union July 19, 1862, p. 2 (copy in Estle Beard notes).

acknowledged the contradictory evidence presented in his own examples. For instance, he recounted his amusement when one "little fellow" "cautiously" tried to find out "how many sleeps" it would require for him to get back to his home on the Klamath.[37] Helen Carpenter, a Ukiah opponent of the apprenticeship law, claimed that many young kidnapped children (called "quail" by the dealers) did not live long, soon falling ill with tuberculosis or other diseases.[38]

Census records reveal the extent to which many Mendocino county citizens depended on Indian apprentices and servants as an important source of cheap labor. Six miles north of Ukiah, Calpella township listed no less than three hundred twenty-nine Indians living on white ranches, out of a total population of 800. The census-taker listed two-hundred ninety-seven of these Indians as apprentices, and only thirty-two as servants. It is likely that ranchers inflated the numbers of apprentices they reported because having apprentices brought the ranchers increased status in the community. Also, apprentices could not leave at will and did not have to be paid beyond room and board. Since the apprenticeship papers for the county

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[37]Sacramento Union July 19, 1862, p. 2.

[38]Helen Carpenter, unpublished manuscript, Helen Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage House, p. 155.

did not survive, it is impossible to verify whether these were all legal indentures.[39]

Other township censuses listed most of the Indians as apprentices as well. Little Lake Township listed twenty-eight apprentices out of a total of thirty Indians. In Big River and Big Rock townships, all Indians counted were listed as apprentices. Big River counted one-hundred fourteen apprentices of a total population of six-hundred thirty-three, while Big Rock shows seventy-eight apprentices in a community of two-hundred people.

Population schedules show that it was common for white households to employ several Indian apprentices or servants who lived and worked in the family, sometimes along with other employees. In Calpella, the Barney household included Mr. Barney, his wife and three children, and four Indian servants, age fifteen, nineteen, twenty and an infant. The Bowers house consisted of George Bowers, five Indian apprentices, and seven Indian servants. Those counted as apprentices were children as young as two years old. The servants were older, ranging from age fifteen to thirty-five.[40]

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[39]1860 Federal Manuscript Census, Eighth Census, Mendocino County, California.

[40]1860 Federal Manuscript Census, Calpella Township, Mendocino County, California.

The largest numbers of Indians living in townships and counted as apprentices, however, were enumerated in large groups, and often appeared to be attached to a single white household. Ranchers would allow or invite Indians to live on the ranches in tribal groups. This provided the Indians with protection from attacks by other whites, and from removal to the reservations. In return, the ranchers would get a work force and household servants at little or no cost. Indians who lived on ranches often built their own traditional houses, and carried on their own ways of life as much as possible. For example, in Calpella, Mr. Elliott and his wife listed ninety-six apprentices. They included several children and a few middle-aged people, but most of them ranged in age from fifteen to thirty-five, their most productive years for physical labor. Most of the Indians resided in an informal Indian village they built Elliott ranch.[41]

It is unlikely that these large groups of Indians had been legally indentured, but that hardly matters. These Indians were bound in fact if not by law because they lived in constant fear of attack by other whites if they attempted to live independently. They also risked removal to the reservation, a fate they wished to avoid since it

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[41]1860 Manuscript Census, Calpella and Big Rock Townships, Mendocino County, California.

promised great hardship, and sometimes starvation. Often, living under the protection of a rancher may have seemed the best of a bad bargain.

At the same time as they might have gained a cheap labor force, some white ranchers proved to be good friends to the Indians. The case of the Ukiah Valley Pomo illustrates the kind of relations that developed only rarely between whites and Indians. The Pomo had wandered up and down the valley after the closing of the Mendocino Reservation, and traded their labor for permission to stay on a ranch, and then wandered again when no longer needed. Burke, a rancher who lived five miles south of Ukiah, married an Indian woman and invited her relatives to visit. More of their relatives and friends came, until eventually a rancheria (village) formed on the Burke ranch.[42]

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[42]Alfred P. Parsell, Jr., "Population and Environment of a Northern California Indian Community," (M.A. thesis, Syracuse University, 1941). I will take up this topic of the formation of Indian rancherias and the homelessness of the Ukiah Valley Pomo in a later chapter. The Ukiah Pomo were not in as much danger of attack by violent whites as other Indians because they lived in the more civilized valley, where the white militia and the soldiers did not often go. As long as they did not go into town, and did not bother anyone, they could travel from ranch to ranch looking for work. Although whites sometimes demanded their removal, they usually found a rancher to take them in.

Whether they were apprentices or servants, with friendly or exploitative ranchers, Indian labor, usually unpaid, was a great boon to those reaping the benefits of the conquest of the county. Indians cleared land, built barns and houses, planted crops, and tended animals. Reportedly, in the first years of contact, Indian men became experts at washing clothes for whites. They turned the washing of clothes over to women within a few years, perhaps in response to white reaction toward men doing this work. However, women continued to work at both domestic labor and field work, with few gender distinctions. Pomo women learned to rake hay and bind grain, skills perhaps reminiscent of traditional gathering and storing of food. Clearly, in an era when acquiring a large tract of land was possible even for those without much capital, the cheap work force the Indians provided played a crucial part in the early settlement of this part of Mendocino county.[43]

Opponents of the apprenticeship law attempted to repeal it in 1862 arguing that the law gave tacit approval to kidnapping and slavery of Indians, and that this had become one major cause of the escalating Indian wars on the California frontier. Mendocino county, where the

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[43]Helen Carpenter, Unpublished Manuscript, pp. 159-160.

majority voted Democrat, generally favored any measures allowing whites greater control over the Indians. Nevertheless, this view was not uniformly held. In frontier counties like Mendocino the debate over apprenticeship was closely connected to national debates over slavery and the role of African Americans in American society. Opponents of apprenticeship generally allied with the Republican position, and often came from northern states, but they were in the minority. Advocates of apprenticeship were often Democrats and tended to sympathize with the Confederate cause.[44]

Mendocino County State Senator William Holden, a Democrat, opposed repeal of the apprenticeship law because of the "great good" to be found in rearing Indian children in white homes. He declared himself "convinced the law embodied one of the most important measures for their improvement and civilization that had ever been adopted."[45] Leading the opposition to apprenticeship were Mendocino county leaders like Helen and A.O.

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[44]See, for example Helen Carpenter Unpublished Manuscript, Helen Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage Library. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 99 and James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, pp. 102-103.

[45]Sacramento Union May 5, 1862 quoted in James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, pp. 103-104.

Carpenter, publishers of the Republican newspaper in Ukiah. They argued that the apprenticeship law was intended to justify involuntary servitude and to subjugate the Indians. The opponents of apprenticeship succeeded in repealing the law in 1863 because they appealed to the consciences of people living far from Indian regions. Mendocino and other northern counties with large Indian populations strongly objected to the repeal.[46]

Yet the practice of Indian slavery did not end immediately. In 1866 a special investigator from the commissioner of Indian affairs found that even after adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States, Indian slavery was still "not uncommon" in California. Whites could purchase from "a degraded class of mountaineers known as squaw-men, children of tender years," to be used as workers. In the area around Healdsburg, Cloverdale, and Ukiah, he found several of these children, most under the age of fifteen. He wrote, "I believe that these involuntary wards are generally well treated, but they almost invariably die at an early age,

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[46]Helen Carpenter, Unpublished Manuscript, Helen Carpenter Papers.

or, if they attain maturity, they abscond to their native mountains."[47]

Besides the kidnapping of their children, whites provoked Indians to violence by molesting and even stealing Indian women, both on and off the reservation. Local newspapers usually attributed this conduct to "squaw men," unscrupulous whites who "invade by force, cajolery or deceit the marital privileges of the Diggers."[48] Because of the scarcity of white women in the remote areas, settlers would "willingly pay fifty or sixty dollars for a young Digger to cook and wait upon them, or a hundred dollars for a likely young girl."[49] Indian women had to fear sexual assault from white men and could not count on local law enforcement to protect them since a white man could not be convicted of a crime on the testimony of an Indian. In 1871, William Johnson took an

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[47]U.S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Report on Indian Affairs for 1867, p. 117 quoted in James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, pp. 104-5.

[48]"Trouble at Round Valley Reservation - The "Squaw Men," The Marysville Appeal, August 20, no date, copy in Beard Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

[49]Marysville Appeal, December 6, 1861 quoted in Robert F. Heizer, ed., They Were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations (Ramona, California: Ballena Press, 1974), p. 85.

Indian woman forcibly from the Round Valley reservation. After U.S. troops arrested him, the local jury acquitted him in spite of testimony by both Indians and white witnesses. Sometimes instead of force, men used promises to take Indian women away. George and Alonzo Done came to the reservation at night and "enticed away" two women and one man by promising them clothing, good living and for the women "a wife's interest in their ranches if they would live with them."[50]

But many Indian women fiercely resisted captivity. When white assailants attacked a Pomo community at Clear Lake, one man reported that the "squaw" he tried to catch fought him off "with all the strength of her insulted and outraged sympathy for her people," and the man said he was as glad to get away from her as "to escape with his life from the clutches of a she-bear."[51]

Although many people in Northern California did not openly condone the illegal kidnapping of Indian children

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[50]Hugh Gibson, Indian Agent to Col. B.C. Whiting, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, May 25, 1871 in Beard Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California. For another discussion of kidnapping of Indian women from the reservation see A.G. Tassin, "Chronicles of Camp Wright," Overland Monthly (August 1887), pp. 172-173.

[51]Albert L. Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 182.

and the molesting of Indian women, they hesitated to take action. In general, those living in settled towns, away from the scenes of White-Indian violence, believed themselves to be above such conduct, and attributed these acts to a "lower class" of whites. One newspaper reported the murder of an Indian man trying to protect a woman from assault by a white man. Since the law did not admit the woman's testimony in court, the murderer went free, only to be ambushed and killed by the Indians in retaliation. This elicited an extreme reaction from the white citizenry according to one newspaper: "The citizens are indignant, and parties scour the country, breathing vengeance on the murderers--forgetting that the retribution denied by the white men is sought by a savage retaliation . . . just let us imagine that a Digger has the same nice principles that a member of Congress has. Let us consider that they have the right to defend the chastity of wife or daughter."[52] But in spite of expressions of outrage at the violence used by white men living in frontier areas, citizens usually remained unwilling to stop it because of their widespread belief that such violence was inevitable in the process of "civilizing the west." This attitude combined with a sense of self-interest; most whites understood the

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[52]Sacramento Daily Union July 14, 1859 in Robert F. Heizer, ed., They Were Only Diggers, p. 75.

potential value to the white community of getting valuable land into the public domain and acquiring a docile work force at the same time.

Acquiring Indian Land

The acquisition and control of land in California was far more important to most settlers than the importance of a cheap labor force. Whites believed they had the right to land the Indians seemed not to be using, and quickly made provisions to remove Indians not "domesticated" as workers to reservations as soon as possible. The vast reservations proposed earlier by Rudick McKee contained land that, according to most Californians, was simply too valuable to set aside for Indians. In fact, there was strong support in the state for removing the Indians out of the state entirely. Finally, a legislative committee, after much discussion, came to realize that since settlement had reached the Pacific coast, solutions available to the eastern part of the country were no longer practicable. "There is no longer a wilderness to the west of us that can be assigned to them," said the report, which reluctantly acknowledged that the state must make some provision for the Indians.[53]

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[53]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 148.

The reservation system adopted by the federal Indian service and later followed in other parts of the country, created smaller reserves of government-owned land where Indians would be both protected and controlled by government agents. The government articulated this double purpose: "to assist the growing requirements of the steadily progressing colonization, by removing the Indians from those districts where the white settlements have already increased to such an extent to make the presence of the Aborigines a serious drawback and an increasing sense of annoyance; and to concentrate in other remoter districts, best suited to their wants, the straggling tribes, already greatly reduced in numbers, to make for them a new home, where the natural elements of their subsistence are sufficiently abundant to ensure to them, under moderate labor, a maintenance from the farming establishments formed for that purpose, and liberally aided on the part of the Government." These reservations were envisioned as self-supporting, in the manner of the Spanish Missions, and would teach the Indians gradually to become "civilized."[54]

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[54]"Reminiscences of Mendocino," Hutchings' California Magazine (Vol. III, October, 1858, No. 4), pp. 14-15. On the continuation of the Mission tradition, see James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 149.

Some whites in frontier areas like Mendocino County found themselves differing with this federal policy. They did not concern themselves with civilizing the Indians. Instead, most perceived the Indians as obstacles to development of the areas they were settling, and wanted to get rid of them. The reservations provided only one way to do this; the other alternative was to kill them. The most extreme view saw the reservations almost as penal institutions or concentration camps, intended to keep troublesome or dangerous savages from contact with the civilized community and from which escape should promise death.[55]

In frontier areas like Mendocino county, whites usually interpreted policy toward Indians according to their own needs. Ranchers who relied on Indian labor protested removal to the reservations, especially if their labor force disappeared at harvest time. The settlers most likely to take direct action against both the reservations and the Indians desired part of the valuable reservation land for themselves. For the next twenty-five years, this group waged a campaign of violence, sabotage, subversion, and political persuasion to gain for

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[55]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 161.

themselves the lion's share of reservation acreage in Mendocino County.[56]

Thomas J. Henley, the California Superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1854-1859, later became the local leader of those dedicated to undermining the Round Valley Reservation. In his capacity as superintendent, he formed two reservations in Mendocino county. The Mendocino Reserve, located on the coast near Fort Bragg, operated from 1855 to 1869, when it was abandoned and the land sold. Henley located another reservation, Nome Cult Indian Farm, in a beautiful valley of twenty-five thousand acres in the remote northern mountains, the traditional land of the Yuki Indians. It became the new home of several native tribes, sent there from all over Northern California. In 1857, Henley reported that Mendocino Reservation held 500 Indians, and Nome Cult Farm 3,000.[57]

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[56]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 161. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carrenco, Genocide and Vendetta.

[57]The reservation was later renamed Round Valley Reservation. For Henley's ideas about the reservation system, see: U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (34th Congress, 1st session, Senate Executive Document 1, vol. 1, Nov. 25, 1854, serial set no. 746), pp. 540-544. For the end of the Mendocino Reservation see: U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1866 (39th Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, vol. 1, Oct. 22, 1866, serial set no. 1284), pp. 96-97. See also James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 152.

As the number of settlers arriving in the northern counties from the gold fields grew dramatically, Indians found their access to their traditional hunting grounds and food gathering areas severely limited. Hungry and with no other way to get food, Indians stole livestock from whites. Rarely, Indians attacked whites, usually in retaliation for kidnapping or rape. Stock stealing and Indian violence led settlers to demand that the government remove all Indians from their area and take them to the reservations. As white settlers had done before, they justified this action by interpreting any resistance by the Indians as unprovoked savagery. In 1861, citizens of Napa and Mendocino counties submitted an affidavit to the governor testifying that in Long Valley "tribes of wild and hostile Indians are committing depredations of the most wanton and atrocious character upon the white people settled in said valley; that they have stolen and run off stock [and] that several citizens residing in said valley have become utterly impoverished in consequence." Characterizing the Indians as brutal fiends, settlers declared that these attacks were "unprovoked by any hostile or offensive conduct by whites, and from no other motives than those of willful rapine, pillage, and plunder, a rancorous hatred of the white settlers, and a

determination to exterminate or drive them from the settlements."[58]

Indians removed to the reservations could not feel much safer from attack than the so-called "wild" Indians. White men still stole women and children from the reservations and because of poor management, corruption, and lack of funds, reservation Indians faced starvation. In addition, white settlers in the immediate area of the Round Valley reservation in Mendocino County constantly attempted, often successfully, to encroach on reservation land, and actively tried to destroy the Indians' crops and homes. Accordingly, in the 1850s and 1860s this part of Northern California became the scene of a series of devastating "Indian wars." From the Indian point of view, the "wars" constituted resistance to continued devastation by whites, both on and off the reservation.[59] Federal representatives usually believed that white attacks against Indians had caused the "wars." The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported: "This so-called 'Indian war' appears to be a war in which the whites alone

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[58]50th Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 70, vol. 2, January 16, 1889, serial set no. 2611, pp. 24-25.

[59]For a collection of primary documents about the Mendocino Wars, see Joint Committee on the Mendocino War, Majority and Minority Reports, 1860.

are engaged. The Indians are hunted like wild and dangerous beasts of prey. Surely some plan may be devised whereby the Indians may cease to be the victims of such inhumanity."[60]

In spite of good intentions in Washington, dishonest and incompetent management of the reservations continued to add to the plight of California Indians. It would be difficult to find two more extreme examples of official greed and corruption than the reservations in Mendocino County, where Superintendent Thomas Henley repeatedly used the meager resources of the Indian service to subsidize the acquisition and improvement of his own ranch as well as ranches and businesses belonging to other settlers.[61] As Hutchings' California Magazine pointed out in 1858, "the Indian appointments are some of the richest morsels in the gift of the leading party, to reward political merit."[62]

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[60]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (37th Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 1, vol. 1, Nov. 27, 1861, serial set no. 1117) p. 641.

[61]See Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, Chapter IV. See also Garrett, "The Destruction of the Indian in Mendocino County, 1856-1860" (M.A. Sacramento State College, 1962).

[62]"Reminiscences of Mendocino," Hutchings' California Magazine (Vol. III, October 1858, No. 4), p. 15.

Special Agent J. Ross Browne investigated the federal reservation system in California after J. Canning Smith, a clerk at the Mendocino Reservation, brought charges against Henley for mismanagement of government funds. Browne and Special Agent G. Bailey reported in 1858 that whites had built a lumber mill and a store within the boundary lines of the Mendocino Reservation, on land that Colonel Henley had purchased for $963.00 out of the Indian fund the previous year. In addition, Browne discovered that Henley and his agents had used a large portion of the provisions and clothing bought for the reservation to supply employees of the mill. From twenty to twenty-five of the "best" Indians worked in the mill during the winter. The owner had promised them fifty cents per day plus provisions, but had never paid them. Accounts showed that the beef, flour and calico belonging to the reserve had, for the most part, been used by the white mill hands. This situation resulted in hunger for the many Indians who had no choice but to leave the reservation during the winter to avoid starvation. Only Indians working in the mill had received rations, and only for themselves, not for their families. Of course Henley's official reports do not reflect this predicament, but according to at least

one of Browne's informants, many Indians died of starvation at the Mendocino Reservation that winter.[63]

Existing records estimated the number of Indians removed to the Mendocino Reservation to be 3,450, of whom about 1,500 "were absent in the vicinity to gather berries." Browne could find only three to four hundred Indians in residence, and he reported that they suffered greatly from illness, weakness, and despair. About thirty Indians attended a meeting with the Superintendent, and complained of starvation and asked permission to leave for their former home, where they could avoid death by hunger. But Indians who left the reservation would be in great danger from the white settlers determined to rid the country of them.[64]

Henley denied all charges and in his annual report dated September 4, 1858, wrote that "Mendocino Reservation, though prospects in the spring were discouraging, has produced a good crop, and the fisheries are yielding well, and the prospects are there that

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[63]J. Ross Browne Report, San Francisco, California, April 19, 1858, in Beard Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

[64]Report of J. Ross Browne on the Mendocino Reservation, San Francisco, California, April 19, 1858 in Beard Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

reserve will yet justify the favorable expectation entertained in regard to it at the time of its location."[65]

Special Agent G. Bailey's report on the reservations concluded that the reservation system in California was failing in its main goal: to civilize the Indians at the lowest possibly cost. He argued that while a few of the Indians might be taught to wear white clothing, and to plow and plant seeds, they did not learn to use this knowledge on their own: "They learn the thing but not the reason of it, and therefore it makes no permanent impression and leads to nothing." Since the goal of civilizing was not being accomplished, he wrote, whites should admit that the reservations are nothing more than costly government almshouses. According to Bailey, in 1858 the Indian service expended $81,889.48 in California, yet many Indians starved and had no clothes. He estimated that simply to buy food for the Indians would cost one-fourth the present budget and accomplish more.[66]

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[65]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858 (35th Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 1, pt. 1, November 6, 1858, California Superintendency,, Office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, serial set no. 974), pp. 636-637.

[66]G. Bailey, Special Agent Interior Department, Report to Hon. Charles E. Mix, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 35th

Bailey failed to recognize that, while civilizing the Indians was a goal of the federal government, it was not the most urgent reason for the existence of the federal reservations in California. The most important intention was to remove the Indians from their land. A secondary purpose was to save the Indians from attacks by white settlers. But the reservations did not always protect the Indians from whites.

At Round Valley in 1858, Browne and Bailey found that whites who had settled within the boundaries of the reservation and nearby "were connected with the superintendency." Not only did the superintendent allow white friends and relatives to settle on reservation land, but he established a ranch of his own as well. As happened at the Mendocino Reserve, resources intended for the reservation ended up benefitting white settlers. For example, while two-hundred head of cattle purchased for the Indian Service to feed the Indians were missing, Superintendent Henley had a half-interest in a herd that kept constantly and inexplicably increasing in size.[67]

Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 1, pt. 1, November 6, 1858, serial set no. 974, p. 655.

[67]Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, microfilm roll 36:195, National Archives, Pacific-Sierra Branch, San Bruno, California. See also Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," p. 110 and Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and

Even the appointment of an honest superintendent after Henley's firing in 1859, did not solve the problems at Round Valley reservation. By this time the die had been cast: Henley allowed white settlers to use reservation land, and to make improvements on the property in the form of houses, barns, and fences. The Indians had, of course, provided most of the labor at little or no cost to the ranchers. Still, most Anglo-Americans believed so strongly in the sanctity of private property that the idea of removing settlers from land they had lived on and improved so as to give that land to Indians seemed out of the question unless they could be paid for those improvements. Therefore the question had become: how much would the government pay these settlers to vacate the reservation?

According to the new superintendent, George Hanson, writing in 1861, the twenty-five farms settled by whites contained over one thousand acres, "enclosed and cultivated mainly by Indian labor." Perhaps fifty white men and three white women occupied these farms, and "the improvements [were] worth some fifty thousand dollars." According to Hanson, stock belonging to whites overran the valley, and if cattle or sheep turned up missing, settlers

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Vendetta, pp. 72-73.

immediately blamed the Indians and "treated [them] with violence." In addition, most of these white men "constantly excite the Indians to jealousy and revenge by taking their squaws from them." Hanson argued that the Round Valley Reservation could never be a success unless these settlers could be removed. He recommended paying them for their improvements and setting the entire valley aside for the Indians to use as farmland and hunting grounds. Hanson described the Indians still on the reservation as "appear[ing] to labor cheerfully, with almost no want but food, clothing, and tobacco," and said if they could be "removed from association with vicious white men," they would be "capable of rapid and permanent improvement."[68] This idea that a "low class" of whites bore the responsibility for both the problems of the reservation and for the violence against the Indians would be reiterated repeatedly by the Indian Agents at Round Valley.[69]

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[68]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861, (37th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 1, Vol. 1, Nov. 27, 1861, serial set no. 1117), pp. 758-759.

[69]Reservation superintendents, missionaries, teachers, and others who worked for the benefit of the Indians, and for the Republican administration in Washington, appear to have defined as "low class" white men who lived in the most remote areas, took Indian wives (and often abandoned them), and participated in Indian killing (sometimes for sport). Many (but not all) of these men came from the

By the end of the 1850s, it became much more difficult for Indians to avoid the reservation by living in the mountains. Unable to feed themselves, they stole stock to eat or loitered around the settlements in hope of work. The Mendocino County grand jury, in a report to the state legislature, demanded immediate action from the state to rid the county of the "miserable half-starved creatures."[70] Local whites had no faith in the ability of the Indian service, and believed federal troops were unwilling to take harsh enough measures against the Indians. Impatient with the army's progress in removing the Indians to the reservations and stopping stock killing, they lobbied the state to allow the development of local militia to take matters into their own hands. In Mendocino County, a powerful local landowner, Judge Seerranus Clinton Hastings, the first chief justice of the California Supreme Court, used his influence with the governor to raise a local volunteer company after Indians killed one of his prize stallions. Hastings argued that since local volunteers understood the habits of the Indians and knew the country, they would be more effective

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South. See Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta.

[70]County Clerk G. Canning Smith to California State Legislature, Grand Jury Report, 1859, Indian War Files, California State Archives, Sacramento, California.

than soldiers. In addition, he accused the soldiers of being "the friends of the Indians," and of treating the Indians too well.[71]

In July, 1859, settlers in Mendocino county signed a declaration naming Walter S. Jarboe captain of a volunteer company, the Eel River Rangers, to "chastise" the Indians. Locals knew Jarboe well for his hatred of the Indians, but he also saw the potential for financial and political profit in the leadership of the local militia. He repeatedly cheated the state on expenses for supplies and salaries. For example when one settler refused to sign up, Jarboe told him he could stay home and still get paid. Jarboe also supplied the company well with "liquor, cigars, oysters, sardines, crackers, white shirts, and cards" all paid for by the state. Jarboe ordered his men to "kill all the bucks they could find and take the women and children prisoners," but in practice, the company spared few, even children. The Petaluma Journal reported that near Round Valley in one three week period, the white

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[71]Douglas Dale Martin, "Indian-White Relations on the Pacific Slope," p. 98; Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 85.

militia killed "from 300 to 400 bucks, squaws, and children."[72]

The local militia's activities actually caused more stock killing because they chased the Indians from the mountains where they might have had some opportunity to find food other than stock. Constantly on the run from the militia, more Indians than ever killed stock to survive. This caused communities where there had been little trouble with the Indians to begin to take up arms against them as well. In Long Valley, for example, a locally formed company went "out at different times [for] twenty days" and "killed one hundred and fifty or two hundred Indians."[73]

Because local volunteer companies like the Eel River Rangers murdered so many, Indians often turned to the formerly feared U.S. troops for protection. Although they knew the soldiers would take them to the hated reserva-

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[72]Petaluma Journal April 15, 1857 quoted in Robert F. Heizer, ed., They Were Only Diggers, p. 47. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 88. According to Helen Carpenter, after the Eel River Rangers disbanded, Jarboe was associated with the abduction of Indian children. He kept one such child, Ju-shil, in his home to care for his baby and do other domestic work. Helen Carpenter, Unpublished Manuscript, Held-Poage Memorial Home and Library, Ukiah, California, pp. 152-153.

[73]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 90-92.

tion, Indians preferred to trust the soldiers rather than local men. A rare Indian account of these events came from an interview with Round Valley resident Lucy Young of the Lassik tribe, whose tale attests to the frantic attempts by Indians to hold families together. Her story recounted a terrifying capture by soldiers, her later escape from white men wishing to keep her as a concubine and worker, and her last pursuit during the summer of 1862. Her father and brother had died in "soldier war, before soldiers captured us. Three days fight. Three days running. Just blood, blood, blood." Though soldiers had killed her father, when her mother got sick she advised the children to trust the soldiers over other whites. "If she die, she tell us go back to soldiers, not to no other white people." Finally, after being captured and taken to Fort Seward, her family suffered another attack by white locals. "Mother tell me: 'All our men killed now.'" She say white men there, others come from Round Valley, Humboldt County too, kill our old uncle, Chief Lassik, and all our men . . . Li'l sister, white man took her away. Never see her no more . . . That's

last young one taken away. Mother lost her at Fort Seward."[74]

While Jarboe's volunteers hunted down the "wild" Indians, local whites continued to disrupt successful enterprise on the Round Valley reservation, and often made outright attacks against the Indians there. Simultaneously, they wrote to their state representatives reporting attacks against them by Indians. In 1860, U.S. troops came to Round Valley with orders to help the reservation employees, induce as many Indians as possible to come to the reservation, prevent the Indians from killing the settlers' stock, and protect the Indians from the white settlers. The commanding officer wrote that the settlers' reports of hostile Indians were incorrect and that in the past year, the only white man killed in the valley was engaged in kidnapping an Indian woman. On the other hand, he said it was the Indians that needed

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[74]Edith V.A. Murphy, ed., "Out of the Past: A True Indian Story Told by Lucy Young of Round Valley Indian Reservation," California Historical Society Quarterly (Vol. 20, 1941), pp. 349-358. The total number of Indians killed by the Eel River Rangers is not known, but one participant guessed that around five hundred Indians were killed in the immediate vicinity of Round Valley. Jarboe charged the state government $11,143. for a five month period in 1859. The state paid him $9,347. For an account of Jarboe and the Eel River Rangers, see Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 84-97 and the Indian War Files, California State Archives, Sacramento.

protection because the settlers "daily pull down the fences, and drive their stock upon the Reservation: almost nightly do they come into the rancherias of the Indians and take away women." Since these offenses counted only as misdemeanors under California law, the army did not have the authority to arrest the perpetrators. The report declared the soldiers to be "full persuaded that nothing but fear [of the soldiers] has prevented the lawless citizens of this valley from destroying root and branch, the establishment of the Indian Department."[75]

Most citizens of Mendocino County disagreed with the army report. They believed that the army was not doing enough to control the Indians and blamed Indian trouble on the failure of federal troops to take a hard line with the Indians. In 1860, the Petaluma Journal reported that the situation in Long Valley had become so bad that the settlers had organized themselves into a "standing army" to guard their stock and homes. On Dec. 19th the settlers attacked the Indians, killing thirty-two and taking two prisoners. According to the Journal, "the United States troops located in that region are represented to be

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[75]Dillon to Mackell, January 27, 1860, Indian War Files, California State Archives, Sacramento, California.

pursuing, during all these troubles, a masterly course of inactivity."[76]

In response to the violence in Mendocino County, the state legislature appointed a committee of five to investigate Indian affairs there. The group took depositions from forty-two citizens and all the committee members but one agreed that the cause of the violence originated with white attacks on Indians. Accordingly, the majority report recommended that Congress should buy out the settlers and leave the whole of Round Valley for an Indian reservation. Not surprisingly, the lone dissenter was J.B. Lamar, state assemblyman from Mendocino County. His minority report blamed the Indians for the trouble, calling them a "treacherous, blood-thirsty, settler-murdering, and stock-killing people."[77]

Notwithstanding the report, throughout the early 1860s, citizens from Mendocino and other northern counties continued to assail the governor with petitions asking for protection from "hostile" Indians. Meanwhile, Superintendent Hanson continued to complain about assaults on the reservation by land-hungry Americans. A law granting to the states all swamp and overflowed lands became the

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[76]Petaluma Journal Jan. 20, 1860.

[77]State of California, Joint Committee on the Mendocino War, Majority and Minority Reports, 1860.

basis for even more white encroachment on reservation land. Hanson reported in 1862 that "nearly all of the best pasture lands in the valley, the most of which the government has under fence, have been entered upon by settlers, surveyed, and purchased by them from the State as 'swamp and overflowed lands,' thereby destroying the best pasture, cutting down the best timber, and continually throwing down our fences and exposing our crops to destruction."[78]

Hanson's 1862 reports illustrate how desperate the position of both the Indians and the Indian service had become. Little help or guidance came from Washington in spite of Hanson's insistance that no peace or safety could be expected by either Indians or reservation employees until the encroaching settlement on the reservation lands ended. With crops destroyed by the settlers and no money coming from Washington, he despaired at the thought of 700 more Indians on the way from Humboldt county. "How I am to provide shelter, food, and clothing for so many Indians, with so little as has yet been appropriated by Congress, I cannot divine, except it be by a miracle. The

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[78]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dec. 31, 1861, 37th Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, November 26, 1862, serial set no. 1157, p. 458. See also March 31, 1862, serial set no. 1157, p. 463.

poor creatures must suffer the ensuing winter, for the credit of the government is so impaired I will not be able to procure further supplies on time."[79]

Round Valley was not the only area where whites attempted to acquire land set aside for Indian reserves. Local whites took any opportunity to acquire land or supplies at federal expense, and local authorities and juries usually upheld their efforts. At Mendocino reservation, Hanson reported that crops had been sufficient to feed the Indians except that a former employee, named Ray, had ejected reservation workers from "Cully Bill Station," thus depriving the reserve of "some $2,000 worth of grain and vegetables." Although Superintendent Henley had paid $2,000 for that station on the government's behalf, when the title came into dispute, the Mendocino county sheriff, accompanied by an armed posse, upheld Ray's right to possession. When the case came to trial, the local courts awarded it to him.[80]

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[79]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 37th Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, November 26, 1862, serial set no. 1157, p. 465. See also: Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 38th Congress, 1st session, House Executive Document 1, Oct. 31, 1863, serial set no. 1182, p. 211.

[80]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862, 37th Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, Nov. 26, 1862, serial set no. 1157, p. 465. See also Annual Report of the

Those who had the interests of the Indians in mind continued to hold that the only solution to the problems in Round Valley lay in the federal government paying the white settlers for the improvements they had made on the reservation lands. Superintendent Hanson wrote tirelessly to Commissioner Dole for money to buy out the settlers and to ask for more troops to protect the reservation since attacks against the reservation continued to escalate. In October of 1862, he reported that the settlers had attempted to assassinate the supervisor and threatened "to kill the whole of the Indians on the reservation and take possession of the reserve." In addition, he accused them of being "secessionists" disloyal to the United States. When the Indians retaliated for the killing of more than twenty Indians on the reservation by burning a barn full of hay, the settlers in turn destroyed two-thirds of the Indian crop. Finally, in December of 1862, U.S. troops arrived and placed the valley under martial law.[81]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 38th Congress, 1st session, House Executive Document 1, October 31, 1863, serial set no. 1182, p. 524.

[81]For a contemporary account of the reasons for the declaration of martial law see Martial Law in Round Valley, Mendocino County, California (Ukiah City, Ca., Herald Office Print., 1863). See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 113.

An investigation of Indian affairs in Round Valley held by Captain C.D. Douglas concluded that the reason Indians deserted the reservation was to avoid starvation. "[The Indians] knew they would be compelled to kill cattle, if they remained, or starve, and they knew also that if they did kill the settlers' stock that the settlers would kill them; so that nothing but death awaited the poor Indian if he stopped on the reservation. No matter which way the Indian turned, a cruel death stared him in the face." Douglas accused Superintendent Hanson and the reservation supervisor, Short, of neglecting both "the interests of the Government and of the Indians," and said that the men that shot at the supervisor did so because he "took their squaws away from them." The settlers had killed some Indians, but it was self-defense. Douglas's report concluded with the worst indictment of all: the settlers would not sell provisions to the Indian Department without cash in hand, since their bills had gone unpaid in the past.[82]

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[82]Captain C.D. Douglas to Lieut. Col R.C. Drum, December 23, 1862, 50th Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 70, vol. 2, Jan. 16, 1889, serial set no. 2611, pp. 143-144. See also the detailed report of the investigation in the Mendocino Herald ending with the issue of Jan 9, 1863 and also in pamphlet form published by the Herald. For information on military activity in Mendocino County in the 1850s and 60s, see Fred B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California," California Historical Society Quarterly Vol. 27 (March

Hanson's credibility suffered from this report, and his complaints about the settlers at Round Valley were not generally believed. Local people thought Superintendent Hanson to be excessively idealistic when it came to Indian relations. The Mendocino Herald published an extensive editorial on the subject, concluding that "Mr. Hanson was too visionary to be safely trusted with so important a duty as the management of the Reservation farms."[83] In spite of Hanson's protests, army authorities revoked martial law in Feb. 1863, although Douglas and the troops remained.[84]

The ability of the Indian service to protect its charges came into question as winter approached. The reservation suffered greatly from overcrowding, lack of food, and disease in addition to the threats of attack by local whites. Once the streams had become swollen with rain the valley would be isolated until spring. The Indians realized the danger of the circumstances and between three and five hundred of them left the valley to return to their old home in the Sacramento Valley. The

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1948), pp. 215-228.

[83]Mendocino Herald October 31, 1862.

[84]Fred B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California," p. 222.

last chief of the Concows indicated an understanding of the divisions between local whites and the government:

> The Ad-sals (whites) were afraid that their Great Father in Washington would keep all the valley for the Indians, and that the whites would have to go to some other home, and they hated us for it very much . . . there was nothing for us to eat, and I became very anxious for my Lauk-ome, for the rains were coming fast with the cold winds . . . and we would be shut in by the swollen streams, with starvation before and the Ad-sals behind. So I told my people to make ready to move . . . I went to the head man . . . and shook hands with him, and told him that I must go, that I could not remain, that my people were starving and would have to kill the shu-min [stock] in the winter to keep from dying of hunger, and that the Ad-sals would kill them if they did. And in a long line, five hundred strong, we turned our faces toward . . . our home . . . we camped in a meadow some five miles from Chico, and my braves and my ma-hi-nas [women] went out and worked for the Ad-sals for a whole year. But many of them became very sick with chills and fever [malaria], and many died on the trail, lying down sick and dying all the way from Chico to this place [Round Valley]. And when we got here there was nothing for us to eat, and my people began to fall as thick and as fast as the acorns in the fall of the year . . . and there was no one to do anything for us - only the White Chief Douglas at Camp Wright, who sent his medicine man to take care of my sick, and to . . . bring my people left dying on the trail - and here have we remained ever since.[85]

The following year Douglas found nearly two hundred sick and dying Indians scattered along the trail for forty miles on their way back to Round Valley. Once again

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[85]A.G. Tassin, "The Con-Cow Indians," Overland Monthly (Vol. IV (July 1884), pp. 11-12.

whites had evicted them from their old home.[86] The Indians remained caught in the greed of local settlers, the political squabbles among the Indian service, the army and the state government, and the incompetent management of the reservations. The Indians had to make the impossible choice between starvation and murder.

Although local interest in acquiring all the valuable land for settlement provided the strongest reason for the attacks on the reservation, other influences contributed. Round Valley and the remote country surrounding it was especially full of Southern sympathizers, with a strong contingent of men from Missouri. Former Superintendent of Indian Affairs Henley, now settled on his ranch in Round Valley, became known as the "ruling spirit among the copperhead settlers in the valley." In August 1864, Captain Douglas received a warning about a plot by disloyal men to capture Fort Wright and the reservation. In anticipation of a "Secesh" takeover, the army beefed up the forces at Round Valley.[87] After Lincoln's

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[86]Douglas to Lieutenant Colonel A.E. Hooker, Sept. 27, 1863, in U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 38th Congress, 1st session, House Executive Document 1, October 31, 1863, serial set no. 1182, p. 534.

[87]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carrenco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 125. See also Fred B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County," p. 222.

assassination in 1865, Douglas arrested several of local men for "treasonable utterances" or for "rejoicing over the death of Mr. Lincoln." Settlers resented the fact that it was the Republican administration that appointed the protectors of the Indians and those keeping reservation land from the public domain.[88]

Missouri men and other southerners brought with them to Mendocino County an ideology about race and manhood that condoned an unusual level of violence to keep what they saw as order. Round Valley was a male society; there were approximately fifty white men and only three white women there in 1860.[89] Bertram Wyatt-Brown contends that for southerners, violence was the "social necessity for men of all ranks to preserve white manhood and personal status in . . . the male tribe to which all

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[88]Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," California Historical Society Quarterly, pp. 154-170 and Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California (San Francisco: History Company Publishers, 1890, vol. 7), p. 289. The Democratic stronghold in Mendocino County was the ranching region around Round Valley. Along the coast where settlers from New England predominated, citizens reacted quite differently to the news of Lincoln's assassination. In Mendocino City "they [Republicans] went into a Democratic editor's office with a rope to hang him but he made his escape from town." Mendocino Historical Review (Vol. IV, No. 3), p. 5.

[89]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (37th Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document 1, vol. 1, Nov. 27, 1861, serial set no. 1117), pp. 758-759.

belonged." He notes that the lower ranks of southern society, the very group that came to Mendocino County, committed the greater share of violent offenses.[90] The Indians, as obstacles to the pursuit of wealth and deviants from the agreed upon social order, had to be exterminated to attain community solidarity.[91]

The secessionist issue continued to be raised as late as 1869. Major General J.B. McIntosh, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California asked to have the Indian Agent at Round Valley removed because his wife was "so ardent a secessionist" that she insulted McIntosh and rejoiced over the death of Mr. Lincoln by calling the American flag "a dirty flag." He felt her to be a poor influence in a "community which was not remarkable for devotion to country during the late war."[92]

Mendocino County citizens in the more settled towns like Ukiah maintained at least nominal loyalty to the Union, although they tended to vote Democratic. Not all whites in Mendocino County approved of the forced removal

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[90]Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 368-369.

[91]Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South, p. 369.

[92]McIntosh to E.S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 30, 1869, copy in Beard Collection, Held-Poage Memorial Home and Library, Ukiah, California.

of the Indians to the reservations. Some saw it as a cruel injustice, and others feared that they would be deprived of their Indian laborers. Many Ukiah Valley Pomo Indians had avoided living on the reservation since the Mendocino Reserve closed in 1867, by residing on the ranches where they worked.[93] But ranchers needed more workers. Under pressure from ranchers, Indian agents allowed reservation Indians to get permits to work off the reserve. Records do not show the number of Indians that worked off the reservation, but in Mendocino County at least, it was common. All over California, but especially in the north, Indians continued the trend begun by the Spanish of providing settlers with a source of cheap labor. When the need for labor ended with the harvest over and the new barn built, most whites in Mendocino County wanted the Indians removed from the community.

In spite of the policy allowing reservation Indians to work off the reservation, some whites continued to oppose the existence of the reservations. The Round Valley Agent Hugh Gibson reported in 1872 that Indians new to the reservation were unhappy because of pressure from

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[93]Alfred Parsell, "Population and Environment of a Northern California Indian Community," (M.A. thesis, Syracuse University), 1941.

two groups of white people. The first group settled near or on the reservation wanted nothing more than that "the Indians leave and so give them a better chance for the success of their claims to the reserved land upon which they are squatted." The other group had benefitted from the "cheap Indian labor [that had] been a boon to the white people among whom the Indians formerly lived and many of them seem determined to secure the return of <u>their</u> Indians (as they call them) at all hazards." Gibson complained that both groups wished to destroy the reservation, and circulated a combination of rumors, threats, and promises to the Indians in an attempt to lure them away.[94]

<u>Indian Workers</u>

Most of the able-bodied men from the Mendocino Reservation worked for farmers, as did many Indians from Round Valley. According to the Indian Agent at Round Valley in 1875: "The Indians of this vicinity form the 'laboring class' of [this] part of California. They are relied on by citizens especially in shearing sheep, in which, on account of their skill and carefulness they are decidedly preferred to white laborers and are sent for

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[94]Hugh Gibson, Indian Agent, Round Valley Reservation, to Hon. T.A. Walker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., October 1, 1872 in Beard Papers, Held-Poage Memorial Home and Library, Ukiah, California.

from far and near. They shear as many as forty thousand sheep semi-annually at five and six cents per head."[95] They often lived permanently on the large ranches and worked for minimal pay.

That local farmers had found a source of reliable and cheap labor nettled at least one group of whites. According to Charles Nordhoff, many of the Missourians and other southerners who had settled in Mendocino county thought of themselves as a laboring class, and the Indians as competition. Accordingly, they undertook "to drive out the Indians, just as a still lower class in San Francisco has undertaken to drive out the laboring Chinese. These Little Lake and Potter Valley Pikes [from Pike County, Missouri] were ruined by Indian cheap labor; so they got up a mob and expelled the Indians, and the result is that the work which these poor people formerly performed is now left undone."[96] Nordhoff argued that as long as the Indians lived in the valleys and worked on ranches, they were peaceful, harmless, and self-supporting. "Why then," he asked, "should the United States Government make

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[95]S.F. Cook, The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization: The American Invasion, p. 63.

[96]Charles Nordhoff, Northern California, Oregon and the Sandwich Islands (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1874) reprinted in Mendocino County Historic Annals No. 1 (Pacific Rim Research, 1977), p. 33.

paupers of them?" Nordhoff saw the reservation as "a pauper asylum and prison combined, a nuisance to respectable farmers, whom it deprives of useful and necessary laborers, an injury to the morals of the community in whose midst it is placed, an injury to the Indian, whom it demoralizes, and a benefit only to the members of the Indian ring."[97]

Throughout the 1870s Indians removed to Round Valley attempted to escape and the authorities responded to local wishes by bringing them back. For example, in 1872 Indian Agent J.L. Burchard complied with a petition from residents of Potter Valley to remove the Indians from that valley since their labor was no longer needed since the harvest had ended. When about two hundred of those Indians tried to escape Round Valley, federal troops captured and returned one hundred and fifty of them.[98] Burchard favored their capture not only because of the petition from Potter Valley, but because these Indians were "our best laborers and we cannot well do without

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[97]Charles Nordhoff, "The Mendocino Coast," Northern California, Oregon and the Sandwich Islands (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874) reprinted in Mendocino County Historic Annals No. 1 (Mendocino, Calif.: Pacific Rim Research, 1977), p. 33.

[98]Burchard to B.C. Whiting, Supt. of Ind. Affairs, California, Dec. 31, 1872, copy in Beard Files, Held-Poage Memorial Home and Library, Ukiah, California.

them." He argued also that the other Potter Valley Indians would not be content to stay on the reservation without the company of their friends and relatives.[99]

Indian Agent Burchard opposed the common practice of Indians living off the reservations as ranch workers. He argued that the system was prone to abuse and the Indians vulnerable to poor treatment. "Said Indians are used, kept, and held, much in the way as slaves were in the former slave-states, except that the condition of the Indians is not as good as was the slaves." But as a Methodist minister, Burchard's primary concerns for the welfare of the Indians lay first with the lack of religious supervision on the ranches. He saw the contact with whites on the ranches as putting the Indians in immoral company. Some employers allowed Indian workers to build sweathouses for the practice of traditional religion and to organize Indian dances, something Burchard was attempting to stamp out on the reservation. He proposed to control Indian culture by having all Indians live on the reservation, and allowing the farmers to hire them at reasonable wages from the reservation. In such an arrangement, the families of the Indian workers would

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[99]Burchard Report, March 31, 1873, copy in Beard Files, Held-Poage Memorial Home and Library, Ukiah, California.

remain on the reservation so the children could go to school.[100]

Efforts to remove Indians to the reservation and keep them there failed. Mostly because of desertions, the number of Indians at Round Valley dropped from one thousand in 1877 to five-hundred thirty-four in 1880. According to agent Burchard, the non-reservation Indians, "live a roving and dissolute life, while drinking, gambling, and other ruinous vices not only impoverish them, but are fast hastening their utter extinction."[101] Whites in settled towns continually requested removal of Indians in those regions.

Troops remained stationed at Camp Wright in Round Valley until 1875, when the army abandoned the camp because the Indian troubles had ended, but white encroachment on the reservation continued. In September of 1887 and again in 1892 troops had to be sent from San Francisco to remove settlers and their stock from the reservation.[102]

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[100]J. L. Burchard to Hon. E.P. Smith, Dec. 4, 1874.

[101]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876, serial set no. 1749, p. 419.

[102]Fred B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California," p. 224.

After thirty years of neglecting to act on the issue of white settlers owning land within the boundaries of Round Valley Reservation, Congress attempted to resolve the problem in the 1870s, but not to the benefit of the Indians. Ironically, it was former Superintendent Henley who, after serving as the center of local resistance to the government and the reservation, now influenced this new action.[103] In 1873, Senator Eugene Casserly of California introduced a bill to restore Round Valley Reservation to public lands open to preemption. The bill would give the local settlers first right to purchase and set a new boundary for the reservation. It eliminated twenty-thousand of the original twenty-five thousand acres, leaving only five-thousand acres in the less valuable northern end of the valley. The twenty-thousand acres could be purchased for $1.25 an acre in lots of three-hundred twenty acres. The government used a portion of the money raised from land sales to pay some settlers on the reservation for improvements they had made to the property.[104] Local white settlers had worked diligently

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[103]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carrenco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 321.

[104]U.S., House, Round Valley Indian Reservation, 50th Congress, 1st session, Jan. 5, 1888, Executive Document No. 33, pp. 6,7; Aurelius O. Carpenter and P. Milberry, History of Mendocino and Lake Counties, California (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1914), p. 97. See

for almost twenty years to gain title to the most valuable land from the reservation. They finally gained their objective.

Even this did not end encroachment on the remaining reservation land. According to a government inspector in 1875, the amount of money realized from the sale of lands was not enough to pay for claims and improvements and Congress failed to provide more money for this purpose. "Many of the settlers seem to infer that Congress never will appropriate money to extinguish these claims, and they freely express the hope that the reservation may be ultimately abandoned, and the land surveyed and opened to entry. Immediately on the reception of the news in the valley that Congress had failed to make the appropriation, other claimants appeared and attempted to make improvements on the reservation." White settlers still claimed and occupied about 5,000 acres of good farmland while the reservation Indians lacked enough land "to ever

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Report of J.P.C. Shanks, B.R. Cowan, and Chas. Marsh, Special Commissioners to Determine the Boundaries of the New Reservation at Round Valley, Cal in U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, 43rd Congress, 1st session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Nov. 1, 1873, serial set no. 1601, pp. 31-32 for information about the addition of 98,000 acres of mountain land to the reservation with the intent to use it for sheep, cows, and horses. However, Congress never appropriated the funds to stock this range. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carrenco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 326-327.

make them self-sustaining."[105] In 1887, Agent Yates received orders from Washington to evict settlers living on the reservation with military force. Local judges immediately issued injunctions to stop the evictions. According to Yates, the trespassers had been allowed "to accumulate wealth in the easiest possible manner by grazing large herds of sheep, cattle, horses, and hogs on reservation lands without any cost scarcely to them for the last fifteen years, and this wealth is judiciously employed for the hiring of shrewd lawyers who . . . have been successful every time in impressing the courts."[106]

Federal Indian policy in California suffered from lack of coordination and purpose by the government as well as from local racism and sabotage. The actual implementation of policy on the local level had its basis in the idea that the Indians stood as obstacles before the inevitable triumph of progress and civilization. This assumption came to dominate what little debate took place.

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[105]U.S., Department of Interior, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1875, serial set no. 1680, pp. 583-584.

[106]U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1888, serial set no. 2637, p. LXX-LXXII and pp. 20-23.

Between 1850 and 1880 white Anglo-Americans achieved their goal of gaining title to almost all the land in the state. In the process, they reduced the Indian population to a mere twenty percent of its former size.[107] The remaining Indians became the cheap laborers in the state, along with Mexicans, Asians, and later, immigrants from Europe. None of these groups would successfully challenge the hegemony of the Anglos, but each would find unique strategies to make life in a multicultural California possible.

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[107]James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image, p. 171, estimates the Indian population in 1846 at 150,000 and in 1870 at 30,000.

CHAPTER 2

MENDOCINO COUNTY LAND:

SHAPING A SOCIAL ORDER, 1850-1890

Despite its speed and ruthlessness, the conquest of California was hardly smooth or unified. The victors were never one harmonious group. The Anglo-Americans that arrived in California in the mid-nineteenth century came from separate regions with different backgrounds, interests, and goals. Their shared conquest of the Indians and their acquisition of the land was not without conflicts and divisions. They brought these divisions with them in the form of religious values, class distinctions, and sectional debates that profoundly shaped their ideas about race and ethnic differences. Other conflicts arose from the nature of California life, especially the division of land and resources.

Thomas Bender has suggested that "community, by providing an arena for conflict, can strengthen the sense of local boundedness."[1] The early settlers in Mendocino county constructed a community that provided an arena where conflicts over race, class, and land allocation were fought out. The result was a narrow, provincial society,

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[1]Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) p. 100.

cut off from outside influences, that concentrated both land ownership and wealth in relatively few hands at least until the end of the century, and created elites that would profoundly influence race, class, and ethnic relations for decades to come. This chapter argues that the original division of land and resources helped to shape the parameters of power in Mendocino county for the remainder of the nineteenth century, and set up a social structure that would endure for decades longer.

The Mexican land grant system had left California with problems of land tenure that had the effect of concentrating land in the lower and middle coastal regions into large units owned by American speculators.[2] The rest of California, including Mendocino County, became part of the public domain and open to settlement. Federal policy encouraged the ownership of such land by small farmers,

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[2]Eight-hundred thirteen Mexican land grants were in existence when the United States took California from Mexico. These grants included the best agricultural land in the Central Valley, which soon became a hotbed of squabbles over land title between squatters, settlers, large land owners, and the railroads. What emerged from these contests was a new elite, a few Americans who gained control of huge expanses of land. It was to undercut this land monopoly that Henry George created his single tax idea, advocated in Progress and Poverty, abr. ed., (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1980). See also Paul W. Gates, "Pre-Henry George Land Warfare in California," California Historical Society Quarterly.

and the Preemption Act of 1841[3] and the Homestead Act of 1862 provided the way for settlers to get land for farming. But in California, some individuals and companies found ways to use these laws for their own gain, effectively preventing small landowners from gaining title to the best land in the state. Instead, by the time homesteaders had the opportunity to file on land, speculators had already laid claim to it in a variety of ways. Several million acres were patented as homesteads through dummy entries by men hired to turn them over to large landholders for speculation, lumber, or grazing.[4]

The northern coastal counties contained three distinctly different kinds of land and resources, precipitating different settlement patterns. Along the

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[3]The Pre-emption Law was passed to protect settlers who had gone beyond the frontier of settlement from losing their land and improvements when the land was finally surveyed and opened to settlement. The original settler could purchase 160 acres at $1.25 an acre.

[4]For discussions of the concentration of land ownership in California, see Henry George, Progress and Poverty; Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1939) and California: The Great Exception (New York: Current Books, Inc., 1949). See also: Cletus E. Daniel, Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), Paul W. Gates, "Public Land Disposal in California," Agricultural History (FIND CITATION): pp. 158-181, Paul W. Gates, "Pre-Henry George Land Warfare in California," California Historical Society Quarterly: pp. 121-148; Paul W. Gates, "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System," The American Historical Review 51 (July 1936).

coast of Mendocino county was a narrow belt of redwood forest, containing huge amounts of valuable timber. The rich river valleys were suitable for agriculture, especially the growing of small fruits like pears and grapes. The rugged mountainous regions were most suitable for grazing cattle and sheep.

Dividing the Redwoods

The redwood timber region along the coast of Mendocino and Humboldt counties dramatically illustrates the trend toward concentration of land ownership in California. Before the government surveyed the land, the process of getting the lumber was simple. As lumbermen came into the redwood area they began the process of preemption by entering unsurveyed land, logging it of the valuable timber and then abandoning it. This was a very profitable enterprise since it involved no cost for either the land or the timber.

After the government survey opened land to legal settlement, fraudulent homestead entries became the more common method of acquiring land. By the time the government succeeded in investigating and stopping fraud the big lumber companies had already secured a position of

dominance in the area. By 1912 large companies held almost all of the redwood timber.[5]

The Homestead Act passed by Congress in 1862 enabled any citizen or person intending citizenship to patent 160 acres after five years residence and improvements. The Public Lands Commission reported in 1880 that in the redwood timber areas these "improvements" often consisted of "little huts or kennels that were totally unfit for human habitation" built solely for the purpose of allowing some entryman to prove he had a house on his farm.[6] To allow for changes in circumstances, the Homestead law permitted purchase of the land after six months residence. Many people took advantage of this provision to use the Homestead Act fraudulently by buying the land cheaply after six months, only to turn it over to the company for which they worked. Additionally the Timber and Stone Act, passed in 1878 made it possible to buy 160 acres of surveyed government lands not valuable for cultivation at a minimum price of $2.50 per acre. The applicant had to swear that he had made no other

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[5]Howard Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," (Ph.D. Stanford University, 1952), pp. 71-72.

[6]Harold Hathaway Dunham, Government Handout: A Study in the Administration of the Public Lands, 1875-1891 (New York: De Capo Press, 1941), p. 60.

applications under the act, that the land was unfit for farming, and that he had not contracted to sell the land to anyone else. However, the penalties were quite light ($100.00 to $1,000.00) and did not require payment of the costs of prosecution to the government. Trespassers who had not taken the timber out of the country could get out of prosecution by paying $2.50 an acre.[7] For example, after authorities caught George Evans cutting timber on government land in Mendocino County, he had to pay a fine of only $100 in lieu of sentence, surely an excellent price for valuable timber.[8]

Although the desire of lumbermen to turn a quick profit on government land accounts for much of the land fraud in the redwoods, inadequate government policy bears much responsibility. The wish to stimulate the settling of the country by farmers, and the inability of policymakers to envision other than an agricultural future in the West led entrepreneurs to subvert the system. A timber operation could not become viable with only 160

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[7]U.S., House, Report of the Secretary of the Interior 1879, v. 1, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, House Executive Documents v. 9, n. 1, pt. 5, serial set 1910. See also Howard Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," p. 79. See also Harold Hathaway Dunham, Government Handout: A Study in the Administration of the Public Lands, 1875-1891, p. 60.

[8]Ukiah Republican Press December 13, 1901.

acres of timber. A sawmill needed access to a larger acreage to make certain that there would be enough timber to justify the high investment costs for equipment. The fact that no practical and legal way existed to acquire the land led to widespread fraud and loss of respect for the land laws. Thus, it became common practice for mill owners to supply money to their employees, or to hire men for the job of filing patents with the understanding that the patent would be transferred to the mill owner. As the Secretary of the Interior reported in 1880, "in California, much depredation upon the public timber is committed by the mill owners, who destroy more timber in a month than a settler does in years . . . Much trespassing is reported upon the redwood pine (sic) found on the public lands of Humboldt and Mendocino Counties."[9]

By the 1880s most of the redwood forests had gone into private ownership. Even land obtained legally by small operators eventually ended up part of large holdings. Small owners found it difficult to make a living, and one by one sold their redwood claims to speculators who bought as an investment to be held until

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[9]U.S., House, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior 1880, v. 1, serial set no. 1959, p. 577. See also Howard Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," p. 80.

the cutting of nearer lands brought those holdings into the markets. These investors were usually men who had first held timberlands in Wisconsin and then Michigan. Some had made money the same way in the Southern pine lands.[10]

S.A.D. Puter, writing from jail in 1908, after his conviction for land fraud, confessed his participation in redwood timberland schemes in Looters of the Public Domain. In 1875, while employed by the deputy U.S. surveyor, Puter gained information about the best timberland on the north coast of California. He lined up people to file "dummy" claims and then sold them to "Eureka capitalists" for a good profit. In the fall of 1882, a group of businessmen from San Francisco and Humboldt County, acting on behalf of the Scottish capitalists who would later form California Redwood Company, began using the "dummy" entry system to execute one of the largest timberland frauds in United States history. According to Puter, immediately upon completion of the land survey, local representatives began to hire men to file. The company brought men into the land office by the hundreds, often using sailors in town temporarily. Puter wrote, "I have known agents of the company to take

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[10]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times (Eugene E. and Mary E. Humphrey, 1976), p. 144.

as many as twenty-five men from 'Coffee Jack's' sailor boarding house in Eureka to the county court house, where they would take out their first papers, declare their intention to become citizens of the United States, after which they would proceed directly to the land office and make their filings, all the location papers having previously been made out. Then they would appear before . . . a notary public, and execute an acknowledgement of a blank deed, receive the stipulated price of $50, and return to their ships, or to the boarding house from whence they came." Then the transfer of title to the corporation was completed. "As fast as this land came into the market, the company gobbled it up in this fashion," and when they had secured the whole tract, they sent a representative to England, where they completed the sale of the land to the Scotch syndicate (called California Redwood Company). Four hundred dummy entry filers received from $5 to $50 for their work. The Scotch syndicate received a tremendous return on their investment in this deal, as they acquired what the Secretary of the Interior called "perhaps the most valuable tract of timberland in the United States" (57,000 acres).[11] The

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[11]S.A.D. Puter, Looters of the Public Domain (Portland, Oregon: 1908; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 17-18. According to Puter, the representative of the company sent to England also had

Commissioner of the General Land Office reported that "at least 100,000 acres of the choicest redwood lands in the state, worth perhaps an average of $100 per acre" had been obtained by capitalists, "while the cost of procuring surveys and fraudulent entries did not probably exceed $500 per quarter section, or the rate of $3 per acre."[12]

Because lumber companies needed only short-term use of timberlands in order to strip the trees from them, legal ownership of the land was often a secondary concern. Besides using federal land, companies could apply on the original grant of land to California, which only required a down payment of twenty-five cents an acre with an interest rate of ten percent per annum on the remainder. This down payment allowed the purchaser immediate access to the timber. Once stripped of its trees, the purchaser simply abandoned the now-worthless land.[13] Rarely did

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connections with the Humboldt County Bank. See also Harold Hathaway Dunham, Government Handout: A Study in the Administration of the Public Lands, 1875-1891, pp. 263-265. Congress's investigation of the California Redwood Company dummy entry case is reported in House Executive Documents, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Executive Document 282, pp. 1-21.

[12]Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1885, serial set no. 2378, p. 167.

[13]Early logging practices of clear cutting and burning left land in poor condition for many years afterward although many poor immigrants and others took up homestead claims on logged over property.

the state prosecute them since it cost the state more than the value of the land to foreclose. Not only did the mill owners save eighty percent on the cost of the land in the first place, but they owed no taxes on the forfeited land or on the timber.[14]

Those instances when the government did prosecute for land fraud offer instructive examples of the way timber was often obtained. In 1893, the government convicted William Ayres of fraud and took from him 148,000 acres of timber.[15] A San Francisco grand jury indicted Harry H. Beard of Covelo, accusing him of having induced several Indians to file on hundreds of acres of valuable timber land on the Round Valley Reservation and then buying them for a song. Although the U.S. Attorney's office could get evidence on only three counts, they believed Beard's operations to have involved thousands of acres of land.[16]

Ownership of the redwood forests of Northern California, including Mendocino, Humboldt and Del Norte counties, became concentrated in fewer hands than any

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[14]Howard Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," p. 82.

[15]Ukiah Republican Press June 23, 1893.

[16]Ukiah Republican Press May 19 and June 30, 1911.

other timberlands in the United States and remained so.[17] When the Bureau of Corporations investigated landholding in the redwood lumber industry in 1913, it found that the six largest timber owners in California held forty-one percent of all the standing redwood. By 1921, the eight largest holders owned more than forty percent of the acreage (see table 2:1). This concentration of ownership of forested land continued well into the twentieth century. It became increasingly difficult for those without access to large amounts of capital from outside the area to compete with the ever-larger lumber companies, limiting the opportunities of local people to profit from their most valuable resource. And as the lumber companies grew larger, they dominated more than just the production of lumber. Their success resulted from vertical integration: they had their own ships, offices, and lumber yards as well as their own stores to supply their crews.

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[17]John Ise, The United States Forest Policy (New Haven, 1920), pp. 319-320. Daniel A. Cornford argues persuasively that the fraudulent land acquisitions and the growing consolidation in the lumber industry in Humboldt County outraged radicals and inspired them to use the resentment against California Redwood Company to build a cohesive labor movement. See Daniel A. Cornford, Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), Chapter Four.

The economy of the Mendocino coast rose and fell with the fortunes of a few large companies.[18]

Table 2:1

Ownership of Private Lands: Virgin Forests, 1921[19]
By Groups and By Acreage
Mendocino County

Group	Holders	Acreage
1	8	200,000 acres
2	7	46,060
3	40	78,240
4	928	171,211
Total	983	496,311

Table 2:2 names those companies in Group one, the eight largest owners of timberland in the county, and includes the amount of land already logged over.

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[18]Thomas R. Cox, Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900 (Seattle: University of Washington Press), pp. 128-129.

[19]From Howard Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," p. 112.

Table 2:2

Group One Timber Holdings, 1921[20]
Mendocino County

Company	Total Acres	Total Cut-Over
Albion Lumber Co.	54,500	32,900
Mendocino Lumber Co.	44,780	26,080
Union Lumber Co.	64,025	21,805
Caspar Lumber Co.	37,025	23,200
Cottoneva Lumber Co.	33,320	8,000
Wheeler Timber Co.	24,040	-----
N.Western Redwood Co.	20,020	6,360
National Redwood Co.	13,700	10,260
Richardson Redwood Co.	12,100	12,100

The ownership of redwood timber, easily the most valuable resource in Mendocino County, and the source of nearly all the industrial work, became largely controlled, often illegally, by just a few people and corporations, most with sources of income, interests and loyalties outside the county, where most of the profits went. Unlike the timberlands, which outsiders most often owned, the ownership of rangeland was local, yet still highly concentrated.

This increasing concentration of agricultural, range, and timber lands in the hands of a few people caused great concern throughout the state, especially during the

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[20]California State Board of Forestry, "Report to the Legislature on Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 27 (Legislature of 1921), in Howard Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," p. 113.

depression of the 1870s. In 1873 the Sacramento Daily Record published a series of articles based on data from the State Board of Equalization that revealed very unequal landowning patterns in most counties in the state. The Record reported that in Mendocino county 42,000 acres including "many large timber claims and grazing claims are held only by the right of possession." Sixty-five individuals or corporations owned tracts of one-thousand acres or more, with seven owning more than 10,000 acres.[21]

This situation was not unique to Mendocino county. Vastly unequal patterns of land ownership were established in California from the beginning of American settlement. Instead of the Jeffersonian dream of small, independent farmers, a plantation style pattern developed in California, with huge acreages worked by gangs of paid laborers. By the early 1870s, one five-hundredth of the California population held half of California's land. Many of these landowners were of Southern birth and lived in a style that had antebellum overtones.[22] This

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[21]San Francisco Call, "The Great Landlords of Mendocino, Mono, and Monterey, Nov. 3, 1873. The Call ran a series reprinting the original Sacramento Daily Record articles from October 28, 1873 to November 23, 1873.

[22]Kevin Starr, Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 135-136.

situation proved very difficult to change. As late as the nineteen-twenties progressive groups like the California Commission of Immigration and Housing worked to settle immigrants on their own farms as a way to provide opportunities for new Californians. This was to be accomplished by "the breaking up of large land holdings" through a "graduated tax on agricultural land held by one person, firm, or corporation valued in excess of fifty thousand dollars with an increasing tax as the land value increases."[23]

By 1885 Mendocino County had one hundred twenty-one persons owning more than one thousand acres of land.[24] Local opinion blamed large holdings like this for impeding the development of Mendocino County's "vast resources" by settlers. In 1895 the Ukiah Republican Press published

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[23]Bancroft Library, California Commission of Immigration and Housing Papers, CA 194, Carton 41, "Reconstruction Work With Special Reference to Problems Affecting the Commission of Immigration and Housing, pp. 1-6. The California Commission of Immigration and Housing worked for the Americanization of immigrants as well as for their protection in many areas including education, living, housing, and working conditions. For more information on the Commission, see Samuel E. Wood, "The California Commission of Immigration and Housing: A Study in Administrative Organization and the Growth of Function," (Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, 1942).

[24]L.M. McKenney, McKenney's 8-County Directory of Sonoma, Napa, Lake, Mendocino, Humboldt, Yolo, Solano, and Marin Counties (L.M. McKenney & Co., Publishers: San Francisco and Oakland, California, 1884-85), pp. 120-193.

several articles suggesting that the large landowners subdivide their huge tracts to provide land for "thousands of families," arguing that such an arrangement could benefit both the owners of the land, who could sell out for a good price, and the county, which it believed needed more population.[25] "Mendocino needs a large population in order that her vast resources may be developed," the Press argued. "This county could well support ten times the population it now contains. There is scarcely a hillside in the county that is not susceptible of cultivation, and its hundreds of fertile valleys only await to be touched into life and prosperity by the magic wand of industry." The Press expressed the desire of local business interests for economic development, and believed that the future of the county depended on accomplishing two related goals: the subdivision of large landholdings and the building of better roads. This article went as far as to list those ranches they wished to see divided.[26]

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[25]Ukiah Republican Press March 29, 1895, p. 4.

[26]Ukiah Republican Press, "Mendocino Lands," (March 29, 1895), p. 4 and "Subdivide the Ranches," (May 3, 1895), p. 4. Ranches the Press wanted to see divided included G.E. White and Henley Bros. ranches in Round Valley.

The local press in Ukiah, dependent on a flourishing economy for advertising revenue, was voicing the kind of boosterism common to small towns wanting to become cities. They also articulated a particularly American faith in Jefferson's ideal of small farmers dividing and settling the wilderness. However, in attacking the largest landowners in the mountains, the Press took a public stand against particular powerful residents of Mendocino county. The remote ranch country in the northeastern part of the county had long been dominated by a few men who took advantage of being first on the scene to take control of huge tracts of land before the government survey. They used the weaknesses inherent in the land laws along with violence and other illegal tactics to dominate the countryside until at least the end of the nineteenth century, and often their heirs continued their large landholdings in the twentieth century.

The diverging opinions in Mendocino county over the growing power of large landholders in the mountains around Round Valley followed other divisions in the region. Southern Democrats settled Round Valley before the Civil War, and during the war the region had been a stronghold of sympathy for the Confederacy. The powerful ranchers there were Democrats. The two newspapers in Ukiah expressed divisions in the county. The Ukiah Republican

Press articulated the more progressive point of view, while the Dispatch Democrat, was more sympathetic to the big landowners.

However, another aspect of the debate complicated matters. The end of the nineteenth century brought a growing split between the centrally located and settled town of Ukiah, on the one hand, and Covelo (in Round Valley), the more boisterous and rugged frontier region, on the other. Business interests in Ukiah, whether Republican or Democrat, promoted the town as progressive and expanding. Ukiahans identified more and more strongly with the world outside the county. Ukiah had easy access to San Francisco now that the rail lines reached so far north. By the 1880s, Ukiahans could travel to San Francisco in only a few hours. Round Valley was still isolated, cut off completely part of the year by flooding rivers and washed out roads. Ukiah represented the part of the county that was entering the modern world, with good roads, rail lines, telephones, and a new water and sewer system. Round Valley represented the nineteenth century frontier.

Domination in the Mountains

The mountainous rangelands and valleys of Mendocino county experienced quite different settlement patterns from the coastal redwood region. The coast was like most

of California, where migrants from the Northern and Western regions of the country predominated.[27] But in the mountains of Northern California, the earliest settlers came from the South and the Midwest, particularly from Missouri. Many of the Southern migrants maintained strong connections and loyalties to the Southern United States. The first of them came to California during the 1850s, a time of intense sectional debates. They maintained networks of kin and friends that brought others from the Southern states to California. In the years after the Civil War, still smarting from defeat and humiliation, Southerners helped each other obtain land and start ranches. They dominated politics in the county for many years. As Carl Purdy pointed out, "Republicans were not elected to office in those days [the 1870s]."[28] According to Purdy, Ukiah, the county seat, had three

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[27]Native born population in California in 1870: 85,000 people from the North, 28,000 from the South, and 236,000 from the West (which included Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and everything west of the Mississippi River). Thus Missouri is counted as a western state. See Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California: An Analysis of Immigration, 1848-1870," California Historical Society Quarterly 19 (Dec. 1940), p. 338.

[28]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, pp. 79 and 80. The influence of southerners was strong in California generally through the 1850s, when they dominated politics. For example, the California Supreme Court was dominated by men from the South. Later, southerners became a small but vocal minority. See Kevin Starr, Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915, pp. 87 and 108.

hundred inhabitants in 1870, mostly "a good class of Southerners."[29] These people tended to marry within their own group and socialize mainly with each other. Purdy recalled that in spite of cordial relations between his own family (Republicans from New York) and their Southern neighbors, the Burkes, he did "not believe that in years the women exchanged a call."[30]

The influence of Southerners in the county, especially those from the state of Missouri, is apparent in the first history of Mendocino County written by Lyman Palmer in 1880. The history included biographies of "leading citizens," who had subscribed in exchange for inclusion in the book. Even so, the history includes most of the names of well known persons and provides a look into the social distinctions in the area. In Ukiah, forty-six of the eighty-seven important men listed, or fifty-three percent, came from Southern origins, and thirty-two of them, or thirty-seven percent, came from the state of Missouri.[31] In the mountains, the percentages were much higher. The first settlers there came from the

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[29]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, p. 41.

[30]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, p. 69.

[31]Lyman Palmer, History of Mendocino County, California (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880), pp. 625-676.

south, quickly secured vast agreage and encouraged their friends and kin to join them in Mendocino.

The first white men to arrive in the mountains of Mendocino county, where control of land and water could equal wealth and power, had a tremendous advantage. They became the largest and most powerful landowners in the mountains as they secured and controlled vast amounts of land from the 1850s to the 1890s, allowing squatters or homesteaders to settle only if they were willing to work for them and to put up with their dominance. Over almost three decades they gradually increased the acreage under their control, driving out the many small settlers that tried to resist them.

New settlers of small tracts of land found it very difficult to make ends meet without access to the adjacent grazing lands controlled by the big ranchers. A homestead of 160 acres was simply not large enough in this country where so much land was brush or rock and where there was so little water. A homesteader could build a house, plant fruit trees and a garden, and for cash income, sell stock, but on a small tract this probably would not earn enough to survive. In the mountain regions few could work for wages since available work was too far away. Serious setbacks were always possible, even likely. For example, when Laura and John Simmerley left their homestead to

celebrate Christmas in Covelo, a severe snowstorm kept them away from home until spring. On their return, they found their house and barns caved in by snow and all their stock dead. They had lost everything.[32]

Often the failure of these homesteads had a more sinister cause than the weather. A few large landowners dominated all the grazing land, even land they did not own, and did not allow small settlers its use. This alone was often enough to force them to sell out cheaply to their larger and richer neighbors. This process continued over about twenty-five years, and the ranges of the more successful ranchers numbered in the thousands of acres, as a sequence of small settlers moved in and was forced out. In the 1880s one observer wrote, "I do not believe that at this date there is one mountain home where there had been ten. Regions where there once were school districts with fifteen children are now in one ownership; even fifty thousand acres may be in one tract."[33]

The earliest settlers to arrive in the mountains had come to California with few resources. Pierce and Frank Asbill, brothers from Missouri, arrived in Round Valley in

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[32]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, p. 85. Kate Mayo, Pioneering in the Shadow of Cahto Mountain (First Centennial Edition, 1874-1974), pp. 54-55.

[33]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, p. 85.

1854 with only their rifles and horses, and got their start by packing deer meat and tanned hides to the mining regions where the demand and prices were high. In the Sacramento Valley they discovered a potential market for young Indian women, worth three fine Spanish horses each in trade. They spent the next winter shooting deer and tanning hides. They also hired Yuki boys to help them capture young Yuki women. That spring, they took thirty-five women to Red Bluff where they traded them for the horses that became the basis of their first stock operation.[34]

The Asbill brothers became some of the first and most influential large landowners in the area. Frank Asbill married Henocme Wonate Kakini, a Wailaki woman, and they had a son, John, born in 1863. In 1878 the now wealthy

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[34]Frank Asbill, "The Last of the West." This Frank Asbill was the son of Pierce Asbill, not his brother who came to Round Valley with him. By the time he died, Pierce Asbill had lost his fortune. Frank, along with his mother, Kate, tried to rebuild their lost ranch, but failed. Frank later went to San Quentin for the murder of his common law wife, and while serving a long prison sentence, wrote "Last of the West," an unpolished and awkward memoir. After his release, he spent the rest of his life traveling around the country attempting to find a publisher for his manuscript. He failed. The unpublished manuscript is in the Beard Collection, Held Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), pp. 165-172.

but still illiterate Asbills sent John to study at Healds Business College in San Francisco.[35]

Bill Woods, who rode with the Asbills for a time, also became wealthy from his early arrival and access to land. According to Frank Asbill's memoir, Woods caught his Indian wife when the three men surprised some young Indian girls and they ran. Legend has it that Woods gave chase, yelling, "Fer Christ's sake, don't shoot! She's mine if I kin ketch her!" He lassoed her and "she grabbed his whiskers, blew her nose at him and spit in his face, scratching at him with both hands." He tied her up and took her to the nearby land he had picked out for his ranch. Bill named his wife Clowie. The two of them became very wealthy from their fine herd of horses and cows and flocks of sheep. According to Asbill, Clowie Woods, dressed in silk and satin and with all her teeth capped with gold, became a well loved hostess in the mountains. Hospitable, friendly, and always swearing profusely, she worked hard raising and preserving food only to give most of it away.[36]

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[35]Frank Asbill, "The Last of the West," p. 123; Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California, p. 174.

[36]Frank Asbill, "The Last of the West," pp. 117-128.

But only in the first few decades of settlement could settlers with no money like the Asbills and Bill Woods become wealthy from their land. These early settlers and their friends took control of all the land and kept others out. The most successful and ruthless of these large landowners, George E. White, sometimes called "The Cattle King of Mendocino County," arrived in Round Valley accidentally in the 1850s while looking for gold. He preempted a thousand acres in the Southern end of the valley and set out to build an empire.[37] He eventually owned over 35,000 acres of the best rangeland in Mendocino county along with large tracts in Trinity and Humboldt counties. The land was not surveyed until the mid-1870s, and he had to pay no taxes on it.[38] White prospered, partly because he seized huge landholdings at little or no cost, in spite of existing laws, but also because he controlled huge amounts of government land through

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[37]The preemption law of 1841 was extended to California in 1853. It allowed settlers to squat on public land prior to its being offered for sale and later to purchase it at $1.25 per acre. The land had to be surveyed, nonmineral, unoccupied, and unreserved government land. Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard, Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California, p. 219.

[38]Lyman Palmer, History of Mendocino County, California (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880, Reprint edition with addenda, Fort Bragg: Mendocino Historical Society, 1967) pp. 607-608. See also Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 217.

judicious ownership of creeks and springs. He kept settlers out with the help of a large crew of loyal and ruthless "buckaroos," who were willing to use any means to serve White's interests.[39]

Born on a Virginia farm in 1831, White, a second cousin of Stonewall Jackson, had little formal education. He never lost his loyalty to the south, and was a lifelong Democrat. He crossed the plains at the age of eighteen with his uncle and brother, to search for gold. After some years in the gold fields, he arrived in Round Valley and began to build his empire. Round Valley physician Judson Liftchild, said of White: "[He] was one of the strangest characters that I ever met. He was the center of intrigue and violent deeds but strange to say he died peacefully in his bed at an advanced age. He was a tall handsome man, uneducated, spelling cat with a "k," but shrewd and able, retaining his mental and physical powers to the last. He was exceedingly proud of his Southern blood. He had a retinue of retainers who were as loyal to him as Highlanders to their Chief, and who did his bidding

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[39]Frank Asbill, "The Last of the West," See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 220.

without question, hypnotized by his remarkable personality."[40]

White kept good relations with other early ranchers in Round Valley, some of whom used the same methods he did. They divided up the land - including the public domain, which they used as free range. When they could, they bought key holdings like sources of water, and refused others access.[41] When homesteaders moved in, the big ranchers, who had established huge herds of cattle and sheep on public land, felt their position threatened. White in particular hated homesteaders, and his men, led by his bodyguard, Wylackie John, became infamous for their tactics to keep them out. As homesteaders took up claims, his men would use a variety of methods to get rid of them.[42]

White and the other large ranchers were able to control much more land than they owned by keeping out settlers and by buying up springs and other sources of

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[40]Doctor Judson Liftchild, "Memories of Round Valley at the Turn of the Century," (unpublished memoir) in Beard Collection, Held Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

[41]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, p. 84.

[42]Earl Long in Bruce Levene, Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. I (Ukiah, California: Mendocino County Historical Society, 1976), p. 289. See also Frank Asbill, "The Last of the West," p. 149.

water. That way they could keep the exclusive use of most of the public domain land. Like the lumber companies on the coast, White increased his own holdings by hiring men to file homestead claims; when their five years residency ended, White would purchase the land for very little. Often, he had loaned the homesteaders so much money or goods that they would receive nothing for their efforts. Then they often went to work on his ranch, where they received little money, but could charge necessities like beans, flour, boots, bullets, and tobacco at his storehouse. Contemporaries called them "George E. White slaves." White's storehouse charged the highest prices and the credit of employees was always good so long as they did his bidding. He kept his employees loyal by keeping them always in his debt.[43]

In some ways White's ranch resembled a plantation in the Old South. The large, self-sufficient operation employed riders, herders, packers, teamsters, and farmhands to work his huge holdings. Observers said he kept Indians, who did most of the menial labor, in almost a kind of serfdom. Dr. Liftchild remembered that "White ruled his retainers like a Medieval baron and always had a

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[43]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 222. See also Estle Beard in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. I, p. 44 and Frank Asbill, "The Last of the West," p. 156.

large number of recruited men - Chinese, Mexicans, Indians, and Caucasians - working on the ranch in the valley, most of which was under cultivation."[44]

Alternately called White's bodyguard, foreman, assistant and friend, John Wathen, or Wylackie John, as he was generally known, first became useful to White because he had lived with the Indians of the region and spoke several native languages.[45] The ability to communicate with the local Indians was indispensable since Indians made up the largest number of laborers on White's ranch. But Wylackie John's most significant value lay in his willingness to use any means necessary to achieve his desired purpose. Soft spoken, quiet, well-dressed, and sporting manners unusually refined for this frontier area, Wylackie John nevertheless became a feared character in the area. He drove settlers off their land, or shot them and stole their stock. If he had large debts, the creditors mysteriously died. When one of his cowboys had

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[44]Judson Liftchild, M.D., "Memories of Round Valley at the Turn of the Century," (unpublished manuscript) in Beard Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California. Dr. Liftchild practiced medicine in Round Valley from 1898 to 1906. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 223.

[45]The Wylackies were the Indian tribe with whom Wathan had lived.

been talking too much about his employer's affairs, the cowboy would have a fatal accident.[46]

Many homesteaders started their claims with very little, spending every dollar to build a rude house and buy some tools and a few cattle or sheep. Wylackie John became an expert at stealing stock from settlers, and often this was enough of a setback to make them move on. He would ascertain when sheep were to be driven to market and have his sheepherders wait at a crossroad with their sheep. When the settler passed, they caused all the sheep to intermingle. Then White's sheepherders, always armed, would drive all the sheep away, leaving the homesteader with little recourse but to move on.[47]

Sometimes, White used more direct action to drive out settlers. In 1881, when Joseph Lee Van and his brother filed a claim on a sheep ranch, Wylackie John led a party of men dressed as Indians to attack them. They burned the house and killed their stock. The brothers left the country soon after.[48]

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[46]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 229-230.

[47]David Warren Ryder in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. II, pp. 155-156.

[48]Held, San Francisco Call Oct. 21, 1895. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 234.

White and Wylackie John insisted on complete loyalty and discretion from their employees. In 1877 Wylackie John hired the Packwood Brothers to drive away a settler and they did so. But the $70 he paid the brothers did not satisfy them and they became nuisances, complaining constantly to whoever would listen. Wylackie John and his men drew lots to decide who would take care of the Packwoods. After the winner of the lottery shot one Packwood brother in the back, Wylackie John and William Davis turned themselves in for the crime, claiming they had acted in self defense. The judge let them go free. The main witness for the prosecution, Robert Grieves, a homesteader, became the next victim. One of White's men shot him and a witness to that shooting also mysteriously disappeared.[49]

The lore of the mountains is abundant with stories of White and Wylackie John's misdeeds. They used strychnine (used by sheep ranchers to kill bears) to get rid of homesteaders and steal their property.[50] They used their influence to manipulate the courts not only to escape arrest for their own crimes, but to harass their enemies.

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[49]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 231-232.

[50]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 236.

After W.L. Nowlin shot and killed one of White's men in self defense and gave himself up to the sheriff, perjured testimony paid for by White convicted him. The judge sentenced him to eight years in San Quentin for manslaughter, but his appeal to the Supreme Court proved that White had sent a man to kill Nowlin and later removed the weapons from his body to suggest that Nowlin had killed an unarmed man. Other evidence showed that White had paid several other witnesses for their testimony, and that they (White and the large ranchers) "owned the judge up there anyhow, and he would do as they wanted." Nowlin finally gained his freedom but only after having spent several years in prison.[51]

Mart Hurt, a longtime resident of Round Valley remembered Billy Williams, an Indian rancher whose white father had left him $5000 to start a stock business. "He had a lot of hogs and cattle and he had kind of a field fenced in there. And these fellas went and got the darn hogs and cattle and run them out in front of his house. He run out and they killed him on the porch right

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[51]Held, San Francisco Call Oct. 21, 1895.

there . . . They never did convict them . . . They didn't want him there in the cattle business."[52]

Those who attempted to stand up to White provided visible examples to others of his extensive power. When Whites's men offered Tom Steele $300 to kill another rancher, he refused and himself became an enemy to be eliminated. White accused him on trumped-up evidence of cattle rustling; he was sent to San Quentin for three years and White confiscated his property.[53]

The story of George White and the other large ranchers' domination of the countryside for over forty years is not unique in the West. Frontier social and economic conditions made such a system almost inevitable. The extreme isolation of this country, a full day's travel from the county seat in Ukiah made it difficult for settlers to leave their ranches untended to seek justice from legal institutions. Those who did so often found that political alliances among local Democrats and regional ties to the south kept most lawyers, lawmen, and judges on the side of the powerful interests in the

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[52]Mart Hurt in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. I, p. 219. See also Ukiah Republican Press August 23, 1895.

[53]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 232-233.

mountains, and only with the most indisputable evidence would the law take action against White and his cronies.

In addition, travel was extremely difficult. The mountain roads became nearly impassible in the winter, and bridges often washed out during the spring floods. In 1879 all the bridges across the Eel River washed out and were not rebuilt until the 1890s, leaving Round Valley completely cut off from the outside world for half the year by flooding rivers. John Ross described just one trip to Covelo in Round Valley in the spring of 1890 when "the roads were muddy and the streams running bank-full everywhere." After spending the night at Laytonville, he rode to the Eel River crossing where a ferry (describe) should have been in operation, but had washed away. Nothing remained but the wire stretched above the river, which was thirty or forty feet deep. He wrote that travelers were going across in a small, flat-bottomed boat or swimming their horses across the "wicked stream." Ross and his companion pushed their horses into the river to swim and took the boat. "Our boatman took the boat as far upstream as he could. We got in with our saddles, the mail carrier and the mail. He shoved off . . . We were tearing through the water; one of his paddles twisted sideways and nearly upset our boat. Water had come overboard, and for a time it looked as if our time had

arrived." When they finally arrived in Covelo they "thank[ed] their lucky stars [to be] alive," but did not look forward to the return trip.[54]

As communications with the outside world gradually improved along with better roads and bridges, and more stage runs brought increasing numbers of settlers into the area, the mountain region slowly entered the world. County government officials like sheriffs and judges became less willing to back White as the old Southern Democratic politicians retired and gave way to those of both parties with more progressive ideas. The county voted overwhelmingly Republican for the first time in 1900. Even in Round Valley where the vote was very close, McKinley got fifty eight votes to Bryan's fifty three and a Republican Congressman and Assemblyman were elected.[55] White gradually began to lose control of his empire and became less able to carry out his grandiose plans.

When Trinity county, where White owned much property, tried to tax him on his cattle and sheep for the first

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[54]John Simpson Ross II, A Pioneer Lumberman's Story: Autobiography of John Simpson Ross II (Fort Bragg: Mendocino Historical Society, 1972), pp. 14-15. The Republican Press, Nov 19, 1897 detailed "one of the great drives in the history of the county," from Covelo to Ukiah in eight hours to fetch a doctor for an ill woman.

[55]Ukiah Republican Press, November 9, 1900 and November 16, 1900.

time, he came up with a plan to take a portion of Trinity County, Southern Humboldt County, and Northern Mendocino County to form a county of his own. A petition signed by residents around his own land helped stop this plan. That they now felt safe enough to sign a petition against him is an indication of White's waning power and their growing independence.[56]

Another factor in White's loss of control came about during his spectacularly public divorce from his third wife, Frankie White, and culminated in the death of Wylackie John. White had divorced his first wife, Ann Elizabeth Welling, typically using as evidence falsely sworn statements by Wylackie John about her fidelity. His second wife, Alice Fetty, died of tuberculosis just as White began divorce proceedings against her.[57] Frankie White was White's second cousin, who had visited the ranch often as a girl. When she was sixteen years old, White brought her to live with him as his housekeeper and they married in 1881, when she was twenty-four years old and he was fifty. But soon, he installed his wife's sister, a

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[56]Trinity county lies to the northeast of Mendocino. White's holdings overlapped Mendocino, Humboldt and Trinity counties. Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 238.

[57]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 239.

widow, in a house nearby and began to visit her often. Frankie overheard conversations between Wylackie John and White that caused her to fear for her life, and she fled to San Francisco. White sued her for divorce on a perjured accusation of adultery with his nephew John Rohrbough, who testified against Frankie out of fear of his uncle and because he was George White's heir.[58]

Fearing she could not get a fair trial in Ukiah, where the lawmen and courts had always been unwilling to take on White, Frankie asked for a change of venue to San Francisco. The resulting trial became a sensation in the San Francisco newspapers, as one shockingly lurid detail after another became public. One of White's lawyers, Barclay Henley, publicly accused Frankie of having married White for his money.[59] Henley, a former congressman and son of Thomas J. Henley, founder of the Round Valley Indian reservation was himself a large landowner in Round Valley with much influence.[60]

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[58]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 243. Frankie cross-filed, charging desertion, adultery, and failure to provide. See also Ukiah Republican Press Nov. 8, 1895.

[59]San Francisco Morning Call Dec. 6, 1887.

[60]The Henleys were another family that profited from being early in arriving in Round Valley. Much of their land came from encroachment on the Round Valley Reservation.

Wylackie John worked diligently to manufacture false evidence against Frankie White and also plotted her death. After an attempt on her life failed, he brought his cowboys from Round Valley, and set them up in a San Francisco hotel room where they rehearsed their testimony daily. Later, Daniel Woodman, one of these witnesses, swore that "all of White's witnesses had received money for testifying in the case."[61]

During the trial, three witnesses turned against White and testified that he offered to pay them to kill Frankie. One witness, Frank Salladay, walked all the way from Round Valley to swear he had been offered money to testify falsely in the case. White argued that many witnesses in Covelo could not come to San Francisco, so during the Christmas adjournment of the court, the lawyers went to Round Valley to take depositions, putting local citizens in the difficult position of openly taking sides, watched all the time by White and his men.[62]

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[61]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 246-247. San Francisco Morning Call, Jan. 10, 1888. This was in 1894, after Woodman and White had a falling out over a deal in the sheep business.

[62]San Francisco Call, Jan 10, 1888. See also Beard Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah and Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 248-249.

Frankie White's major supporter during the trial was her brother, Clarence White. He had worked for George White for years, but now hated him, and especially detested Wylackie John for lying about his sister's virtue. On Jan. 2, when Clarence White saw Wylackie John taking a local prostitute to make a deposition against Frankie, he intervened and fought with Wylackie John, shooting and killing him. He was arrested and locked up in the back room of the store since the town lacked a jail. There had been talk of lynching by White's supporters, so his jailers gave Clarence a loaded rifle with which to defend himself in the night. It is another indication of George White's waning influence that Clarence White had supporters willing to protect him until his trial. Clarence White went on trial at Ukiah, plead self defense, and was acquitted.[63]

In San Francisco, the judge awarded Frankie White a divorce, noting that "it appeared that every one of the witnesses who testified in behalf of [George] White either

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[63] San Francisco Morning Call April 15, 1888. See also Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 250-251. No gun was found on Wylackie John and White's men immediately accused Clarence White of shooting an unarmed man. But a detective brought in from San Francisco found evidence that Wylackie John's gun had been removed on instructions from George White.

had received his reward or expected to get it."[64] The judge awarded community property to Frankie White, appointing a referee to decide which property was community property and which White's alone. Until that time, he ordered White to pay Frankie two hundred dollars a month alimony, and to refrain from selling or conveying any property.[65] This admonition came too late. When White refused to pay the alimony the sheriff of Mendocino County found that before the trial, White had already conveyed all his property to his nephew, John Rohrbough. In all, the divorce and property squabbles lasted for a decade, during which time George White succeeded in keeping most of his property out of Frankie's hands, but also lost his right hand man, Wylackie John, and much of his control over the people of Round Valley. Each time the citizens of Round Valley were required to take a public position, they became more likely to turn against White. In addition, the sensational media attention to his perjury and money troubles, had impaired White's reputation as "the Cattle King of Mendocino County." The press paid particular attention to revelations about his

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[64]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 251.

[65]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 252. See also Ukiah Republican Press Nov. 15, 1895.

dependence on spiritualism. One article reported that spirits "of the attractive feminine kind" would sit on his knee and "give him draughts from the magical fountains of youth."[66]

Out of the large settlement the court awarded to Frankie White, she collected only a fraction. She sold some of her land to pay her lawyers, and for a time ran a roadside inn on the road from Round Valley to Willits. In 1911, she sold out and left the area.[67]

The death of Wylackie John caused chaos in the administration of White's affairs. This was the perfect opportunity for the law-abiding citizens of the area to assert themselves. Ranchers formed the Mendocino Sheep and Cattlemen's Association to investigate the mystery of sheep and cattle rustling of the past. As a result, the authorities finally arrested some of White's men and

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[66]Unidentified clipping from a scrapbook (circa 1900) reprinted in David Landsman, ed., Mendocino County: Historic Annals (Mendocino, CA: Pacific Rim Research, 1977), p. 77.

[67]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 257. The case eventually went to the state supreme court, which found in Frankie White's favor and ordered George White and John Rohrbough to spend five days in jail and pay $500. fines for trifling with the courts. See Ukiah Republican Press Nov. 15, 1895. For Frankie's attempts to be paid through sale of White's property see Ukiah Republican Press Dec. 13, 1895.

brought them to trial for stealing stock.[68] The Ukiah Republican Press congratulated the people of Round Valley on "the successful efforts they made in purging that section of the country of the thieves, murderers, and brutes who have infested it. One or two roundups similar to those made within the past year or two and Round Valley will take its proper place among the most progressive and law-abiding portions of the state."[69]

The final blow to White's dominance came after his men's implication in the lynching of rancher Jack Littlefield. Littlefield, who had once worked for White, owned a ranch surrounded by White's land. White's usual tactics had failed to work against Littlefield and his partner, Ves Palmer, who he accused of rustling six times in all. Each time, signifying White's declining influence, juries acquitted Palmer.[70] Finally Jack Littlefield was found in the mountains, shot three times and lynched. Frankie White told the newspapers that "the lynching of Littlefield was the part of a plot and differed little from many other tragedies of the same nature that have occurred between the White and Anti-White

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[68]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 258.

[69]Ukiah Republican Press May 21, 1897.

[70]See Ukiah Republican Press Oct. 18, 1895.

people . . . White runs the whole country and has his minions in every corner of the county, but personally he is a coward and is cold-blooded as a lizard."[71]

A series of letters to the editor of the Ukiah newspapers suggests the sharp divisions in Round Valley over the situation. Some residents threatened to boycott the Ukiah Republican Press for refusing to take the White side. Others resented being stigmatized as pro-White if they failed to join the Anti-White side for "fear of antagonizing the thieving band and either losing their stock or their votes."[72] True to the political divisions in the county the newspapers in Ukiah divided sharply in their reporting of the murder. The Dispatch Democrat, sympathetic to White and Round Valley (a Democratic stronghold) portrayed Littlefield as a stock rustler and his killers as having acting for the benefit of the community. The Ukiah Republican Press, promoting a progressive agenda for the region that depended on a growing population and an end to rancher domination of the

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[71]Trinity Journal Oct. 5, 1895.

[72]Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 280.

mountains, took great pleasure in White's embarrassment.[73]

Members of local law enforcement became implicated in the case; Constable Bayliss Van Horn, his deputy John Crow and Joe Gregory were arrested and charged with Littlefield's murder. Their trial, which began in December of 1895 in Weaverville (in Trinity County), dramatically delineated the growing tensions in the mountains.[74] About 250 people made the long journey to Weaverville from Round Valley to testify. Most were angry that they were once again forced to take a public position with or against White and his men. Some felt so afraid they would be shot on the trip that they took the long way around, traveling through Ukiah to San Francisco, to Sacramento, Redding and then to Weaverville (several hundred miles out of their way). The journey of the witnesses from the mountains made a dramatic scene recorded by Frank Asbill:

> I looked out toward the foot of the red hill and saw . . . dirt covered men . . . the traffic got heavy, for there was a whole bunch in a group, half of them Indians. White men and squaws, white women and bucks rode side by side. The people kept going by at intervals of fifteen minutes all afternoon. All had camped out and

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[73]Ukiah Republican Press December 20, 1895 and June 5, 1896.

[74]Ukiah Republican Press Dec. 20, 1895.

> had been on the trail four or five days. All that afternoon the overall-clad men and calico-dressed women kept coming. About 250 men, women, children, horses, and dogs drank from the spring for three days. The timber along the trail for three miles was dusted red from the dust kicked up by the horses' feet.[75]

At the trial, Deputy Attorney General C.N. Post openly accused George E. White of heading a conspiracy to kill Jack Littlefield, but brought no charges against him. After a long trial the jury found all three of the accused men guilty of second degree murder. The judge sentenced Constable Van Horn and Crow to twenty-five years each, and Gregory to thirty years. According to the Ukiah Republican Press, a contingent of Round Valley people, "subjects of 'King' George E. White, were deeply moved" at the sentence.[76] Several other men had been implicated in the murders but Trinity county never tried them. The long and costly trials had completely drained the county not only of funds with which to prosecute the other suspects, but also of all qualified jurors.[77]

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[75]Frank Asbill, "Last of the West," pp. 107-110. Since the Indians would not have been allowed to testify in the trial, presumably they were present as packers and servants.

[76]Ukiah Republican Press June 5, 1896.

[77]San Francisco Call Sept. 3, 1896. Ukiah Republican Press Dec. 20, 1895.

The publicity surrounding his divorce and then the trials over Jack Littlefield's murder continued the persistent erosion of the reign of George White along with the other big ranchers in the mountains. Each event challenged White in a public way, damaging his reputation and humiliating him. But most important, events forced local citizens to take a stand, and each succeeding event made it more possible for them to stand up for themselves and others like them, rather than to be controlled by fear and moneyed interests. This is not to say that the big landowners lost power and influence completely. Although White died in 1902, his heir John Rohrbough became a most influential citizen in the mountains, as did other large ranchers. But the pattern of rule by force had been broken and this phase of frontier violence ended along with Round Valley's isolation from the world. In the twentieth century large landowners would have to operate in the realm of politics rather than impose their will by force.[78]

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[78]John Rohrbough died in 1939 at the age of 80. His wife died in 1970 at the age of 98, and the land was divided among their children. The aftermath of the old feuds did not completely cease after White's death. In 1916, Carter Rohrbough, White's nephew and attorney, was found shot on the ranch. The murder was never solved. Estle Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, p. 311.

The settlement of Mendocino County by Anglo-Americans adds another layer of complexity to the social history of the region. At the same time as they conquered the Indians and created a racially divided social order, Anglos were themselves divided in many ways. Still, those who had arrived first and exploited the conditions of the frontier often, although certainly not always, left to their heirs positions of great power and influence, as George White did for John Rohrbaugh. In addition, these early arrivals established a social order that determined opportunities for later emigrants. But arriving first was only one factor. Long term success depended on one's ability not only to take advantage of frontier conditions, but also to make the transition into the modern world where new conditions prevailed. Those who could make this transition became the new elite, members of a select group that exerted tremendous influence in the county.

CHAPTER 3

RACIAL BOUNDARIES IN A MULTI-ETHNIC REGION

Writing about the racist attitudes exhibited by Californians toward Native Americans since the frontier era, Shelburne Cook depicted "an animosity which reached almost the level of mass psychosis . . . [It] still persists in attenuated form to the present day, and in the meantime it has colored the relations between the white man and not only the red man but almost all other ethnic stocks very slightly represented in California until recently as well."[1] While Cook's analysis may seem extreme, one cannot deny that in California the notion of race became intertwined with the very idea of difference, helping to create shifting and ambiguous definitions about the categories of race, culture, and ethnicity. Anglo-American migrants to California created racial hierarchies to justify and order their conquest of both the California Indians and the Mexicans, creating an adaptable pattern that could be extended to subsequent groups that were "different" and threatening to Anglo American domination of California's wealth -- European and Asian immigrants.

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[1]Sherburne F. Cooke, "The California Indian and Anglo-American Culture," in Charles Wollenberg, ed., Ethnic Conflict in California (Los Angeles, 1970), p. 27 quoted in Moses Rischin, "Immigration, Migration, and Minorities in California: A Reassessment," Pacific Historical Review 41 (1972), p. 81.

Racial hierarchies served the interests of the dominant group in California, providing them with a rationale for their exclusive control of land, resources, and power.

In Mendocino county the earliest settlers created a narrow frontier society that allowed access to land and influence for some racial or ethnic groups and relegated others to an unskilled, poorly paid labor force. This chapter unravels some of the tangled threads of racial and ethnic domination in Mendocino county by tracing the racial hierarchies established by Anglo-Americans to justify their conquest of the California Indians and the extension of these hierarchies to European immigrants. Race, however, was not the whole story. Racial stereotypes were mitigated by other factors in the case of European immigrants, allowing them access to economic success. This was not the case with either Indians or Asians. A case study of Chinese immigrants in Mendocino county explores why, after fifty years, immigrants from Asia left the California countryside. The experience of the Chinese illustrates the predominance of race in determining the fate of one ethnic group in California.

Racial Attitudes Toward the California Indians

The endless stream of racist theories currently popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided Anglo Americans in California with a ready-made

justification for their brutal conquest of the Indians. Nineteenth century white Americans were obsessed with the idea that race explained the character, temperament, and intelligence of peoples.[2] They did not acknowledge that Indian culture and character, like their own, was the outcome of specific historical circumstances, social institutions, and environment. Unable to view Indians on their own terms, Americans focused on differences and expected Indians to either die out when exposed to a superior race or to transform their way of life very quickly.[3]

These racial doctrines served the interests of those with the most to gain from the Indians' demise. Hatred

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[2]Some works that analyze racist thought in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries include: Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1965); Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981); Robert E. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); George Frederickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

[3]Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, p. 244-245. Richard Drinnon makes the important point that racist practice did not grow out of scientfic racism; instead he argues that the theory grew out of the practice. In California, settlers had the example of two-hundred years of previous Indian hating as well as the theories of scientic racism to draw upon. Richard Drinnon, Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building (New York: Schocken Books, 1980) p. xxvi-xxvii.

and contempt for Indians had usually been strongest on the frontier; this was certainly the case in California. White settlers seeking land were quick to adapt racial theories to suit their circumstances, creating a virulent anti-Indian racism that began to decline only at the end of the nineteenth century when Indians no longer constituted a threat or held tracts of valuable land. Even after the usefulness of these theories had declined, they were slow to die. The theories of scientific racism became strongly held stereotypes that white Californians living in areas occupied by Indians continued to cite well into the twentieth century.[4]

The earliest American settlers in California saw little to admire among the Indians and believed they would soon disappear. Anglos attributed the supposed decline of the Indians to "the low condition of their culture when civilized men came among them."[5] Lyman Palmer, author of a history of Mendocino county, went as far as to deny that the arrival of white men had caused the annihilation of so many Indians. He argued that the shrinking numbers of

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[4]Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, pp. 236-7. For such stereotypes in Mendocino County, see Frederick Elliot Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1941).

[5]John S. Hittell, "The Doom of the California Aborigines," Overland Monthly (June 1888), p. 610.

Indians in California had a supernatural cause: "[the Indians] have served their purpose in the great economy of God, and the fullness of time for their disappearance from the earth has come, and they are going to go."[6]

The assumption that the Indians faced inevitable extinction made killing them easier, as California's governor Peter H. Burnett made clear in an 1851 speech: "That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct, must be expected; while we cannot anticipate this result with but painful regret, the inevitable destiny of the race is beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert."[7]

Even white people who felt some sympathy for the Indians believed them to be a doomed race, and only rarely attempted to stop attacks on them, especially in the 1850s and 60s. Instead they created sentimental stereotypes of the California Indians that, while they stimulated some charitable feelings, kept Indians forever in the role of children. Historian John S. Hittell expressed this view when he wrote in 1888 that "the doom of the red race is written in our local history, even in those districts where they are most numerous, and where they appear to the

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[6]Lyman Palmer, History of Mendocino County, California (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880), p. 173.

[7]Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, p. 279.

least disadvantage. They live in misery, and are steadily dying out. After a few generations, not one of pure blood will remain."[8]

Anglo Americans compared the California Indians unfavorably with other American Indians, ranking them always at the bottom of a racial hierarchy. Even those Anglos that felt kindly toward the Indians agreed with Hubert Howe Bancroft who wrote: "We do not know why the Digger Indians of California were so shabbily treated by nature; why with such fair surroundings they were made so much lower in the scale of intelligence than their neighbors."[9]

Racial doctrines became embedded in the language of everyday life in California. The name "Digger," still widely used in California to identify Indians collectively, provided an effective label for all those seemingly uncivilized qualities Anglo-Americans most despised. The term seemed to imply savage and primitive qualities whites believed to be inherent in California Indians. George C. Yount, a pioneer who entered the Napa Valley before the Gold Rush wrote: "From their mode of

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[8]John S. Hittell, "The Doom of the California Aborigines," Overland Monthly (June, 1888), p. 614.

[9]Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California (Vol. VII, San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890), p. 474.

living on roots and reptiles, insects and vermine (sic) they have been called Diggers. In fact they almost burrow in the Earth like the mole and are almost blind to everything comely."[10] The term "Digger," used interchangeably with the word "Indian," came to represent the lowest qualities of savagery, filth, and darkness. In California "Digger" came to have the same connotations as "Nigger" did with regard to African Americans. Yet most Californians referred to Indians almost exclusively by this name, refusing to recognize any tribal differences or any culture. One Ukiah lawyer remarked in 1934 that the local "Diggers" had not been much studied "because they had very little culture."[11]

Outside California the skin color of Indians had not been particularly significant to white Americans. Only in California did complexion become an issue with regard to Indians.[12] Race had special relevance for Anglo-Californians of southern heritage, whose racial ideology had been developed during decades of sectional conflict.

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[10]George C. Yount quoted in Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, The Other Californians (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), p. 24.

[11]Quoted in Frederick Elliot Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 40.

[12]James J. Rawls , Indians of California: The Changing Image (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), p. 197.

While southerners held no monopoly on racism, the conflicts of the 1850s and 1860s heightened their awareness of racial hierarchies. To white southerners, the dark complexions of the California Indians clearly marked them as inferior. As one newspaper described, "It requires a good deal of imagination to make any of them red men. Their skins are as dusky as an unwashed negro's; their hair long, straight and matted."[13] Some white Californians even went as far as to conceive of the Indians as literally inhuman, more like beasts than men, comparing them with baboons or gorillas. To Samuel Upham, even their diets placed them among animals: "The Digger eats very little animal food. Like his brother, the gorilla, he is a vegetarian."[14]

The California Indians put very little value on material possessions, providing Anglo-Americans with yet another reason to deride them. To those whose democratic ideology revolved in part around the freedom to pursue property, the Indians' lack of interest in material wealth

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[13]San Francisco Bulletin Dec. 16, 1859 quoted in Robert F. Heizer, ed., They Were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations (Ramona, California: Ballena Press, 1974), p. 120.

[14]Quoted in James J. Rawls, Indians of California: The Changing Image (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), p. 199.

seemed not only simple or crude, but savage. Wealth, not privilege, was an important measure of status in nineteenth century white America, and the quest for money and power became the essence of "frontier democracy." Indeed, Americans saw commerce and civilization as going hand in hand into the west.[15] Those not equipped or inclined to business activity could never aspire to "civilized" society nor be included in the vision of a democratic society. Consequently, the first constitutional convention in 1849 restricted the suffrage to white male citizens specifically to exclude "the inferior races of mankind - particularly blacks and Indians."[16]

In the nineteenth century a new conception of individualism emerged, focused on the ideal of the self-made individual. Robert Berkhofer makes the crucial point that without access to cheap lands, the fulfillment of such ideals would have been impossible. The frontier was the symbol of opportunity for the self made man because it offered free or cheap land and resources.[17] Tribalism

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[15]Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, pp. 223-224. See also Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West, p. 27.

[16]Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny, p. 278.

[17]Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian, pp. 138 and 154-155.

was the antithesis of such a value system. Owning land and possessions in common, and working for the good of the group rather than for profit seemed to lack industry and self reliance. California Indians lacked material desires and the drive to fulfill them. It is not surprising that assimilationists, in their effort to change Indians into Anglos, saw the necessity to make Indians aware of "broader desires and ampler wants," and to get the Indian into "trousers--trousers with a pocket in them, and with a pocket that ached to be filled with dollars."[18]

William Cronon and others have written persuasively about the profound distinctions between European and Indian conceptions of land ownership. These differences remained as strong in nineteenth century California as they had been in sixteenth century Massachusetts. To the Anglos, since the Indians did not "own" the land as individuals, did not fence it, clear it, plant it to crops, or buy and sell it, they did not use it

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[18]Quoted in Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987), p. 198.

productively or "own" it. Anglos considered such land available for settlement.[19]

The Anglo-American perception of the California Indians as a weak, unfit, and degenerate race provided a valuable justification for the appropriation of their land in the name of progress and for the unusually high level of violence used against them. The most outrageous acts of violence against the Indians, like the killing of children or rape of women, the more refined settlers blamed on a "degraded" class of white men. One article noted that apprenticed Indian children in Sacramento "dare not go out beyond the garden fence, or into any neighboring salmonberry patch, for fear of being shot down unprovokedly by a passing white man."[20] Since the whites could always blame such brutal behavior on a poor and degraded class of whites, they could feel superior and secure in the knowledge that they had attained their own property and money honestly and without undue violence.

The specter of race amalgamation led Anglo Americans to reserve their most intense abhorrence for the products

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[19]William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983).

[20]"The Humboldt War and the Northwest Coast," Sacramento Daily Union, July 19, 1862, p. 2, copy in Estel Beard Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

of mixed race relationships. Although mixed-bloods tended to be less resistant to assimilation, in California common opinion held that mixed-bloods got the worst characteristics of each race. These stereotypes had long lives. The Ukiah superintendent of schools still argued in the 1930s that "the sad part of these Indians is that their white blood is very poor grade. That's what makes them poor in quality."[21]

All these attitudes fostered in California to justify removal and extermination of the Indians, served in later years to explain their continued unworthiness and segregation from power and resources. The racial stereotypes also emphasized the Indians' suitability for use as a cheap, unskilled labor force.

The racial attitudes developed to exclude the California Indians were easily extended in various ways to include immigrant groups from Europe and Asia as well as Mexicans. Until the tremendous increase in immigration from Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, the dominant group in California drew social divisions and allocated opportunity largely along racial lines. Californians formally excluded Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican-Americans from full participation in

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[21]Frederick Elliot Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 36.

California life, while accepting most European immigrants that suffered discrimination in the East, like the Irish. But when thousands of new immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe arrived in California at the end of the nineteenth century, they took up a nebulous position on the social and racial scale.

Definitions of Race and the Immigrants

The expanding California economy attracted those for whom jobs might likely be available: males and persons fifteen to forty years of age comprised more than half the population until the end of the nineteenth century. The relatively large proportion of people in the most productive age groups resulted in the very rapid growth of a labor force. The number of foreign born persons increased in every decade except the 1930s and the percentage of people born outside the United States was always higher in California than in the rest of the nation.[22]

In Mendocino county and other Northern California lumbering areas, Anglo-Americans often considered Finns and Italians, the two most numerous immigrant groups to arrive between 1890 and 1920, to be "nonwhite." They

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[22]Hans C. Palmer, "Italian Immigration and the Development of California Agriculture," (Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, 1965), pp. 97-100.

applied this definition most often to single working men, the majority of Italian and Finnish immigrants.[23] Anglo-Americans emphasized in these men the same traits they criticized in other excluded groups like Indians: dissolution, intemperance, volatility, violence, and stupidity. However, when Finns and Italians brought or formed families and made it clear that they intended to make the county their home, spaces opened for those immigrants willing to adopt American social norms. The

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[23]Works about the migration of Finns to the American West include Eloise Katherine Engle, The Finns in America (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Lerner Publications Co., 1977); Paul George Hummasti, Finnish Radicals in Astoria, Oregon, 1904-1940 (New York: Arno Press, 1979); Reino Kero, The Finns in North America: Destinations and Composition of Immigrant Societies in North America Before World War I (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1980); Peter Kivisto, Immigrant Socialists in the United States: The Case of the Finns and the Left (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, 1984); John Wargelin, The Americanization of the Finns (Hancock, Michigan: The Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, 1924). For California and Mendocino County see Jerry P. Schofer, Urban and Rural Finnish Communities in California, 1860-1960 (San Francisco, 1975); Dorothy Bear and Beth Stebbins, "Early Finns of the Mendocino Coast," Mendocino Historical Review (Summer 1988). For information about Italian immigration to California see: Dino Cinel, From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience (Stanford University Press, 1982); Dino Cinel, The National Integration of Italian Return Migration, 1870-1929 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Michaela Di Leonardo, "The Myth of the Urban Village: Women, Work, and Family Among Italian-Americans in Twentieth-Century California," in Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., The Women's West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987) and The Varieties of Ethnic Experience: Kinship, Class, and Gender Among California Italian-Americans (Cornell University Press, 1984).

immigrants most similar to the dominant group began to move up. Class and ethnic divisions were permeable, as long as the new group was able to advance economically and to adopt, at least outwardly, Anglo-American values.[24]

Writing about racial divisions in California, Daniel Rodgers and Harry Kitano have suggested that the dominant society dared not lump all potentially nonwhite groups into one category, since this would eventually lead to their numerical superiority. Instead the dominant society allowed those individuals from excluded groups willing to "act whiter" access to increased opportunities, if not to full equality. This model fits the new European immigrants arriving in California as well as it does nonwhite groups; they became accepted in relation to how well their values meshed with Anglo society. Ironically, acceptance of American values included not only defining

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[24]For example, Italian, Finnish, and Indian men were all accused of being violent, drunken, and prone to fight, usually with knives. When violent acts did occur in these groups, all the local newspapers were quick to dramatize the situations. For example, the Dispatch Democrat reported in 1909 that a group of Italians "had a merry row and cutting scrape" in a bar in Greenwood. Similar language is common in articles about all three groups, but not in articles about similar occurances involving Anglo Americans.

oneself as "white," but required that new immigrants distance themselves from nonwhite groups like Indians.[25]

The more different from the Anglo-American norm these new immigrants seemed in appearance, language, religion, and values, the lower Anglo-Californians put them on the social scale. Particularly important to Californians was individual separation from one's ethnic group. As the Bureau of Labor Statistics defined it: "'White men' are generally preferred [as workers] where they may be obtained. A 'white man' has been well defined as a 'laborer of any nationality who speaks English, eats American food, and travels alone.' Foreigners . . . 'speak no English, travel and work in gangs under the leadership of an interpreter and board themselves in their native fashion.'"[26]

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[25]I have used the model developed by Roger Daniels and Harry H.L. Kitano in American Racism: Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., to develop this interpretation. Daniels and Kitano, however, were writing only about nonwhite groups in California, not European immigrants. For a useful analysis of the significance and influence of racial identity to American workers in the nineteenth century see David R. Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (New York: Verso, 1991).

[26]California Bureau of Labor Statistics, Sixteenth Biennial Report, The Lumber Industry in California (California State Printing Office, 1914), p. 76.

In Mendocino county and California generally, a racially stratified society emerged, with Anglo-Americans on the top, Indians and Chinese on the bottom, and with European immigrants in the middle, their closeness to the top determined by the degree to which they fit Anglo norms of property, religion, and individualism. Class was a significant aspect of the developing social order, but in rural California, class divisions tended to follow race divisions.

Growing out of this racial stratification was a dual or two-tiered labor system. The top tier consisted of managerial and skilled work and was the exclusive domain of white workers. The bottom tier included unskilled, low-paying jobs such as farm labor, railroad building and the like; nonwhite workers disproportionately filled the bottom tier. California employers argued that nonwhite workers were most suited for these bottom-tier jobs because they were supposedly suited to such work by their size, tolerance for heat, minimal wants, and lack of ambition. Whites applied these attributes to all groups termed nonwhite, including Indians (usually in agricultural work), blacks, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, Italian, Finnish, and many more. By definition, immigrant workers doing bottom-tier labor became

associated with stereotypical definitions about nonwhite people.[27]

But although these groups occupied the bottom tier in the labor system, there were significant differences in their situations. European immigrants entered the work force as unskilled laborers, but they often worked in modern industrial jobs, where they learned useful skills and may have had more opportunity to move up. Indians and Chinese, on the other hand, worked most often in agricultural work, domestic service, or in industrial jobs shunned by white workers, where they was little or no opportunity to advance. In the lumber industry, for example, Chinese workers were only hired in jobs shunned by white workers.[28]

Robert Blauner argues persuasively that colonization created the crucial difference between European immigrants and the Indians. Although European immigrants faced prejudice depending on their distance from Anglo American

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[27]For a definition of the dual labor system in the West see Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 282-284.

[28]Robert Blauner, "Colonized and Immigrant Minorities," in Ronald Takaki, ed., From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 149-160. See also Daniel A. Cornford, Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), pp. 58-59.

norms, they were not forcibly colonized like the Indians. Europeans, although they may have been pushed by economic or political forces, immigrated voluntarily. Indian culture, as non-European and non-Western, seemed farther from Anglo culture, and therefore was more likely to provoke hostility from whites. And the Indians, as colonized people, became the target of campaigns to eradicate their values and ways of life.[29]

Simply being grouped together in the working class did not create the kind of class solidarity necessary to overcome ethnic and racial divisions. Most unions excluded blacks, Indians, Chinese, and Hispanics; some excluded southern and eastern European workers as well. White workingmen believed that these groups would hamper their ability to bargain for wages with employers. And employers took advantage of racial divisions by using

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[29]As for the Chinese, Blauner asserts that there is insufficient evidence to assess the balance between free and involuntary entry in the nineteenth century. Many were pressed into involuntary service; others came voluntarily so he places them in a "semicolonial" category. But he points out that the exclusion and restriction laws that "marked off" their status makes it clear that "it is misleading to equate the Asian experience with the European immigrant pattern." Robert Blauner, "Colonized and Immigrant Minorities," pp. 149-151.

these groups as weapons against white workers.[30] As one white worker put it, "the Dagoes, Japs, or Chinese will walk in and take a chance with those cheap guys who today are willing to work for $2.50 or $2.00 a day."[31]

In the only industry in Mendocino County, the lumber industry, the most rigorous work was done "principally [by] Italians, Greeks, Swedes, Portuguese, and some

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[30]Ronald Takaki, ed., From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America, p. 107. Howard Lamar argues that labor violence in the West arose from the joining of older, preindustrial ethnic labor systems with a modern industrial system, subject to boom and bust markets. Ethnic laborers, often working under a labor contract found themselves working with white Americans who were jealous of their rights as workers and citizens. Thus, economic expectations rather than racism may sometimes account for divisions and problems. Howard Lamar, "From Bondage to Contract: Ethnic Labor in the American West, 1600-1890," in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 293-324.

[31]Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own", p. 289. For more information about labor in the American West see: Joseph Robert Conlin, Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1969); Cletus E. Daniel, Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981); Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1969); Vernon H. Jensen, Lumber and Labor (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945); Sucheng Chen, This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Alan Derickson, Workers' Health, Workers' Democracy: The Western Miners' Struggle, 1891-1925 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988); Daniel A. Cornford, Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

Spaniards. Very few Americans stay with this occupation any length of time." Native-born Americans occupied the "principal positions," the top-tier in all the lumber companies.[32]

The ethnic variety in the lower tier of the labor force worked in the interest of the mill owners because the new immigrants from Italy and Portugal were extremely difficult to organize. Italians, the largest foreign born group in the industry after 1900, proved a particular challenge to union organizers. Most did not speak English, many intended to return to Italy eventually (60% did so), and the majority had no experience with unionism because they came from the province of Lucca in northwest Italy where trade unionism was almost unknown. Although Italians supported certain strikes and showed militancy on occasion, few of them actually joined unions. Daniel Cornford attributes this to the prejudice they encountered within the labor movement, the strong familial bonds among Italians themselves that kept them in their own contained communities, and to a general lack of faith in their ability to change their working circumstances. Based on their experience as peasants in Italy, they found it easier to believe in the possibilities of hard work,

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[32]California Bureau of Labor Statistics, The Lumber Industry in California, pp. 75-76.

saving, and buying land so they could become independent from the wage system entirely.[33]

In part, the ethnic diversity of the lumber industry work force resulted from a calculated policy by employers to make unionization difficult. The general manager of the Pacific Lumber Company (in Humboldt County) advised in a trade journal: "Don't have too great a percentage of any one nationality. For your own good and theirs mix them up and obliterate clannishness and selfish social prejudices." Union leaders accused the companies of importing non-English speaking workers "to make harmony among the workers hard to obtain."[34] They further exacerbated ethnic division by bringing in foreigners or Indians to replace fired union members or to replace striking workers.[35]

Foreign-born workers migrated around the state to work in agriculture and railroad construction. Native-born families sometimes traveled around to find work as well, like the Pimental family from Mendocino county,

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[33]Daniel A. Cornford, Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire, pp. 195-197.

[34]E.A. Blockinger, Pioneer Western Lumberman quoted in Daniel A. Cornford, Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire, p. 195.

[35]H. Brett Melendy, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850-1950," (Ph.D. Stanford University, 1952), p. 339.

which camped out where the father worked in the summertime. These work camps provided opportunities for close contact between various races and ethnicities, but often workers found it hard to mix with groups they deemed very different from themselves. For example, Mrs. Pimental greatly feared the Hindu workers she met in the railroad camps and brought her children inside the tent when they were around. Her daughter remembered them as "tall [with] beards and turbans. They all seemed friendly; they just wanted something to eat. My mother would feed them and they'd leave."[36]

Fear and distrust characterized the reaction of local people to the Hindus and other non-white itinerant labor groups. The local newspapers referred to them as "a filthy and disagreeable lot," especially when their customs clashed with those of the Americans. When Bhan Singh died at a railroad camp his friends built a large bonfire for cremation according to their custom. Local people intervened and "the remains were cremated according to the customs of civilization."[37] When more familiar workers became available employers found reasons to

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[36]Elisa Pimental in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. II, p. 115.

[37]Republican Press May 27, 1910; Dispatch Democrat Feb. 18, 1910.

replace the Hindu crews, like H.H. Hart, who discharged his crew of Hindus because he believed them unable to work well in California's climate. Hart replaced them with Italians, who seemed less alien.[38]

The negative response to the Hindus was part of the extreme anti-Oriental bias common to the Pacific coast states. The largest annual total of immigrants from India to California came in 1910, when 1,782 entered the state, mostly responding to the demand for labor in railroad construction north of San Francisco. The Pacific Coast Immigration Commission declared the Indians the most undesirable of Asiatics and recommended their exclusion. In addition, beginning in 1907, California's rural areas called for legislation excluding all Asians from land tenure. The California legislature responded to this pressure in 1913 when it enacted the Alien Land Law, directed primarily at Japanese landowners but also affected the few East Indians in California.[39]

Other foreign groups experienced nativism, although immigrants from Europe fared better than Asians did. The new immigrant population on the Mendocino coast entered a

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[38]Ukiah Republican Press December 6, 1907.

[39]Gary R. Hess, "The 'Hindu' in America," Pacific Historical Review Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (February 1969), pp. 62-63.

society with strongly developed nativist traditions from the past. During the Gold Rush, Yankee miners in California considered "everyone not a citizen of the United States who enters upon public land and digs for gold . . . a trespasser."[40] This attitude toward outsiders was easily extended to the rest of California's resources. However, nativism in California, growing as it did out of the problems of a rural, rapidly growing, disorderly, and ethnically diverse society, took a distinctly different path from nativism in the eastern part of the country. While California Yankees openly and often violently expressed their racial animosity toward Mexicans, Indians, Blacks, and Chinese, they tended to neglect the Irish and even showed some solidarity with Catholics. California nativism originated and grew out of that group most avidly concerned about establishing an orderly, Americanized society - the respectable, white middle-class.[41] After 1848 there was little doubt what

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[40]Leonard Pitt, "The Beginnings of Nativism in California, Pacific Historical Review XXX (Feb. 1961), p. 25.

[41]Leonard Pitt, "The Beginnings of Nativism in California," Pacific Historical Review XXX (Feb. 1961), pp. 23-38. Pitt accounts for California's difference by saying that rural social traditions and the racial diversity of California caused them to model their activities on southern whites putting down negro rebels rather than on working class riots in eastern cities.

California was to be: white and Anglo-American. Race and ethnicity were much more important in California than religion. In such a diverse country, white Americans had to stick together, even those who, in the east, might have been divided by religion.

The "new immigrants," who entered California after the 1880s mostly from southern and eastern Europe, occupied a nebulous and flexible position somewhere along a continuum separating the Anglo-Americans (a group that had already assimilated people of many nationalities including German, British, and Irish immigrants) on one end, and the groups set apart by race, including Indians, Mexicans, Asians, and Blacks, on the other. Perhaps they benefitted somewhat from the low esteem in which Californians held all non-whites. On the other hand, some scholars, most notably Shelburne Cook, believe that the virulent racism toward native people in California determined all subsequent ethnic encounters.[42]

In Mendocino county Anglo-Americans accepted most readily those members of the new immigrant groups who, on

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[42]Sherburne F. Cooke, "The California Indian and Anglo-American Culture," in Charles Wollenberg, ed., Ethnic Conflict in California (Los Angeles, 1970), p. 27; quoted in Moses Rischin, "Immigration, Migration, and Minorities in California: A Reassessment," Pacific Historical Review 41 (1972), p. 81.

the surface at least, appeared to have adopted important aspects of Anglo-American culture. Such attributes as speaking good English, succeeding in business, and amassing land and property made it easier for immigrants to gain acceptance in the Anglo community. These requirements were quite impossible for most new immigrants and the few members of these groups that had achieved them had arrived much earlier than their countrymen. A few members of new immigrant groups had come to Mendocino county during the original period of settlement and had been defined by Anglos as part of their own group (by comparison with non-white groups like Mexicans and Indians). Among the list of leading citizens in Ukiah in an 1880 county history is one Italian, Daniel Gobbi, but his story could not be less typical of his countrymen who would come later. Born in 1823, Gobbi left Italy at the age of twenty for London, and then came to San Francisco in 1850. He arrived in Mendocino county in 1856, where he farmed and became a stock speculator, returning for a visit to "his native land, England" in 1868.[43] Another well respected Italian in Ukiah benefitted socially from his lack of ability to speak his native language. The local newspaper described John Ginochio as "a native of

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[43]Lyman Palmer, History of Mendocino County, California, pp. 639-640.

California, born in El Dorado county of Italian parentage but he does not speak the language." In fact, according to the paper, he was not even raised by his Italian parents, since he had been abducted from his family as a boy.[44] Judging from the examples set by Gobbi and Ginocchio, complete dissociation from one's ethnic ties helped bring acceptance into Anglo society. Foreign-born whites living on their own without the support of ethnic communities seemed less threatening to Anglo Americans and when combined with the ability to speak English and the acceptance of other American values, eased assimilation.

On the other hand, Anglos rarely looked upon members of the same groups recently arrived in larger numbers as upstanding members of the community. Italians, Finns, and other new ethnic groups tended to gather together, speak their native languages, and appeared too "different" from Anglos. The press tended to portray both Italians and Finns with stereotypes associated with violence, excess of emotion, brawling and drunkenness, and emphasized their dangerous and unpredictable nature. "Italians on the Warpath," headlined one story of an "athletic" young Italian who "got too much 'dago red' and proceeded to whack old man Massoletti" with a dull knife. "Had the

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[44]Ukiah Republican Press July 5, 1895.

knife been sharp there would have been one Italian less."[45] In another instance, Amerigo Baldochio of Greenwood killed a compatriot and wounded two others over a woman. Assuming that Italians belonged to a group that would not respect the law, the Press warned that "there is little possibility of Baldochio's capture once he gets with his numerous countrymen in the grape growing districts."[46]

Public opinion sometimes seemed to place both Italians and Finns (the two most numerous immigrant groups between 1880 and 1920) in a separate racial category entirely. This correlates with a common nativist definition of Finnish people as "eastern," rather than Nordic or Scandinavian. In The Old World in the New, for example, Edward A. Ross identifies Finns as members of the "Finno-Tartar branch of the Mongolian race," and thus, categorized them with Chinese, Japanese, and Turks.[47] The Mendocino county press associated both Finns and Italians with dangerous foreign political influences, as

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[45]Dispatch Democrat October 8, 1909.

[46]Ukiah Republican Press October 18, 1907.

[47]Edward A. Ross, The Old World in the New (New York: The Century Co., 1914), p. 168.

in a Ukiah editorial that maintained, "Italy has furnished more anarchists . . . than any other country."[48]

But more often, the press treated the new immigrants with the same kind of amused contempt they showed for Indians, especially when the immigrants showed their lack of understanding of American customs. When Frank Dutro tried to apply for a warrant to arrest persons who had stolen property from his barn, the Press quoted him this way: "I wanta d'papa, what'a you calla, to catcha da man what taka da wrench da monka. He taka da roppa, da brusha, da haya. What for you no catcha?" According to the article, when he discovered he would have to pay $5 to serve the warrant, he concluded that "law was too expensive, so determined to let the campers retain the articles."[49]

The Republican Press reported Mendocino county to be concerned about the problem of immigrants "who become paupers and lunatics," arguing that "by far the major portion of those who are confined in the local asylum are foreigners, and were in most instances mentally imbalanced when they immigrated to this country."[50] The Dispatch

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[48]Ukiah Republican Press April 25, 1902.

[49]Ukiah Republican Press September 27, 1895.

[50]Ukiah Republican Press July 2, 1897.

Democrat agreed in a 1906 editorial favoring immigration restriction and educational and economic tests for immigrants: "It is stated that there were one million immigrants to this country last year and that there will probably be more this year. The criminals, degenerates, illiterates and paupers pour into this country because they are a continued nuisance to their own land, are filling our charitable institutions, hospitals and jails and opening thousands of 'hell holes' in the United States. Both on account of their number and their character, we can hardly hope to assimilate them, and they should be restricted by legislation . . . We do not believe that the United States should any longer be made the dumping ground for the refuse of the world."[51]

The Press did not worry about all new immigrants, however. Many articles attest to their admiration for those few who, like Dr. F. Giesebrecht and Augustus Frederick Redemeyer, came from "sturdy German parentage."[52] The most important test of "good" immigrants seemed financial, as is evident in an article that reported positively that two men who were "Greeks and men of means" had purchased a 1400 acre ranch to

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[51]Ukiah Dispatch Democrat May 18, 1906, p. 8.

[52]Ukiah Republican Press January 15, 1904.

manufacture sheep and goat cheese, "which is regarded in many European countries as a delicacy."[53]

Most of the new immigrant groups responded to nativism and loneliness by gathering together with those with whom they shared language and customs. In this way, they could often ignore nativism. E.B. Elk remembers that his parents from Sweden felt very much at home on the coast because so many people spoke Swedish. For many people learning English was not necessary. But southern Europeans did not fare as well, according to Elk. He remembers "the Swedish and the Irish [getting] along all right, because they're both Nordic, but I don't think the Italians got along quite as well, at first."[54]

As more of the new immigrants from Europe opened businesses and became landowners, Californians classified them more as white, although usually not on the same level as themselves. But foreign-born immigrants with white skin always benefited by comparison to the groups most hated in California: Indians, Mexicans, and Asians. Although American reformers advocated the assimilation of the Indians, most people in Mendocino County did not want or allow assimilation with non-white peoples.

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[53]Dispatch Democrat Nov. 5, 1909.

[54]E.B. Elk in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, p. 76.

The advantages of having white skin became apparent in 1913, when the progressive movement in California began to exhibit great concern about poverty among European immigrants, while simultaneously moving against Japanese and other Asian groups. The legislature created a Commission on Immigration and Housing, committed to reforming housing and working conditions in California's agricultural and industrial labor camps (where most European immigrants worked) while simultaneously passing an Alien Land Law, directed primarily against Japanese land ownership.[55] The complicated racial lines of the nineteenth century had been redrawn for the future.

Italians and Indians

When they first arrived in California, the Italian immigrants had more in common with the local Indians than with Anglo Americans. Some of them made friends with Indians and often got into trouble for giving or selling liquor to Indians. Most Italian farmers made their own wine and drank it the way Americans drank milk. They

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[55]Spencer C. Olin, Jr., "European Immigrant and Oriental Alien: Accaptance and Rejection by the California Legislature of 1913," Pacific Historical Review 35 (1966), p. 303-315. For information on the Commissions on Immigration and Housing see: Samuel E. Wood, "The California Commission of Immigration and Housing: A Study in Administrative Organization and the Growth of Function," (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1942) and the Commission on Immigration and Housing Papers in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

didn't understand the ban on selling or giving liquor to Indians. Joe Scaramella says his father "didn't make fine social distinctions" and when Indians came to the house, he invited them in and offered them wine like any guest.[56]

Arrests for selling liquor to Indians were common for years, and Italian names began to appear in many newspaper accounts of these offenses after 1900. Ida Guidi, a woman who ran a saloon near Ukiah, was arrested repeatedly for selling liquor to Indians.[57] Often officers of the Indian Service apprehended Italians and others for this offense by using Indians as decoys to trap those who would

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[56]Joe Scaramella in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, pp. 189-190. Italians were not the only ethnic group that sold liquor to Indians. Japanese immigrants also did so. See Dispatch Democrat August 20, 1909 and Republican Press July 30, 1909. Sometimes Anglo-Americans, especially women, were shocked by being offered wine to drink in Italian homes. Schoolteacher Nannie Escola liked to visit the parents of all her students. She wrote that "the only parents she had trouble with were the Italians, who insisted on offering her wine to drink." She had to decline because if a teacher "took a smell of liquor, [she] lost her certificate." Nannie Escola Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

[57]See for example Republican Press March 4, 1904.

sell to them. In 1908 officers arrested Louis Bacoaglio and Charles Guidi using this method.[58]

The Pomo Indians and Italians made common cause in several other ways as long as they occupied a similar social status. These groups had much in common. Both came from traditions that emphasized a narrow, localized village orientation over national institutions or political alignments, and both put family loyalty above all else. Both groups took refuge in strong religious and folk traditions that had much greater significance in their lives than any institutionalized church. And Anglo Americans attributed the same negative stereotypes to both groups. For very different reasons, individuals from each of these groups felt isolated and cut off from the safety of their own traditions.

But this is not to deny some very real differences in the circumstances of these two groups. The Pomos had been forcibly colonized, their numbers decimated by violence and disease, and their land taken from them. The Italians, on the other hand, had left their villages by choice, although economic forces strongly influenced that

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[58]Republican Press March 5, 1908. According to the San Francisco Call June 25, 1895, Italian charcoal burners near Healdburg were attacked by twenty Indians when they refused to sell the Indians liquor.

choice. Nevertheless, the commonalities between these groups were strong.[59]

Rural Italian families in Mendocino county often forged friendships with nearby Indian families. They attended church on the rancherias, sometimes even Protestant churches. Eva Biaggi and her friends used to walk down to the Manchester rancheria to attend the Methodist Sunday School held there by the schoolteacher, Miss Brown, who was much beloved by both Indian and Italian children. Although the rancherias on the coast had Protestant services, in the Ukiah valley the rancheria churches were Catholic. Italians often attended mass at these rancheria churches instead of traveling to the nearest town where they did not feel welcomed by the mainly Irish- or German-American Catholics there. By 1940 there were three Catholic churches on rancherias near Ukiah. A priest said mass the first Sunday of the month at Pinoleville (St. Dominic's), the second Sunday at Guidiville (St. Joseph's) and the fourth Sunday at Yokiah

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[59]Robert Blauner, "Colonized and Immigrant Minorities," in Ronald Takaki, From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

(St. Patrick's) One Yokiah Pomo commented that although no whites ever came to their churches, Italians did.[60]

Sometimes Italians, like other farmers, hired Indians to help with farm chores, to cook, or to help care for children. Close relationships developed because the Italians worked alongside their hired help, who often brought their children along. Friendships formed between these children and some Italian children visited the Indians at home, tried their food, and played with their children.[61]

Italians visited the nearby rancherias to attend dances and other celebrations. And Italian men sometimes married or lived with Indian women, often on the rancherias. Because Indian marriage customs in this period (roughly 1900-1920) were usually informal and unrecorded, it is unclear how many Italian-Indian couples married or lived together. After 1920, as Italians became more economically successful, marriages with Indian women

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[60]Burt W. Aginsky and Ethel G. Aginsky, Deep Valley: The Pomo Indians of California. Eva Biaggi in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, p. 53.

[61]Eva Biaggi in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, p. 55.

became less common. As one Indian observed, Italians used to marry Indians "but they don't marry them no more."[62]

Marriages between Italian men and Indian women often caused the kind of problems common to cross cultural relationships. Several Pomo bands had matrilineal traditions, and expected the new husband to live with or at least near the wife's family. Alex and Mary Pacini divorced in 1912 because the wife refused to leave her family and live with her husband in Ukiah. According to the court transcripts, after three years of marriage she became so homesick that she went to visit her parents and refused to return. She wrote asking her husband to come to Marin county to live with her near her parents but he replied that "she had better come back to me, I would not go to her."[63]

On the other hand, when Italian men did come to live on the rancheria land some Indians resented their presence. Some Indians believed that Italians, as whites, enjoyed privileges Indians did not. They questioned why a white man should share in the little the Indians had,

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[62]Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians," pp. 90-92.

[63]Alexander Pacini vs. Mary Pacini, case # 7322, Mendocino county Superior Court, May 17, 1912, County Clerk's Office, Mendocino County Court House, Ukiah, California.

especially their overcrowded rancherias. In other cases personal rivalries and factionalism caused the trouble. For example, one Indian man from the Manchester Rancheria resented his former wife living with an Italian on the rancheria. He wrote to the Bureau of Indian Affairs asking

> if there is a law allowing whites marry Indian, Indians marry white in this state, if so then we are or will be crowded out of our place here. Have the Italian [the] right to live in among us that are married to Indian women or have we the right [to] have them out of that place . . . If the Italian, are allowed to live at that place, I for one will not have nothing to do with that rancheria as long as there are dagoes. [sic][64]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs replied that the couple had to be legally married to live on the rancheria and suggested that if necessary, a petition signed by a majority of adults could compel the Italian to leave. Characteristically, the bureau also noted that "as a general proposition when an Indian woman married a white man she does so in order to improve her condition and not the reverse." Records do not show any effort to submit a petition and the Italian remained on the rancheria.[65]

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[64]Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians," p. 92.

[65]Bureau of Indian Affairs: 1-27-21 quoted in Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians," p. 92.

Ella Brown, who taught school at the Manchester Rancheria for many years, wrote often about marriages between Indian women and Italian men. She tried to discourage such marriages because she feared Italian men would be a bad influence on the rancheria by bringing in wine. In one case, Brown noticed Italian men coming to see a pretty Indian girl. She "talk[ed] to the girl's mother about it and asked her if Annie did not care for any of the Indian boys." But Annie decided to live with an Italian, John Bijolli, on the rancheria. A few years later they married and had two children. The family lived and farmed on rancheria land.[66]

Close relations between Italians and Indians continued only as long as both groups were on the bottom of the social hierarchy. If Italians wished to become upwardly mobile, the most important Anglo value they had to adopt was a definition of themselves as unquestionably "white." To accomplish this, they had to create a clear separation between themselves and nonwhite people like Indians. As Italians began to improve their economic circumstances, they gradually redefined their own racial

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[66]Ella S. Brown to Superintendent T. B. Wilson, August 4, 1914, Round Valley - Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 167, Manchester, 1914-1915, Record Group 75 CA, National Archives Pacific Sierra Branch, San Bruno, California hereafter cited as RG 75 CA, NASB.

status and drew important distinctions between themselves and their Indian friends. Most severed the closest relations with Indians, although they certainly continued to employ them on their ranches and work with them in the fields. But the two groups were no longer equal. Italians, like other European ethnics, began to identify more strongly with Anglo-American society and to criticize Native Americans for the very stereotypes they had suffered from themselves only a few years earlier.[67]

As Italians changed their attitudes toward Indians, they began to emphasize their differences. Joe Scaramella explained, "the Indian would naturally follow his propensity of being communal . . . They would impose on you. So there had to be sort of a breakoff. Then before long, between the Italians and the Indians, you had that distinction again." The most obvious distinction was that "the only way [Italians] could survive and perhaps rise above [discrimination] was to get in there and work." While Indians worked hard, they had a much more casual attitude toward getting ahead, according to Italian reports, and would "just walk off and leave" a crop in the fields if something came up. Ironically, the idea that

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[67]Field Notes, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California. See also oral histories in Mendocino County Remembered.

Indians had little notion of business obligations had long been a common Anglo criticism of both Indians and Italians. Anglos often complained that Italians would "get mad at some little thing, and the whole bunch would quit."[68]

Compared with other foreign born groups in California, Italians occupied some of the lowest positions on the socioeconomic scale. According to Hans Palmer's study of Italians in California agriculture, between ten and fifteen percent of most other ethnic groups boasted members in some category of professional work. But the percentage for Italians was much lower, around 3.5%, lower than any group except Mexicans. According to Dino Cinel, the arrival in San Francisco of many Mexicans and Latin Americans helped to "push" second-generation Italians up the social scale. Still, the most important economic roles played by Italians in California were as farmers and farm managers. According to Palmer, the Italian population in California made only a small relative increase in skill levels and productivity over time, although they did gain in income along with the rest of the labor force. In particular, their representation in the professional classes remained small for many years,

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[68]Joe Scaramella, Mendocino County Remembered, p. 190. Chester Bishop, Mendocino County Remembered, p. 62.

because they lacked the education to prepare them for white collar positions. In the lumber industry, where so many of them labored, there were no Italian entrepreneurs. Only in agriculture, especially in the wine and grape industry, did California Italians make a major impact.[69]

This was the factor that caused many Anglo Americans to reconsider their stereotypes about Italian immigrants. Italians became major contributors to changes in agriculture that held great promise for the future. In the Ukiah Valley, thirty-five miles inland from the coastal redwood belt, settlers had cleared the valley floor of oak trees and used it for growing hops, and for prune and pear orchards. They grew few vegetables - only a little corn. The diets of most Anglo Americans did not include vegetables. Beginning in the mid-seventies, an Italian immigrant had planted a large truck farm near Cloverdale and sold the produce once a week from his wagon to people in the Ukiah Valley, and slowly created a demand. As the number of Italian immigrants increased, more of them planted truck gardens near Ukiah and in other parts of the county and began to peddle their produce

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[69]Hans Palmer, "Italian Immigration and the Development of California Agriculture," (Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, 1965), pp. 158, 180, and 254. Dino Cinel, From Italy to San Francisco: The Immigrant Experience, pp. 136, 144 and 145.

locally. Grocery stores began to stock some fresh vegetables for the first time.[70]

Around 1904 some Italian laborers employed in the mills and the woods had saved a little money, and began to buy cheap brush covered or cut over land on the hillsides above the Ukiah valley, and planted grapes.[71] Although a few Anglo ranchers grew grapes, they had not used the dry hillsides for agriculture once any timber was gone. The Italians had experience working the steep hillsides in their native Appennine Mountains in Lucca. Soon Italians and others planted most of the upper lands and hill slopes, land that the Anglos had never used, with grapes.[72]

Newspaper reports about new Italian grape growing enterprises abound during these years, and more Anglo farmers planted grapes as well. The local press predicted

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[70]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, (Eugene E. and Mary E. Humphrey, 1976), p. 48. See also Leila Romer in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, p. 150.

[71]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, pp. 145 and 211.

[72]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, pp. 211-214. For more information about Italians in rural California see Hans C. Palmer, "Italian Immigration and the Development of California Agriculture," and Paola A. Sensi-Isolani, "Tradition and Transition in a California Paese," in Rudolph J. Vecoli, ed., Italian Immigrants in Rural and Small Town America (New York: American Italian Historical Association, 1987).

that "the culture of the vine" would become the future of Ukiah Valley agriculture. The papers ran front page articles detailing "How to Plant A Vineyard," and predicted that grapes would soon bring in significant revenue from never before cultivated land that could raise no other crops.[73]

Dr. Rossi of the Italian Swiss Colony in Sonoma County provided a tremendous stimulus to these new ventures when he offered free grape cuttings to persons wishing to plant vineyards in the region and promised to buy all the grapes they produced at the price of $15 per ton.[74] One hundred thousand cuttings from Rossi arrived in Ukiah on February 9, 1906 along with instructions for planting. These cuttings disappeared in a week and farmers requested another hundred and fifty thousand cuttings. By June, the price paid for grapes had risen to

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[73]Ukiah Republican Press Feb. 23, 1906.

[74]See Republican Press and Dispatch Democrat for the years between 1904 and 1910. Rossi's offer to provide cuttings and a market for grapes came in 1906. Republican Press Feb. 2, 9, 1906. Pietro C. Rossi was a Piedmontese chemist who migrated to California after graduating from the University of Turin with "entrepreneurial habits more firmly Italian than American." See Hans C. Palmer, "Italian Immigration and the Development of California Agriculture," pp. 269 and 284.

$30 a ton, and the Press predicted that "the farmer who has a vineyard that is bearing will be on easy street."[75]

The optimistic future predicted for grape growing in the Ukiah Valley, and the knowledge many Italian immigrants had about growing grapes on the steep hillsides led Anglo reporters to moderate their usual tone about Italians. For the first time the local press began consistently to describe land owning Italians in a positive light, calling them "[some] of the most enterprising business men of the county."[76]

The Chinese Community in Mendocino City: A Case Study

Another group of foreign born immigrants in Mendocino County did not have the opportunity to move gradually into definitions of whiteness as the Italians did. No matter how hard they worked or how successful they became, they had to fight an ongoing battle against those determined to eject them from the country. In the 1870s thousands of Chinese men, who had been brought to the West to build the railroads, became available for other types of work as their contracts with the railroads ran out. Some of them

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[75]See Ukiah Republican Press December 1, 1905; February 23, 1906 and June 22, 1906. The cuttings shipped from Italian-Swiss Colony were enough to plant about 300 acres.

[76]Republican Press Jan. 24, 1906. See also, for example: Republican Press September 22, 1905 and November 8, 1907.

their contracts with the railroads ran out. Some of them came to Mendocino county where they worked in the lumber industry or agriculture.

In the smaller towns along the coast discrimination counter-balanced the growing availability of work. The Anti-Chinese movement spread from San Francisco up the coast and in July of 1878 the Order of Workingmen, an anti-Chinese organization, met in Albion with the goal of ousting the two remaining Chinese men employed on Albion Ridge. The Order numbered 102 members and reported "new members flocking in at every meeting."[77] But they failed to get rid of all the Chinese on the coast.

Still the movement continued and became more socially acceptable. In 1885 and again in 1886, mobs drove Chinese families out of Westport and in 1886 one hundred and fifteen white workers quit after the Fort Bragg Redwood Company failed to fire all the Chinese workers as they demanded.[78] In 1886 the third meeting of the Anti-Chinese Club of Point Arena attracted more ladies than previously. The group passed a resolution: "We mutually promise and agree we will not employ any Coolie or Chinese labor of any kind, patronize persons who employ such labor

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[77]Mendocino Beacon July 20, 1878.

[78]Mendocino Beacon March 13, 1886.

or sell or rent to Chinese." Other towns, including Manchester and Boonville, held meetings to protest that Chinese were still being employed in the hop picking areas of the county.[79]

Those opposing the Chinese used several contradictory arguments epitomized in testimony gathered during Senate hearings in San Francisco regarding Chinese immigration. John H. Boalt's testimony revealed the contradictory nature of California-style nativism. He attested that "the History of the Chinese in America during the last twenty-five years is conclusive on two points. First - We cannot and will not assimilate with them. Second - They have not the remotest inclination to assimilate with us." Although whites rarely wished to associate with Chinese, and often restricted them to one part of town, they resented Chinese attachment to their own customs, and strangely, took particular offense at their frugality. As U.S. Consul to Japan Charles Wolcott Brooks testified, "The Chinese come abroad, not to spend, but to accumulate . . . The very fact of their retaining their own dress and customs, and keeping themselves so entirely separate, as a people, shows that they have not [any] particular love for our institutions. The Chinese are very deceitful, and

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[79]Point Arena Register March 5, 1886.

that very deceit is an indication of a weaker race." While admitting that as citizens the Chinese "are peaceable, industrious, and sober," most Californians believed that "wherever the Chinese come into competition with Americans this competition is inevitably destructive. The Chinese, in his less expenses, can always underbid the American unless the American will descend to the same level with him, in a cheap, wretched, uncivilized, unchristian manner of living."[80]

But in the lumber industry of the Northern California coast Chinese workers rarely competed directly with white workers. Often mill owners and other employers brought in Chinese workers to do the kinds of labor shunned by other workers. For example, in 1892 when the Union Lumber company was building a railroad tunnel at Pudding Creek in a very dangerous and precarious area, the contractors, after not being able to find a white crew, hired forty Chinese experienced in building mine tunnels. According to the Fort Bragg Advocate "they use the Chinamen at the most dangerous part of the work where it is wet and slushy, and where cave-ins and accidents very often occur;

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[80]Quoted in Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," (Mendocino, CA: Mendocino Historical Research, Inc., n.d.), p. 27.

also where air is most impure, and the deadly fumes of gas are inhaled." Even so, native-born workers protested. When the crew arrived, "men to the number of over one hundred from this place, with masks on their faces and armed with muskets, axes, etc." visited the Chinese camp and marched them down the coast to Mendocino. According to the Mendocino Beacon: "The night was one of the most severe of the winter. The rain fell in torrents and the wind blew a living gale from the southeast. In this sad plight, some of [the Chinese] lame and weary, staggering with loads on their backs and shotguns pointed at their heads, they were made to march on double-quick through the rain and mud to Noyo, where they were pointed down the coast with orders to move on." In Mendocino City, residents gave the Chinese workers food and shelter and the next day, several hastily sworn deputies escorted them back up the coast to Fort Bragg. Mendocino county's sheriff "Doc" Standley came on horseback from Ukiah to attend a meeting held in the Fort Bragg Redwood Company's store, where he spoke about the need for law and order, and threatened to fine anyone who did not help keep the peace. Standley arrested twenty-three suspects, who the Grand Jury indicted for their actions against the Chinese.

Nineteen of them were members of the Knights of Labor.[81] Although the Beacon declared that "the rank and file of the men who drove the Chinese out was composed of men who have no interests here," some of Fort Bragg's most prominent citizens participated. These included Thomas Gallagher, President of the Knights of Labor for Mendocino County, Eri Higgins, Postmaster, and Dr. G.J. Brown, a prominent physician. The Chinese workers returned to the tunnel camp, although the contractors made sure to hire white men in the future.[82] A few weeks later forty Italians, another group with strong backs and few options, arrived from San Francisco to work on the tunnel.[83]

In spite of the actions of the Grand Jury and the relative tolerance in Mendocino City, most people in the county agreed with the Ukiah Republican Press, which praised the work of Congressman Tom Geary from Santa Rosa as a great man, after the Supreme Court upheld the validity of "Our Tom's Chinese registration law," and an

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[81]Wood and Iron 17 (3) (March 1892), p. 126.

[82]Fort Bragg Advocate Febuary 3, March 2, and April 6, 1892. David Warren Ryder, Memories of the Mendocino Coast (San Francisco: Privately printed by Taylor & Taylor, 1948), pp. 39-40. See also Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," pp. 29-30.

[83]Fort Bragg Advocate Febuary 18, 1892.

Internal Revenue Service man arrived in Ukiah to register Chinese workers in April of 1893.[84]

While most Chinese experienced extreme nativism, a few gained approval and admiration by dissociating themselves from ethnic ties and by adopting American customs. In 1870, Li Foo was pinned under a log and amputated his own leg with a pocket knife. He opened a barbershop in 1870 and became a successful businessman. After his death in 1897, the Republican Press wrote that "he was thoroughly Americanized, generous and greatly esteemed by people generally."[85] Ah Bing, a well-known engineer for the Gualala logging railway company, was noted for his skill in repairing the equipment. Described as "a husky fellow who spoke excellent English and dressed in American clothes," he fired up his engine No. Four for its last run in 1926, and then returned to China.[86]

By 1885 Mendocino county reported a Chinese population of about one thousand people. The easiest points of entry into the labor market for Chinese

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[84]Ukiah Republican Press April 28 and May 26, 1893.

[85]Ukiah Republican Press Jan 29, 1897. See also Mendocino Beacon April 9, 1898.

[86]Nanny Escola Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library. See also Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 20.

workingmen came in jobs usually regarded as women's or children's work in lumbering and on hop ranches.[87] Approximately one hundred Chinese worked as domestic servants, two hundred as cooks, fifty as laundrymen, and one hundred as agricultural laborers, where they sometimes received an interest in the crop in place of wages.[88] The rest of the Chinese labored in the woods, some as water slingers, wetting the skids carrying the logs down the hills, not an easy job, but one sometimes performed by youngsters since it required agility instead of strength. One observer described the "yokes over their shoulders; on each end was a five gallon oil can filled with water. They had a little dipper in each hand, and you oughta seen those fellas go along. A dipper of water just as the log hit the skid and the next one with the other hand. By the time he ran out [of water] the next Chinaman would be right there." Reportedly a good water slinger could hit the lumber skid from fifteen to twenty feet away.[89]

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[87]Roger Daniels and Harry H.L. Kitano in American Racism: An Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice, p. 35.

[88]Statistical Statement made by L.T. Day, Assessor of Mendocino Township (or County), Form No. 7, Relating to Chinese, in: California Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report (1885-86), pp. 677-678.

[89]Harold Bolden (Vol. I, p. 72)and Tom Moungovan (Vol. II, p. 80) in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History.

The Hee family maintained a position at the center of the growing Chinese community in Mendocino City because they had lived there since the 1850s. Local legend contends that the family patriarch left China in one of seven sampans. Only two landed, one in Monterey and the other on the north coast. Some say that seven Chinese people including Chow Ah Hee walked to Mendocino and obtained work as cooks. More likely is the story that Hee entered California in Monterey and came to the coast to work in the woods. However Hee arrived, other family members from his village in Canton followed him. He married Lee Gum Yip in Mendocino City and they had twelve children. Like many men in the first generation, Hee left his family and returned to China in 1897. He died there in 1928.[90]

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[90]George Hee in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, p. 199. See also Lorraine Hee Chorley interview in New Settler Interview, Willits (Feb. 1988), pp. 13-20 and Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 6. In China the family name is put first, so the correct family name was Chow. However, the Americans insisted on calling them Hee, so they gave in to avoid confusion. The first generation of Chinese immigrants usually tried to return to China. Of the 200,000 Chinese who came to America in the 19th century about 100,000 returned to China. See Howard Lamar, "From Bondage to Contract: Ethnic Labor in the American West, 1600-1890," in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America (Chapel Hill and London: The Univ of N. Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 311-312. When immigrants could not return to China, their descendants would often return

As other Chinese people followed Hee to Mendocino City, a lively Chinatown formed on the south side of Main Street and west to the railroad tracks; between 200 and 500 Chinese lived in town during the winter when workers came in from the logging camps. Many entrepreneurs emerged in Chinatown, which soon boasted two stores, a wash house, and a big three-story building where many Chinese men boarded. Besides their work in mills or businesses, some Chinese supplemented their incomes by gathering and drying abalone, for shipment to San Francisco's Chinatown for sale.[91] The Chinese community in Mendocino City pooled its funds and built a religious temple in 1867, known by the Chinese as Kwan Ti and by whites, incorrectly, as a Joss House.[92]

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their remains. Jack Chen, The Chinese of America (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 20.

[91]Aldine Gorman in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. I, p. 179.

[92]"Lorraine Hee Chorley," New Settler Interview (Feb. 1988), p. 14. The Hee family, the only Chinese family to live continuously in Mendocino City since the building of the temple, continue to preserve the temple in near its original condition. It became a California Registered Historical Landmark in 1979. Mendocino County Historical Society Newsletter Vol. 30, No. 4 (April 1992), p. 5. Some speculate that the term "Joss," used all over California in reference to Chinese temples, may be a pidgin English variation of the Spanish or Portuguese word for God, "Dios." The Chinese families seem to have passed the ownership of the temple among themselves since it was built.

Other lumber towns on the coast also had Chinese districts. When the Fort Bragg Redwood Company began cutting timber in 1885, several Chinese workers came to Fort Bragg to work at the mill. Many brought their families and soon a Chinese district formed, with a number of Chinese businesses. Some of them, like laundries, served the general public while others, like herb markets, primarily catered to the special needs of their own community.[93]

Max Ware remembers the Chinese men in Fort Bragg "in their shiny, black sateen trousers and coats, their ageless visages beaming under a small black toque . . . [as] they disappeared behind the closed gates on McPherson Street, into the narrow alleyways winding among the myriads of small shanties." Sometimes one encountered a Chinese woman, "hobbling painfully along on tiny feet that were no more than three or four inches in length." Americans watched on Chinese New Year "the weaving serpentine dance of the dragon, the shattering explosions of firecrackers, [and] received their generous gifts of Oriental confections, soft luscious nuts, strange coconut candies, rinds of citrus fruit soaked in exotic, spiced preservatives." Americans also romanticized the mystery

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[93]Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 22.

of Chinatown, when the "aromatic odor [of opium] seeped through the cracks of the board fence."[94]

Chinese workers came to these communities to take jobs they found through Chinese labor contractors. In the 1920s, Chun Quan Hing owned a grocery store in Fort Bragg, and also operated as a labor contractor. He went to San Francisco to hire logging camp cooks and helped them locate on the coast. One local man remembers him as "the kingpin of the Chinese community."[95] Hing encouraged his relatives to move from San Francisco and two of them complied. One of their wives, Chow Mew Yit started a seaweed business near Fort Bragg in the 1930s. With her husband's help on weekends, she prepared and packed local seaweed for markets in San Francisco, Hawaii, and Hong Kong.[96]

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[94]Max Ware in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. II, p. 267.

[95]Frank Hyman in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. I, p. 264; Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 22.

[96]Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 22; Fort Bragg Advocate June 1935. After ten years in the seaweed business, the Quongs bought a restaurant and grocery store. In 1953, they returned to San Francisco. The Depression brought severe economic problems to the small remainder of Fort Bragg's Chinatown, and by the nineteen-forties, most residents had left. The contents of the Fort Bragg Joss House were moved to San Francisco in the thirties.

People in Mendocino City always felt a sense of moral superiority about the benign treatment of "their" Chinese compared to other parts of California. Neighboring Humboldt County, for example, had expelled all Chinese people from the county in 1887.[97] It is true that the antagonism toward the Chinese on the coast seemed mitigated by their contribution to the lumber industry in jobs few whites wished to do. But Mendocino City and the other local towns did not lack prejudice toward their Chinese neighbors. The public school in Mendocino City did not admit Chinese children and Chinese people feared walking in certain parts of town. Still, Mendocino believed itself to be different, offering as proof the legend that Mr. Kelley, an influential local business man, had donated the land for the Chinese temple as a gesture of welcome. By the mid-twentieth century the Chinese themselves believed this to be true. However, when Lorriane Hee Chowley, a descendant of Cheung Sung Hee, investigated, she discovered that her great-grandfather paid Kelley two hundred and sixty dollars in gold, an

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[97]Daniel A. Cornford, Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire, p. 59.

inordinately high price, for the thirty-three by eighty-eight foot lot the temple stands on.[98]

Still, the Mendocino Beacon in 1882 took a position opposing the move by neighboring Westport to prevent the employment of Chinese in their town, arguing that "if any person sees fit to employ Chinamen or any other class of help, the law gives him clear right to do so."[99] The editor of the Beacon, William Heeser, wrote that "Mendocino is said to be the only place in the county where the political pot [Chinese exclusion] is not fairly boiling."[100] Still, Mendocino City's tolerance did not extend to admitting Chinese or Indian children to the public schools. Instead they established a separate Chinese school in a room in the old school house, with Miss Laura Nelson as teacher. The Mendocino Beacon wrote, "this solves the vexed question of admitting Chinese children into our public school over which there has been considerable trouble here." Unlike the children at the public school, the Chinese students paid tuition to attend, although the school trustees did allow them to use

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[98]Lorraine Hee Chowley, New Settler Interview, pp. 14-15. Others say the amount paid Kelley for the land was $170.

[99]Mendocino Beacon July 15, 1882.

[100]Mendocino Beacon February 27, 1886.

the old building without charge. At about the same time, the Reverend Kirkland opened yet another separate school for seven Indian children in the lower hall of the old Post Office.[101]

Segregated education had been the rule in California since 1864, when the legislature provided that district trustees must establish separate schools for "Negroes, Mongolians" (Chinese and Japanese were lumped into this category), and Indians when parents of ten or more children so petition. In 1874 Indians and Chinese were disassociated from each other in school law. If a town did not provide a separate school for them, Indian children could attend with whites; Chinese children could not. In 1885, legislation permitted, but did not require, school districts to establish separate schools for Chinese students.[102]

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[101] Mendocino Beacon July 20, 1889; Nanny Escola papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

[102] Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970 (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, Inc., 1977), pp. 34-36. Hendrick points out that although exclusion from the public schools may have limited the ability of Chinese children to assimilate, most Chinese made sure their young people were educated privately in Chinese culture, literature, and mathematics. He speculates that their actual educational achievement may well have been quite high.

Most of the Chinese living in Mendocino City were men, although a few did bring their families.[103] Although most Chinese workers stayed only a short time as they followed a migratory labor market, a few remained in the same jobs for many years. Wong Lung worked as a cook for Walter Sandelin's family in their Ukiah hotel for fifty years. Yet when he retired at the end of World Two, he returned to China. His son Wong Kim worked at the same hotel all his life, as well.[104]

Unlike European immigrant communities, Chinese communities in Mendocino county did not become permanent. Although Chinese families established separate institutions and services, their communities slowly declined in size until they finally disappeared during the twenties and thirties. With new mechanical techniques for logging the redwoods, such work as water slinger and camp cook became obsolete. The pressure not to hire Asians intensified after the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, and the Naturalization Act of 1906 restricted naturalization to white persons and persons of African descent and

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[103]George Bennencourt in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. I, p. 52.

[104]Walter Sandelin in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. II, p. 164.

specifically barred the Chinese from citizenship.[105] Having endured decades of discrimination and legal exclusion, the small groups of Chinese surviving in rural California felt increasingly vulnerable.

Gradually the Chinese community in Mendocino county grew smaller as job opportunities in the lumber industry and elsewhere declined. When the heyday of the redwood logging industry ended in the new century, the shrinking numbers of jobs went to white workers, not to Chinese. In fact, job discrimination against the Chinese increased steadily as soon as the severe labor shortages of the nineteenth century abated. Complaints about Chinese taking jobs from whites continued steadily, and businesses that employed Chinese labor came under pressure to discharge all Chinese workers or lose their white customers.[106]

At the same time, the second generation of Chinese Americans had different goals from their parents. They spoke English, understood American customs, and aspired to a more exciting life than they could expect in the

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[105]Spencer C. Olin, Jr., "European Immigrant and Oriental Alien: Accaptance and Rejection by the California Legislature of 1913," Pacific Historical Review 35 (1966), p. 313.

[106]California Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report (1895-96), p. 91.

countryside. Young Chinese persons with ambition rarely remained in Mendocino county, or elsewhere in rural California. Even in communities like Mendocino City where relative acceptance of the Chinese allowed them safety if not approval, they could not aspire to positions outside their own small communities. Other than running small businesses like restaurants or laundries, opportunities remained closed to Chinese. It was extremely unlikely that young Chinese people, no matter how well qualified, would be hired in local banks, offices, or apprenticed to lawyers. Opportunity for Chinese people lay in San Francisco's Chinatown, where the much larger community provided a major, although still separate, market. The Mendocino Beacon reported proudly in 1905 that two Mendocino City-born Chinese-Americans "occupied responsible positions" in the Russo-Chinese Bank of San Francisco. Tin Eli, educated in Mendocino schools, held the position of confidential advisor to the bank and handled practically all the business dealings with Chinese at home or abroad. His younger brother, Lee Eli, acted as his assistant.[107] They were members of the family known in Mendocino as the Looks, whose original head, Eli Tia

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[107] Mendocino Beacon Aug. 26, 1905. In 1915 the Beacon reported again on Tin Eli, who "is now one of the best-known and most influential men in the Chinese colony in San Francisco." Mendocino Beacon Oct. 16, 1915.

Key ran a general store. Eli Tia Key had worked as a cook in Dan Milliken's lumber camp and as a servant in his home until he saved enough money to open his Chinese store and a three-story Chinese lodging house in Mendocino City in 1874.[108] He turned the business over to his sons in the 1890s and returned to China, where he died in 1894. His sons Look Tin Eli and Look Poong-shan ran the store until the turn of the century when they sold it and moved to San Francisco where they founded the first Chinese bank in the US, the Canton Bank of San Francisco.[109]

By the 1930s, only one Chinese family lived in Mendocino City. The Hee family, descendants of one of the first Chinese families on the coast, remained. Mrs. Ah Yip Hee and seven of her children became United States citizens in 1937 after a court granted her petition establishing their births and right to citizenship.[110] By that time most of the Chinese on the coast had gone,

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[108]Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 13.

[109]Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 12. Poong-shan moved to Hong Kong in the 1920s to establish the Bank of Canton and by 1927 had become a prominent banker there. Tin Eli went to Hong Kong after a price was put on his head by a rival tong in San Francisco. He died there in 1919. Mendocino Beacon November 29, 1919.

[110]Nanny Escola Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

either to the Chinese district of San Francisco or back to China. After seventy five years of building a community in Mendocino city, the Hees were alone. When the Chinese left, they took even their dead with them.[111]

The Chinese in Mendocino county occupied a specific niche in a briefly booming labor market that disappeared when the market stabilized. Whites accepted the Chinese presence only if they did not constitute a threat to their own access to jobs. When jobs became scarce, whites resorted to racial rhetoric to unify their efforts to get rid of the Chinese. Not all whites agreed, but few were willing to risk anything to stop the removal of the Chinese from the countryside.

Although Indians, Italians, and Chinese people all experienced racial stereotypes based on similar ideas, the outcome was quite different for each group. European immigrants like Italians benefitted from their skin color, from being Christians, and from their more familiar

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[111]The Mendocino Beacon (Aug. 9, 1913) reported that the remains of the Chinese buried in the local cemetary had been exhumed for return to China. The exhumation was done on behalf of the Ning Yung company, one of the Chinese Six Companies of San Francisco. According to local historians Bear and Houghton, the Fort Bragg Cemetary had a separate Chinese section where many Chinese were buried, yet not a single grave remains today. In Mendocino City only the Hee family plot has graves. All other Chinese graves have been removed. Dorothy Bear and David Houghton, "The Chinese of the Mendocino Coast," p. 31.

European traditions. The Chinese, on the other hand, seemed too alien, too different to be absorbed into American life. The Indians were accepted as part of the natural landscape of California, though whites wrongly believed them to be gradually disappearing, like the redwood trees. This would not be so, and, as the next chapter will show, their survival would depend not on assimilation, like the Italians, or on retreat, like the Chinese. Instead, it would be their adaptation of native traditions that would save them.

CHAPTER 4

LAND, COMMUNITY, AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE POMO INDIANS, 1870-1920

The early years of colonization transformed the lives of the indigenous inhabitants of Northern California in fundamental ways. During the 1850s the native population of California decreased by eighty percent due to disease, starvation, homicide and a declining birthrate.[1] Interaction between Anglo-American settlers and the surviving Indians was ordered by their respective cultures, although their contact was profoundly unequal, with whites holding superior power in every way. Colonization dealt Indian life a heavy blow, and for a time it seemed that native traditions would not endure. Indeed, Anglos believed that the Indians were a doomed race.[2]

In spite of all this, Indian life in California proved unexpectedly resilient. Without minimizing the extent of the devastation Indians suffered, it is

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[1]Albert Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 1.

[2]For an example of those predicting Indian demise see: John S. Hittell, "The Doom of the California Aborigines," Overland Monthly (June, 1888), p. 614 and J.L. Burchard article on Indian extinction in Ukiah Republican Press March 20, 1896.

important to acknowledge that the Anglos were unable either to destroy completely or to assimilate Native California. Indians responded in a variety of ways to ensure their own survival, and to resist colonization. Often they adapted and reinterpreted their traditional beliefs and values to help them maintain a sense of community and of themselves as a people. Other times resistance took the form of self-destructiveness, as with alcoholism.[3] In many forms, Indians created strategies to shield themselves from the most pervasive influences of Anglo domination, while at the same time, they adapted old values to new. Although they suffered greatly, some of them succeeded in slowing the erosion of their heritage.

An analysis of the experiences of the nonreservation Indians of Mendocino County, most of them from Pomo groups, can shed light on some of the many ways Indians drew on values from their past to create new ways to survive their changed and extremely dangerous circumstances. By the 1870s, with the initial conquest mostly completed, the government attempted to reform its dealings with the Indians, imposing on them its own values through the policy of assimilation, in which Indian tribal

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[3]Nancy Lurie explored this issue in "The World's Oldest On-Going Protest Demonstration: North American Indian Drinking Patterns," Pacific Historical Review, pp. 311-332.

culture would be destroyed in favor of white individualism. The developments from 1870 to 1920 shaped the way Anglos and Indians would think about and deal with each other in the future, as two distinct world views met. Especially significant was the drastic contrast between Indian and white understanding of the ownership and use of land and the value of community. For the Pomo Indians of Mendocino County, at least, ancestral values of communal land ownership and use, combined with adapted forms of traditional religion would prove to be significant factors for community survival.[4]

Any discussion of constructions like "individualism" and "community" call for definitions, yet these concepts are distinctly difficult to define. From the point of view of the Pomos, Anglo-Americans seemed bereft of family and community. To the Anglos, the Pomos seemed to lack ambition. When they confronted each other, each group tended to become a stereotype to the other.

One old Pomo Indian explained his view of the fundamental difference between the two cultures to anthropologist Burt W. Aginsky:

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[4]For information on Indian policy see: Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Robert W. Mardock, The Reformers and the American Indian (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971).

> Without the family we are nothing, and in the old days before the white people came the family was given the first consideration by anyone who was about to do anything at all. That is why we got along. We had no courts, judges, schools, and the other things you have, but we got along better than you . . . We were taught that other people had to live . . . That is why we were good people and why we were friends with the white people when they came. But the white people were different from us. They wanted to take the whole world for themselves. My grandfather told me that the white people were homeless and had no families. They came by themselves and settled on our property. They had no manners. They did not know how to get along with other people. They have taken everything away from the Indians, and they take everything away from one another. They do not help one another when they are in trouble, and they do not care what happens to other people. We were not like that. We would not let a person die of starvation when we had plenty of food. We would kill another person with poison if he was an enemy, but we would not treat a stranger the way they treat their own brothers and sisters. Your people are hard to understand.[5]

When he used the term "family," this man spoke from a tradition rooted in the broad context of kinship relations typical of the pre-contact Pomo village-community. Each band or village was composed of related extended kin groups composed of several nuclear families, with extended family groups (often as many as twenty or thirty persons) living in multifamily dwellings. The Pomo generally distrusted relations with non-kin, and with some

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[5]B.W. Aginsky, "An Indian's Soliloquy," American Journal of Sociology 46 (July 1940) pp. 43-44.

notable exceptions such as fictive kin relationships, avoided close contact with outsiders. Thus, family and community had much the same meaning in pre-contact Pomo society. To the Pomo, whites seemed to have neither.[6]

It would be a mistake, however, to imply that Anglo-Americans practiced some pure form of individualism, in which community and family had no place. American ideology focused on individual rights as articulated in law and the Constitution, as well as individual responsibility to God (for one's own sins), to the community (to work and be self-sufficient), and to the government (to pay taxes). Certainly the government and white culture generally promoted individualism as an ideal. This did not mean that Anglo-Americans never acted cooperatively or without greed. In practice, cooperation and community operated among whites, especially in small

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[6]Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978), pp. 293-294. It is important to note that scholars do not always agree about the nature of pre-contact Pomo society. One problem is sources. As P.H. Kunkel points out, almost all information about the Pomo comes from "salvage ethnography": interviews with elders about their youth, and the nature of their replies often seems prescriptive. In addition, anthropologists often talked only with a few people from one or two Pomo groups, and then used these interviews to make broad generalizations about other Pomo groups. P.H. Kunkel, "The Pomo Kin Group and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California," Journal of California Anthropology (1) 1974, pp. 8.

towns and among one's own people. Nevertheless, the world view of each group was profoundly different, especially concerning the ownership of land.

To the native people of California and to most Native Americans, land had a significance that cannot be underestimated. For hunter-gatherer societies such as the Pomo, survival, tradition, and a complex ritual life had its basis in the interaction of people with land. In the early nineteenth century, the Indian peoples of the region lived in a rich and varied land of river valleys, redwood forests, beaches, open meadows, and groves of oak trees. Along the inland river valleys and along the coast lived the Pomo, and in the northern mountains, the Yuki.[7]

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[7]Pomo boundaries did not, of course, coincide with county boundaries. The linguistic groups named Pomo by anthropologists were seventy-two autonomous communities that occupied lands in Mendocino, Sonoma, and Lake counties. Although they participated in trade, were linked by marriages, and participated in one another's religious ceremonies, they did not consider themselves one people. In fact, these groups spoke seven different languages. What they did have in common was an economy based on fishing, gathering, and hunting. In the northern part of Mendocino county resided the Coast Yuki and Yuki. Major studies of the Pomo Indians include: Samuel A. Barrett, The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians (University of California, Berkeley: Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1908); A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California (Berkeley: California Book Company, 1953); Edward W. Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society (Berkeley: University of California Publications in American Archaelogy and Ethnology, 1926); Edwin M. Loeb, Pomo Folkways (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926); Burt W. and Ethel G. Aginsky, Deep Valley: The Pomo Indians of California (New York:

In the Ukiah valley Pomo groups lived along the rivers in six villages including a main village, Shokadjal, that had a population of over a thousand people. They depended largely upon the acorn harvest for subsistence, as well as hunting, fishing and gathering of edible seeds and plants. It was a rich country that, without agriculture of any kind, supported an unusually dense population. Although they had an abundant environment, the high population density required the Pomo to keep their population in balance with the food supply. The ideal Pomo family had only two or three children, and women used a combination of contraception, abortion, and magic to limit births.[8]

Stein and Day, 1967); P.H. Kunkel, "The Pomo Kin Group and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California," Journal of California Anthropology (1 (1) 1974) pp. 7-18. Studies of the Yuki Indians include: G.M. Foster, A Summary of Yuki Culture (Berkeley: University of California Anthropological Records, 1944) and Virginia P. Miller, Ukomno'm: The Yuki Indians of Northern California (Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1979).

[8]The Pomo considered the fetus and infant immediately after birth to be not yet alive; infanticide and abortion were common. Methods of contraception included coitus interruptus, and the wearing of a tight belt around the middle. Mistletoe was brewed into a thick tea and taken internally. Heavy lifting and jumping sometimes caused miscarriages. If all else failed, the infant was smothered. Twins were considered unlucky and were always killed. B.W. Aginsky, "Population Control in the Shanel (Pomo) Tribe," American Sociological Review (Vol. IV, No. 2, April: 1939) pp. 209-216 and Lowell J. Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, in Robert F. Heizer, ed, California vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C.

Scholars disagree about the number of Pomo living in the Ukiah valley on the eve of colonization, but there seems ample evidence to suggest the number was at least two thousand.[9] Each group held its land in common, and felt only a vague sense of kinship with other Pomo bands, who they occasionally invited for ceremonies and trade of surplus food, but otherwise looked on with suspicion. Pomo groups were quite insular with territorial boundaries clearly defined; trespass was a major crime and a lone individual would not venture beyond the boundaries of his tribe.[10]

Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C., 1978) p. 295. Women had an unusually high status among the Pomo, with women holding secular chieftainships and controlling family property.

[9]Alfred P. Parsell, Jr., "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," (Ph.D. New York University, 1948). See also Elizabeth Colson, Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women, (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1974); Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 1; Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California (Berkeley: Contributions of the Archaeological Research Facility, University of California, 1976), p. 2. Parsell argues that the numbers have been understated by anthropologists. An old man who had lived in Shokadjal before the coming of the whites told Parsell he counted 47 houses. Each house would have sheltered a family group consisting of several nuclear families.

[10]Village land was community property, but among some Pomo groups trees, fishing places, and food gathering areas were owned or controlled by individual families. Houses were owned by the oldest wife in the family, who could put out anyone she chose. Edwin M. Loeb, Pomo

The entire emphasis in Pomo culture was on the group, with the relationship between the group and the individual defined and controlled by the family. A complex taboo and ritual life served to protect the group from supernatural powers, prevent disasters, and prevent conflict within the community. But it would be a mistake to view precontact Pomo culture as lacking conflict and even violence. The belief in poisoning was central among the Pomo. The purpose of many of the rituals and taboos that governed behavior was to protect a person against poisoning by an enemy who might reside within the village. The Pomo attributed most illness, accident, and bad luck to poisoning, and shamans specialized in curing people who had been poisoned by others.

The Pomo sought to avoid poisoning and other kinds of friction within the community by an intricate system of etiquette that governed personal relations, seemingly designed to minimize conflicts between families and individuals. According to Kroeber, they "center [their] attention on the trivial, but unremitting factors of

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Folkways (Berkeley: University of California-Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1926) pp. 197-199. See also: Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," (Ph.D. New York University, 1948) p. 43; Elizabeth Colson, ed., Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians p. 1.

personal intercourse; affability, liberality, restraint of anger and jealousy, politeness . . . [They] think of character, of its expression in the innumerable but little relations of daily life, not of right or wrong in our sense."[11]

Although the Pomo lived in permanent villages, each village had two or more sites where they could live at different times of the year according to the cycle of food gathering. In the spring and summer, the Indians lived in the valleys to fish and gather food. Early in the fall, they would move up into the hills to pick acorns, living at temporary camping sites. Late in the fall when the rains began, the Indians would return to their permanent villages to spend the winter. Subsistence depended upon free access to land beyond the boundaries of their permanent villages, something that became impossible after Anglo-American settlement.[12]

By 1859 over 100 Anglo-Americans had settled in the Ukiah valley, staked out boundaries, and built fences. As a result, the Indians' access to land for food gathering

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[11]Quoted in Robert F. Heizer, "Natural Forces and World View," in Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians p. 651; See also Alfred P. Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 79-86.

[12]Alfred Parsell, Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe, p. 42.

and hunting became increasingly limited.[13] William Cronon and others have written persuasively about the profound distinctions between European and Indian conceptions of land ownership. These differences remained as strong in nineteenth century California as they had been in sixteenth century Massachusetts. To the Anglos, since the Indians did not "own" the land as individuals, did not fence it, clear it, plant it to crops, or buy and sell it, they did not use it productively or "own" it. Whites fenced off the land they claimed to own as individuals, and most refused to allow Indians to gather food there. This mystified the Pomo, who understood land ownership in terms of communal subsistence, "had no conception of private ownership of domestic animals or food, and did not realize at first that different rules prevailed among the whites."[14] Also, many white people began to use once-staple native foodstuffs like acorns and horse chestnuts to feed pigs and cattle, making survival

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[13]Lyman Palmer, History of Mendocino County, California (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880) p. 476.

[14]Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906 in: U.S., House, Indian Tribes of California: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 1920, p. 119.

much more difficult for the Indians.[15] The Indian economy, dependent on a land use pattern no longer possible, was transformed overnight, shaking Pomo society to the core.

Responding to the increasing scarcity of traditional food sources and to the random violence against them by some Anglos, Indians had no choice but to work for whites as servants or ranch hands, for little or no pay, but only to obtain food and protection. J. Ross Browne described the system in his tongue-in-cheek account:

> The settlers in the northern portions of the State had an effective method of encouraging the Indians to adopt habits of civilization . . . They engaged them at a fixed rate of wages to cultivate the ground and during the season of labor fed them on beans, and gave them a blanket or a shirt each; after which, when the harvest was secured, the account was considered squared, and the Indians were driven off to forage in the woods for themselves and their families during the winter. Starvation usually wound up a considerable number of the old and decrepit ones every season.[16]

Villages broke apart as Indians had to travel around the valley attempting to find food on land unoccupied by whites or to work for whites to get money to buy food.

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[15]B.William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983) pp. 80-81. Burt W. and Ethel G. Aginsky, Deep Valley: The Pomo Indians of California (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1967), p. 208.

[16]J. Ross Browne, The Indians of California (San Francisco: Colt Press, 1944) pp. 4-5.

Some Indian families disintegrated under the strain of starvation and disease. Many of the weakest members of the group, the old people and the children, died. White men took Indian wives, sometimes the women were willing; others were forced by might or exigency. But Anglos frowned upon miscegenation everywhere except the most remote areas like Round Valley, so when white women arrived in an area, the men all too often turned their Indian wives out to fend for themselves.[17] Not every white woman reacted to her husband's former Indian wives with the kindness of Nell Sherwood, who made her husband Alf build a house for them to live in and a schoolhouse, where she educated the children of his former wives. One of Alf's part-Indian children lived with the Sherwoods until he grew up.[18]

Anglo society had little room for Indians except as menial laborers, and showed little inclination to help the Indians find a way to integrate their economy with the new one. C.E. Kelsey, an agent for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, would later maintain, "neither the open

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[17]Albert L. Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 176-177; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 9.

[18]Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. II (Ukiah, California: Mendocino County Historical Society, 1977), p. 139.

slaughter, nor the ravages of disease, nor the effects of drunkenness, considerable as they all are, can explain the tremendous decrease of ninety four percent in the number of California Indians in but a little over one generation. The most potent factor has been . . . the progressive absorption of the Indian's every means of existence."[19] Mining operations muddied streams and killed or frightened away the Indians' fish and game supply. Livestock followed and soon farmers fenced in the oak trees and denied the Indians access to the acorns. Private ownership of timber and arable lands reduced the Indians' living standard from comfort to destitution, for they had lost their means of subsistence, with little or nothing to take its place.[20]

In 1856, soldiers had rounded up the Pomo they could find, along with several other tribes from surrounding areas, and removed them to the newly established Mendocino Reservation at Noyo, near Fort Bragg, on the Pacific Coast

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[19]C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906 in U.S., House, Indian Tribes of California: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs (House of Representatives, 1920), pp. 119-120.

[20]C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906 in U.S. House, Indian Tribes of California: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs (House of Representatives, 1920), p. 120.

about thirty miles northwest of the Ukiah Valley, forcing them to leave behind their permanent villages and their possessions. In spite of their efforts, never were the whites successful in keeping all the Indians on the reservation. The Indians might have been content to take refuge there had the reservations offered them subsistence. However starvation on the reservation caused a steady trickle back into the valley as they escaped from confinement.[21]

Pomo society was particularly unsuited to reservation life and the process of forcibly removing the Indians to the reservation added to the disruption of tribal unity. Before the whites came, Pomo villages maintained separate identities with the boundaries of each group's land clearly defined. Now Pomo bands were not only forced into close quarters with different Pomo peoples, but with other tribes, some of whom had been their enemies. On the Mendocino Reservation the Indians lived in separate rancherias by tribe. Still, feuds continually erupted between the tribes.[22] The weakest members of the group,

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[21]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 61 and Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, pp. 9-10.

[22]"Reminiscenes of Mendocino," Hutchings' California Magazine (Vol. III, Oct. 1858, No. 4) reprinted in Mendocino County Historic Annals, No. 1 (Mendocino, California: Pacific Rim Research, 1977), p. 17.

the very old and the young, often died either from the forced march through the mountains in the wintertime or from the poor conditions on the reservation. Many people became separated from their families, a very disorienting circumstance for a Pomo, whose family was the basis of identity and culture. Another source of disruption for Indian families came from the soldiers on the reservation, who would rape the Indian women at will, and often forcibly take a woman to live with him for days or months.[23]

As the Indians escaped in larger and larger numbers, they found themselves welcomed by many new ranchers settling in the valleys, for whom they provided a free or very cheap labor force. By 1864 the Indian population on the Mendocino reservation had declined to less than eight hundred and the government abandoned the reservation in 1865 and sold the land for $1.25 an acre.[24] In spite of some attempts to take the remaining Indians to the Round Valley reservation, for the most part, the surviving Ukiah Valley Indians returned home. When they arrived in the

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[23]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 61 and 102.

[24]U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Report of the Northern California Superintendent of Indian Affairs to Commissioner of Indian Affairs (October 15, 1864).

valley, they found that in their absence whites had settled on almost every available site and were rapidly filling even the mountains, where the Pomo had never lived.[25] Their old villages had been destroyed and the land converted to the growing of wheat or the grazing of cattle.

For several years after, the non-reservation Indians of Mendocino County followed a homeless and nomadic way of life, with the most exigent problem being to get enough food and a safe place to stay. Some Indian families were bound out to white farmers, who let them use land for gardens. They did all of the work for the farmer without pay, and the women did the housework. Other ranchers would allow a few families or many Indians to settle down for a time. Some of these Indian laborers were legally indentured, but the more usual practice seems to have been a more informal arrangement. This situation had much in common with plantation slavery since the ranchers got free labor in exchange for providing minimal subsistence. But here they had an added advantage: when the need for labor had ended, the Indians could be kicked off the ranch. Still, many individuals and families became identified by

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[25]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 163. See also Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 12.

local Anglos as "belonging" to a particular rancher; they were called "his" Indians.[26] In fact, for easier identification by whites, many Indians at this time took the names of their employers, such as Bill Ball who worked for J.D. Ball and Tom Jameson who worked for W.F. Jameson.[27]

Inevitably, Indians off the reservations lived in small groups scattered among whites during these years, and their culture became increasingly weakened. Traditional ways of life continued to erode in these new circumstances. Indian children living on white ranches had to cope with new forces. They now had contact with white children and often became servants to whites at very young ages. Others found themselves without families at all. Carl Purdy knew several Indians who had been stolen as children and "had never known the Indian life and had no idea where they came from." The new life lacked the traditional educational function once provided by the

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[26]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times (Eugene E. and Mary E. Humphrey, 1976), p. 87; Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 169.

[27]Dorothea Theororatus, "Cultural and Social Change Among the Coast Central Pomo," The Journal of California Anthropology 1 (2) 1974, p. 208. Blanche Brown and Tom Jameson in Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. I, pp. 89 and 232. There were two Tom Jamesons on the ranch: Tom Jameson, the rancher's son and Tom Jameson the Indian laborer.

extended family and community, especially grandparents, since many old people had died during the hardships of the settlement period. Indians saw that their children were growing up without the values of their people.[28]

When Indians attempted to squat on public domain land as many whites had done, they lived precariously, since they had no legal right to remain. The law passed by Congress in 1875 entitling Indians to the benefits of the Homestead Act required Indians to abandon all tribal relations, something few would have done had they known of this right, since tribal relations and family were important to the Pomo. When Indians elsewhere in California did sever tribal relations and take up land, they still faced possible eviction by settlers entering California in large numbers. According to one report, the Indians' "tidy little places would attract the attention of some frontiersman who would then file on the place and

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[28]Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times, p. 86. A modern Pomo, Edna Guerrero, said, "As I look back on my childhood I always think how wonderful I grew up when there was some old people around. Since our language was not written we had to learn from what they told us. There was one great, old, old Indian; she was born about 1820. She couldn't walk when I knew her so I would go and sit by her when she was laying on her palette. This was how I learned my mother's language." Edna Guerrero in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History Vol. I, p. 188.

kick the Indian out . . . One man still in middle life has been evicted seven times in this manner."[29]

In 1889 the Indian Office received notice that "some five or six hundred Indians living in Ukiah Valley . . . desired to acquire title to the lands occupied by them; that they were peaceable, industrious, temperate, and law abiding, and that they were anxious to educate their children in the art of agriculture and advance them in the path of civilization." The old chief Calpella asked that these one hundred fifty families, who "were supporting themselves without aid from the Government" be assured of title to their land so they could build permanent homes for themselves. In 1890 the President appointed George P. Litchfield a special agent to help nonreservation Indians on the West coast get allotments and keep them, but the job was too big for one man and few kept their lands. Chief Calpella's people failed to gain legal title to their lands, and soon became homeless.[30]

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[29]C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906 in U.S. House, Indian Tribes of California: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, (House of Representatives, 1920), p. 121.

[30]U.S., Department of Interior, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1890, serial set no. 2841, pp. LI-LII. The Indian Office also received such communication from many other non-reservation Indians on the West Coast.

A Spiritual Resurgence

But in spite of the disintegrating effects of Anglo settlement on the Pomo, the survivors gradually found ways to restore a revised sense of community. Not surprisingly, it was the persistence of native religious structures, transformed by changing socioeconomic systems, and directed by native shamans that provided the first avenue for native people to begin to restore a sense of identity and self-worth, and to rekindle group resistance to white hegemony. The new religions also inspired a sense of kinship with Indians from groups outside one's own kin and village structure. While the new religions brought Indian people together, they also helped the Pomo endure the transition to new work patterns, and begin to develop the new sense of individual identity now demanded of them by whites.[31]

On the ranches that employed large groups of Indians, a semblance of tribal unity became possible. For example, on the Robinson ranch five miles south of Ukiah, five Yokayo Pomo families gathered in 1870.[32] Robinson had

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[31]Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, "Cults and Their Transformations," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Handbook of North American Indians edited by William C. Sturtevant, vol. 8 (Washington, D.C., 1978), p. 670.

[32]The Yokayo Pomo were a village group that lived in the lower Ukiah Valley, near the Russian River.

been friendly to the Indians that worked for him and gradually other Indians drifted onto his ranch, forming what became the Robinson rancheria. Nearby, John Burke, a rancher who had married a Yokayo woman and stayed with her, allowed her relatives and others to settle on his land; soon those on the Robinson ranch also moved to Burke's.[33]

Similar groups of Pomo gathered on other ranches owned by whites and struggled to rebuild some sense of tribal unity in the face of the nearly complete destruction of their way of life. Like other colonized peoples, the Pomo grappled with the question of how to survive as a group after losing their land and resources - their means of independence. The resurgence of native spirituality provided Indians a source of inner strength, allowing them a sense of their own collective identity and

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[33]Statistics on the numbers of interracial marriages during the frontier era do not exist. Records are sporadic and many such marriages were never legalized or recorded. Contemporary sources seem to agree that marriage or cohabitation between Indian women and white men was very common in the frontier era, especially in isolated regions. This decreased with the arrival of many white women into the area. Alfred P. Parsell, Jr., "Population and Environment of a Northern California Indian Community," (M.A. thesis, Syracuse University, 1941) and "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," (Ph.D, New York University, 1948), pp. 170-171.

cultural significance. Religion became a manifestation of the Indian will to maintain a group identity.[34]

A newly important aspect of survival became the ability to form alliances with Indians outside one's own group. The idea of identifying with other native people as Indians in a group, although not one's own tribe or kin, was new to the Pomo. Religion was the first way Pomo people began to form these alliances and develop new ideas about other Indians.

In 1872 the Ghost Dance, a messianic movement begun among the Nevada Paiute, spread into California and Oregon, where it appealed most to those Indians that had experienced the greatest suffering at the hands of whites. The new religion attracted the Pomo, who had lost ninety-nine percent of their lands and experienced severe social, economic, and political disintegration. Based on resistance and antithesis to the white invasion, the Ghost Dance served not only to help restore tribal feelings, but to build a sense of homogeneity among native peoples of different and extremely localized traditions.[35]

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[34]Henry Warner Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 194.

[35]General accounts of the 1870 Ghost Dance include: Cora DuBois, "The 1870 Ghost Dance," Anthropological Records Vol. 3, No. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 1-51; L.G. Moses and Margaret Connell

Wodziwob, the Paiute prophet of the new religion, told his people that the world would soon end, sweeping the whites aside. Indian ancestors would return to a renewed earth and join their kin in reclaiming their land and their traditions. The ritual of the Ghost Dance varied from place to place as various Indian groups

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Szasz, "Indian Revitalization Movements of the Late-Nineteenth Century," Journal of the West 23 (January 1984), pp. 5-15; Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, "Cults and Their Transformations," Robert F. Heizer, ed., California Handbook of North American Indians ed. by William C. Sturtevant, vol. 8 (Washington, D.C., 1978), pp. 669-672; A. H. Gayton, "The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California, (Berkeley: University of California Publications in Archaeology, Anthropology, and Ethnology, 1930), pp. 57-82; Russell Thornton, "Demographic Antecedents of Tribal Participation in the 1870 Ghost Dance Movement," American Culture and Research Journal 6:4 (1983), pp. 79-90. Reports of the Ghost Dance among the Mendocino County Indians include: Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Group," pp. 164-169; Virginia P. Miller, "The 1870 Ghost Dance and the Methodists: an Unexpected Turn of Events in Round Valley," Journal of California Anthropology (3:1976) pp. 66-74; Birbeck Wilson, Ukiah Valley Pomo Religious Life, Supernatural Doctoring, and Beliefs: Observations of 1939-1941 (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Survey, No. 72, 1968). The Maru Cult, an outgrowth of the Ghost Dance, is described in Clement W. Meighan and Francis A. Riddell, The Maru Cult of the Pomo Indians: A California Ghost Dance Survival (Highland Park, Los Angeles: Southwest Museum Papers, No. 23, 1972). The later 1890 Ghost Dance Movement that so dramatically affected the Plains Indians had little impact on the California Indians, but some studies of it provide insights helpful for interpreting the 1870 movement. See for example, Dominic J. Capeci, Jr. and Jack C. Knight, "North American Ghost Dance and East African Maji-Maji Rebellions," The Historian Vol. LII, No. 4 (August 1990) pp. 584-601.

superimposed it on the religious lore of their own regions.[36]

In California the Indians added Ghost Dance ideas to their ancient Kuksu and Ghost Cults, versions of which continued to survive, even after the Ghost Dance had disappeared in other regions. The adapted religious practices contributed to ongoing changes in Pomo society, including the role of women and the growth of individualism. The Ghost Dance provided new opportunities for women to take on different and stronger leadership roles in religion and politics. In pre-contact Pomo culture, all males in the village had been members of the old Ghost society, with rituals revolving around the return of the dead through dances in which men impersonated ghosts. In addition, secret societies of select, learned men underwent complex rites of passage and formal instruction. On the other hand, the Kuksu Cult, with membership passed through familial lines, was open to

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[36]Wodziwob lived until 1918; he was arrested for practicing shamanism on the Walker River Reservation a few years before his death. Russell Thornton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492 (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 136. See also, L.G. Moses and Margaret Connell Szasz, "Indian Revitalization Movements of the Late-Nineteenth Century," pp. 10-11.

a limited number of women and men, who led ceremonies involving curing.[37]

Prophets or dreamers called Maru who communicated in dreams with the spirit world, grafted the Ghost Dance to the old religions, but with new elements. Unlike the secret societies of traditional times, becoming a Maru in the Ghost Dance required no training or initiation, with no membership restrictions because of birth, age, or gender. In the new religion, authority and power derived not from training or lineage, but from one's individual achievement in the form of the ability to dream. Women and children could be dreamers, not just men.[38]

The reforming of both community and religion gave women greater independence and authority. This shift in female-male religious roles had far-reaching consequences because of the close links between religion and politics. The enhanced prestige accorded to religious leadership also allowed women more opportunity to become community leaders. This coincided with a decrease in the ability of Pomo men to fulfill traditional male roles. As men had to

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[37]Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, "Cults and Their Transformations," p. 670.

[38]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 165. See also Thomas C. Owens, pp. 26-27. Not surprisingly, some traditional shamans opposed the new religion. Cora DuBois, "The 1870 Ghost Dance," p. 42.

become migrant farm laborers instead of practicing traditional male professions, women gradually assumed more independence and power not only in religion, but in the political and economic affairs of their rancherias.[39]

The resurgence of native religion, and especially the increased and more organized contact between Indians from different groups, alarmed many whites. When the Ghost Dance reached the Round Valley reservation in the mountains to the north, the Indians ceased their normal work to prepare for the ceremonies and for the end of the world. The effect all this had on Indian Agent, Hugh Gibson's ability to run the reservation and convert the Indians to Christianity disturbed him greatly. He reported:

> No local land whatever has been cultivated by individual Indians. By some means, they have all become convinced that the world is to end during the month of August next and following the idea to its natural conclusion, they refuse to make any provisions for their support beyond that time except as they are forced to do so. Indians off the reservation have been guilty of the same neglect and it is highly probable that when they find themselves alive after the appointed time with nothing on which to live,

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[39]Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, "Cults and Their Transformations," p. 302.

many hundreds will make their way to the reservation to escape actual starvation.[40]

Off the reservation, local white people reacted to the gatherings of Indians on the rancherias with fear, fueled by their stereotypes about the warlike Plains Indians. Attributing the dancing at least partly to the illicit liquor traffic, newspapers reported that "Indians are nightly engaged in war dances, and decorating themselves with paint and feathers. They are governed by messengers and spies [prophets] from other tribes. Whites were warned of this last summer by certain friendly squaws, who said their dead companions would all come to life and war would be made on the whites, and the Indians would take possession of their former hunting grounds and peaceful homes."[41] Ranchers around the Indian encampment on a ranch near Kelsey Creek in Lake County became alarmed at the number of Indians congregating there, and the length of the

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[40]U.S., Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Report of Round Valley Indian Agent Hugh Gibson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 31, 1872.

[41]Quoted in Cora DuBois, "The 1870 Ghost Dance," p. 26. See also Ukiah Republican Press, March 29, 1895.

dances and threatened the Indians with dispersal to the reservation.[42]

By 1872 the Ghost Dance had diffused into a cult religion the Pomo called the "Earth Lodge Cult." Members of the cult "dreamed" of terrible winds that would soon come to destroy the world and all living things; "they said a big wind was going to come and destroy all the people." To avoid destruction, one had to live a traditional life: live in harmony, avoid hostility, and build a semi-subterranean roundhouse for protection plus take part in the dances and ceremonies to be held there. The Yokayo built one of these on the Burke Ranch in 1872 and other Pomo groups built several more in the valley.[43] Several Bokeya Pomo from Manchester went inland to the Ukiah Valley to learn the new religion and brought it home, where a series of dreamers determined the local form of the ritual.[44]

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[42]Donald Holmes Mayall, "Directed Social Change in a California Indian Group (M.A. University of California, 1954), p. 28.

[43]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 14; Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 167. According to Parsell (p. 170), the big Maru Dream Dance was held on the Robinson rancheria.

[44]Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Cultural and Social Change Among the Coast Central Pomo," The Journal of California Anthropology 1 (2) 1974, pp. 206-219 and "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo

The rituals developed in the Earth Lodge Cult contained clear elements of resistance to white dominance; nothing derived from white people could enter the dance houses. Anthropologist Stephen Powers described one dance house in Potter Valley as having a pit or cellar of sixty three feet in diameter and about six feet deep, with a roof six-feet high covered with grass and then earth. He estimated the dance house would accommodate around 700 people.[45] According to reports, "no white materials like nails, wire, and so forth, were allowed in [the] building. No one was even allowed to strike a match because matches came from white people."[46]

The Bole-Maru cult, especially popular among the Pomo, was an offshoot of the Ghost Dance and continued its anti-white flavor. Abandoning the end of the world idea, it emphasized individual salvation through a

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Indians," (Ph.D. Syracuse University, 1971), pp. 128-129. At Manchester, John Boston dreamed from 1882 to 1930 or 1931; Drew Shoemake dreamed from 1919 to 1926 and Nancy dreamed from 1931 to 1932. Each of them made (or dreamed of) innovations to the ceremonies including paraphernalia such as costumes and flags, and new ways of dancing.

[45]Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1976), p. 159.

[46]Donald Holmes Mayall, "Directed Social Change in a California Indian Group, p. 28.

Supreme Being and a ceremonial dreamer - one who could see the future and the resurrection of the Indian dead.[47] Some dreamers, like those among the Stewart Point Pomo, strongly discouraged marriage with whites.[48]

By the mid-1870s the Ghost Dance had diminished in importance among Indian people, although the Bole-Maru continued among the Pomo, as it does today. But the tradition continued of religious leaders, called "preachers" or "doctors" by local Indians, who drew a loyal following, much like the pentecostal preachers who would establish churches in the area years later.[49]

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[47]Russell Thornton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492, pp. 138-139.

[48]Donald Holmes Mayall, "Directed Social Change in a California Indian Group," p. 58. Mayall (p. 59) describes the dreamer in 1954, then a woman in her forties. She began having the dreams when she was nine, and her grandfather, a shaman, could not cure her. Her powers were greather than his. A member of the community asks the dreamer for a dance because someone is ill, or to honor some event or ensure good luck for the harvest. The dances may last four days with a feast at the end.

[49]Some dreamers, like Annie Bijola of Manchester, used no costumes, but prayed and sang for sick people, and cured them. According to some informants, Maru dream songs can be used for curing and are different from Maru dance songs. Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians," p. 150. See also Cora DuBois, "The 1870 Ghost Dance," p. 48.

According to Cora DuBois and other interpreters, the Ghost Dance and its subsequent forms, the Earth Lodge and Bole-Maru cults, gradually paved the way for acceptance of Christianity and white society. She argues that the cults' progress from a dream of the return of the dead and the demise of the whites, to the concept of individual salvation, mirrored the Indians' gradual willingness to adopt not only Christianity, but white work patterns as well.[50]

Similarly, Virginia P. Miller argues that on the Round Valley reservation, the emotional fervor of the dancing and the emphasis by the Bole-Maru dreamers on an afterlife actually led directly to a wave of conversion to Methodism in 1874, when almost all the Indians on the reservation became baptized. They quit drinking, dancing, and gambling, held religious meetings in their homes, and some Indian couples married in the church. Indian Agent Burchard licensed eleven lay preachers in 1874 and 1875. However, after about a year the revival ended and many Indians went back to dancing.[51]

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[50]Cora DuBois, "The 1870 Ghost Dance, pp. 48-50.

[51]Virginia P. Miller, "The 1870 Ghost Dance and the Methodists: An Unexpected Turn of Events in Round Valley," Journal of California Anthropology 3: 1976, pp. 66-74.

As Miller herself points out, the religious conversion has to be interpreted in the light of all the influences on the Round Valley Reservation in 1873, not just the Ghost Dance. The revival coincided with the passage of a bill in Congress to redefine the reservation boundaries, raising the Indian's expectations that at last the encroachment by white settlers on the reservation would be ended. As the Indian Agent reported:

> [The Indians] were promised by [the] Commissioner, inspectors, and the agent that if they were "good," [the] Government would soon give each of them a piece of land. In the revival meetings [conducted by the Methodist agent] they were exhorted to become good, and in their minds becoming good became connected with getting land; and as all wanted lands, they became good - i.e., joined the church . . . The large part, however, when they saw that their religion did not bring the land they sought, became discouraged, and gave up even the semblance of [Christian] religion.[52]

Both Dubois and Miller may be right, in that the Ghost Dance and its later form, the Bole-Maru cult served as an adaptive device that helped the Pomo and other Indians to survive and adjust to the white world. However, this did not undermine the unifying effect the

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[52]Sheldon to Commissioner of Indians Affairs, in U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1883), p. 18, quoted in Virginia P. Miller, "The 1870 Ghost Dance and the Methodists: An Unexpected Turn of Events in Round Valley," p. 72.

Ghost Dance religion brought to scattered Indian peoples whose culture had diffused. The new religion helped isolated Indians make connections with native people outside their immediate family or village groups and to begin to identify themselves as Indians, not just as bands of Pomo. The Ghost Dance helped Indians expand their traditionally narrow, localized communities into a larger, albeit still not homogeneous or harmonious group.

In addition, the Ghost Dance provides a useful metaphor for the new forms of leadership now needed by the Pomo. With extended families shattered and villages based on kinship destroyed, birth was no longer a practical way to choose leaders. The Ghost Dance provided a way for talent (for dreaming) rather than lineage to determine spiritual leadership. Soon, Pomo groups would begin to choose political leaders based on talent as well. The talent now needed most was knowledge of white ways and the ability to speak English.

And if the new religion did provide a transition to Christianity, it was a use of Christianity that the Pomo made themselves. After all, for many Indians accepting Christianity did not necessarily mean giving up native religious systems. One simply incorporated Christian

beliefs into a world view that was much more flexible than missionaries wished to admit.[53]

A Home of their Own

The Yokayo Pomo and other Indian groups in the Ukiah valley continued to reestablish patterns from the past. The Yokayo built a sweat house on the Burke ranch. This was a semi-subterranean structure that served as a sort of men's clubhouse and ceremonial center. Here the men and some old women gathered as they had done in their villages, and began to recreate a community life.[54]

The Yokayo supported themselves by working as a group on the ranch where they lived and by travelling around the area working for other ranchers. Some men began to practice their professions again. Traditionally the Pomo divided most male labor into professions, with specialists in hunting, fishing, doctoring, gambling, chieftainship and bead (money). The right to practice a profession was hereditary in

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[53]Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, "Cults and Their Transformations," p. 669.

[54]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 14. Women were usually barred from the sweathouse until after menopause. Thus, the sweathouse was mostly under the control of men while the brushhouse, where the families lived, was the domain of women and was owned by one of the older women, a family matriarch.

certain family lines, and older professionals carefully trained younger family members (apprenticeships lasted until about the age of fifty). Not all men could be professionals. They might help hunt and fish, but people did not regard them as "hunters" or "fishermen."[55] Practicing professions required a return to rituals and taboos from the past, such as the singing of special songs, avoiding meat, abstaining from sex. Each profession had its own vast array of customs that had to be followed, so as to avoid all sorts of calamities.[56]

Pomo women also recovered spiritual values through the practice of their traditional work. In precontact times Pomo women and men gathered the plants, seeds, and nuts that provided the most important source of food. They stored the food in baskets they made. Now women began to make their baskets again, a process requiring not only skill, but a resurgence of traditional spirituality, for women's work also had to be conducted

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[55]Nona Christensen Willoughby, Division of Labor Among the Indians of California, (Berkeley: University of Calif. Archaeological Research Facility, 1963), p. 26; Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 294.

[56]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 61.

with care for ritual and taboo.[57] It had become much more difficult to gather the materials for making the baskets, especially the sedge roots that grew in beds along the rivers. But some landowners allowed the Indian women to dig the roots, while others learned to "sneak." Menstruating women and their men never collected roots; this would result in sickness or might attract snakes. Also, they abstained from sex both before and during root collection because, as a modern Pomo basketmaker explained, "If a man sleeps with a woman, his thing will get like those roots; it looks funny, [and] the women won't go around with him anymore, that's his punishment."[58]

As remnants of families became reunited and old patterns of life adapted to the new circumstances, the group began to regard some members as leaders. The Yokayo did not consider them true chiefs in the original sense of the term, but they carried on many old chiefly

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[57]Nona Christensen Willoughby, Division of Labor Among the Indians of California, p. 26. See also Alfred Parsell, "A Home of Their Own," unpublished paper, copy in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California.

[58]David W. Peri and Scott M. Patterson, "The Basket is in the Roots, That's Where it Begins," Journal of California Anthropology 3(2) 1976, p. 23.

functions.[59] In traditional society the extended family, usually but not always matrilineal, was the central unit of social organization. Each village had several families with the hereditary right to supply chiefs to the village, usually passed through the maternal line. Chiefs had limited authority, usually only over their own families. However, each morning and evening they had the duty of lecturing the people on the necessity of correct living and on the affairs of the village. Villagers gave a new chief money, making it his obligation to make the largest contributions for ceremonies and to care for any aged, disabled and unfortunate people who had no families. In addition, chiefs represented the village in external affairs, such as negotiations with other groups.[60]

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[59]Alfred Parsell, "A Home of Their Own," p. 5. In pre-contact times there had been three levels of secular chieftainship: tribelet chiefs (elected heads of multi-kin-group villages), kin-group chiefs, and assistant kin-group chiefs. Tribelet chiefs arranged ceremonies, entertained visitors, gave advice and held council with kin-group chiefs regarding community welfare. Kin group chiefs looked after their relatives and dealt with community matters. Some Pomo groups had women chiefs, usually the sister or daughter of male chiefs. Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 295.

[60]Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 295. See also Elizabeth Colson, Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women and Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, pp. 1-2.

In precontact times, Pomo chiefs had to come from particular families, which passed the profession from one generation to another. Significantly, one of the first adaptations the Pomo made in their political structure began to modify inherited authority in favor of knowledge about white society. Among the Bokeya Pomo on the coast knowledge of English became the new criteria for leadership.[61] Now the Yokayo chose four men to be their new leaders. Captain[62] Dick Reddick was a young man from a chieftain family whose uncle turned the position over to him because he spoke English. Captain Charlie Pinto descended from chieftain stock. Captain Bill, not of a chieftain family and himself an elderly man, represented the interests of the older people. Captain Lewis, not from a chieftain family, grew up as an apprentice to a white rancher, and knew best the ways of white men. He assumed a leadership role in the land transactions and in many other areas because, as he said, "I have lived

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[61]Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Cultural and Social Change Among the Coast Central Pomo," The Journal of California Anthropology 1 (2) 1974, p. 209. She notes that literacy - being able to communicate by letter with the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials later became a particularly valuable attribute among the Manchester Pomo.

[62]"Captain" was the term applied to Indian chiefs and leaders by the Spanish. It continued to be common usage after the Anglo takeover.

with the white man, worked with him, spoken with him. I know him and I know his ways. The white man has been bad for us, but the white man is not always bad. The white man has different ways of doing things. That is the way things must be done here, now, because the white man is strong and . . . has government. This government is strong and . . . says that all people must obey its laws and observe its taboos. If the people do not obey, then the government becomes angry [and] is worse even than the anger of the supernaturals."[63]

The new leaders realized that they were living on land belonging to others from which they could be expelled any time and understood that if they wanted not only to survive, but to survive together as Indians, they would have to adapt to their new world. They needed a way to bridge the gap between their traditional ways and the ways of the whites. Most importantly, they needed a way to become independent of white largess as well as white hegemony. The first problem was to acquire land on which to live and maintain their customs. They discussed their predicament and asked advice of whites for whom they worked. The leaders came to the conclusion, ironic but inescapable, that they

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[63]Quoted in Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p.

would have to conform to white notions of land tenure and the system of money: they would have to buy from their conquerors the land that they had once owned.[64]

In 1880, when the harvest season had ended and the Yokayo returned to the Burke ranch with the pay earned by working the harvest as migrant laborers, they had a "Big Time," a feast and celebration. Speaking in the traditional style of Pomo chieftain orators, a leader, Captain Lewis, proposed that the people donate money from their pay to buy land for the group. The Ukiah Republican Press, in an unusually positive article, quoted him (no doubt in many of their own words): "My friends, my people, we should get some land of our own to be home for our tribe for all time. We are treated by the white people as if we were slaves, as if we were dogs. We chop wood, we pick hops, and white men make the money from our hard work. If they get tired of having us on their ranches they can kick us off any time. Let us work hard this year, save all our money . . . and buy a ranch for a home."[65] Placing a blanket

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[64]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 175-176; Charles Kasch, "The Yokayo Rancheria," California Historical Society Journal 26 (Sept. 1947) pp. 209-215; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, pp. 19-20.

[65]Ukiah Republican Press June 30, 1905.

in the center of the circle, the leader asked for donations. Only the money of the whites would be useful for this purpose, so the Indians refrained from contributing articles of Indian exchange like beads or baskets. The first meeting raised $350, subsequently lost.[66]

The collection of funds mixed new ideas about money and land with old traditions. Captain Lewis took charge of the money from four subsequent donations, and the group kept no records about the size of the contributions or the identity of contributors. The Indians undertook this enterprise in the traditional communal way: all members of the group participated on behalf of the group, and all shared equally, not according to the amount of their contribution.[67]

After four donations the Indians had raised about $1000, enough to place a down payment on the one-hundred

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[66]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," (p. 177) says that two leaders were entrusted with the money. It is unclear whether they were duped out of it or simply spent it or lost it. But Steve Knight, a descendant of one of the chiefs, told Alfred Parsell that Dick Reddick (one of the chiefs) squandered the money. Alfred Parsell, "A Home of Their Own," Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California.

[67]Captain Lewis was Lewis Berdine. Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 179.

and twenty-three acre McPeak ranch, priced at $4,500. The McPeak ranch became the Yokayo rancheria, located about four miles south of Ukiah on the east bank of the Russian River. The deed named the owners of the 120 acre ranch as "Dick, Lewis, Bill, Charley, all Indians, and their tribe." The Yokayo distributed the land in the residential section of the rancheria informally in terms of kinship groupings. The various families selected sites and built their homes, much as Pomo villagers had done in the past.[68]

The next step was to insure they would keep the land by paying off the mortgage. The Yokayo worked the agricultural land on the rancheria in common, the first year with no animals and few tools. The income from the first year's hop crop went toward tools and equipment and to pay the mortgage. Besides working their own land, the Indians continued to travel the immediate area working the hop, grape, and watermelon crops. Pomo men worked shearing sheep. Pomo women worked in town as domestic servants; others did a day's worth of laundry for twenty-five cents. Pomo baskets, considered some of the best in the world, brought in money, as well. With

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[68]Charles Kasch, "The Yokayo Rancheria," p. 213; Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 180-181; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, pp. 19-20.

their combined efforts, they managed to pay off the entire mortgage on their property in 1883.[69]

For a few years following the Indians did quite well until 1889, when another threat to their security arose. Captain Lewis's brother was charged with murder and, to raise the money for his defense, the group again mortgaged their land. In the words of a descendant, "things went from bad to worse. They couldn't pay off the mortgage or even keep up interest on it . . . the man was going to foreclose . . . they were expecting to lose the place."[70] At the last moment, the Indians arranged with Lou Ruddick, a white friend of the

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[69]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia, p. 20; Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 178-179; Charles Kasch, "The Yokayo Rancheria," pp. 211-212. The Yokayo had to contend with more than money to gain title to their land. Initially, the Indians trusted a neighboring white rancher, Yates, with the business end of their hop business. He helped them to contract for the sale of the hops, ship the crop out, and collect the money. The first year on the rancheria was a boom year for hops, and they made enough money so that only $800. remained on the mortgage. Yates offered to advance them the money in return for a mortgage on the rancheria as security. Yates had agreed to use the profits from the hops to pay off the mortgage. He did not, and instead sold the mortgage to a third party. The Indians faced foreclosure. They gave another mortgage to Lempke, paid off the Yates mortgage, and finally owned the land free and clear. Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 186-87.

[70]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 189.

Indians, to cut wood on his land to earn the mortgage money.[71]

In 1894 the entire tribe packed up and moved to a temporary village on the Ruddick ranch. It was early fall when they left the rancheria, and they did not return until time to harvest their hops the following summer. Almost all the Indians cut wood for Ruddick, who applied their wages to the debt, except a small amount to maintain them. When the Indians moved back to the Yokayo Rancheria in 1895 they had successfully discharged their debt by working together to keep their land. For a time the rancheria prospered, and at one point even distributed a $200 cash dividend among the members.[72]

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[71]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 189. Wood cutting was lucrative at this time because the recently built railroad through the valley used wood for fuel. Lewis Ruddick (b. 1836) was a native of Indiana who came to California via the Isthmus of Panama in 1855. He arrived in the Ukiah Valley in 1857 and settled on his one-hundred and thirty-five acre ranch four miles from Ukiah. As one of the valley's earliest settlers, he had much contact with the Pomo Indians, and befriended them many times. Lyman Palmer, History of Mendocino County, California, (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880), p. 667.

[72]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe, p. 190. Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 300; Charles Kasch, "The Yokayo Rancheria," p. 209.

But the communalism of the Pomo was not impervious to new values about money and work. Learning to cope with white society led some members of the group to question the administration of the property. Conflicts developed between the ideas of group ownership and individual initiative. Previously, the Indians had considered all labor on the rancheria to be a group project and worked the land cooperatively. Income went into a general fund administered by the captains. However, some Indians could pick more hops than others, and thus earned more money then others when they worked for whites. Some of them began to question the fairness of sharing the proceeds of the rancheria equally. In 1899, in response to complaints of some members, the group gave up the old way and began to pay for labor on the tribal lands individually, just as when they worked for whites. Even so, internal dissension continued to grow around such issues. By 1900 the tribe had split into two distinct factions and fights about the amount of pay for rancheria work became common.[73]

With the death of the second of the four original chiefs in 1904 the factionalism reached a crisis. Twenty-five Indians, heirs of the two dead chiefs,

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[73]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 190-192.

perhaps responding to their own loss of power in the group, moved off the rancheria and back to the Burke ranch. This was not an unusual response to internal conflicts. Very often in aboriginal Pomo society dissension led to a group of villagers leaving and establishing a new village. Such removals usually did not involve complete separation. The new village would be located near the old one, and after a time (perhaps after some instigators of the feud had died) it was common for those living apart to reunite with the old group.[74]

Now white values and law added a new dimension to such conflicts and hampered traditional methods of resolving conflicts. The property had increased in value greatly, leading some white men to become interested in the feud. Following the death of two of the four chiefs, T.J. Weldon had himself named administrator of the estates of the dead chiefs, and laid claim to a half interest in the rancheria on behalf of the heirs: the faction that had left. They initiated a lawsuit for partition of the tribal property

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[74]Samuel A. Barrett, The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Tribes, p. 17; A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, p. 229. See also Alfred Parsell, "A Home of Their Own," Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California.

arguing that the original deed conveyed title not to the tribe as a whole, but to the four chiefs mentioned specifically in the deed. Thus the descendants of each dead chief demanded one-fourth of the rancheria.[75]

The majority group, led by the two remaining chiefs, in turn hired lawyers and filed suit in the Superior Court of Mendocino County to prevent the partition of the rancheria. The court case revolved around whether American law would recognize the communal ownership of the rancheria that had clearly been the intention and practice of the tribe from the beginning, or whether the whites would decide in favor of the rights of individual heirs to claim a particular portion of their father's property. In addition, the dissenters demanded half the moneys of the tribe, held pending the court's decision by an administrator. Through their lawyers the chiefs, speaking for the majority of seventy four Yokayo Indians, explained why they now looked to the courts to resolve the dissension. They asserted that, because of the uncertainty of their lives given the rapid destruction of their tribe by death and disease, they feared that within a short time there

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[75]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 201-205; Charles Kasch, "The Yokayo Rancheria," p. 213. The Ukiah Republican Press June 30, 1905, clearly sided with communal ownership.

would remain no members who knew the facts of the original trust. Since the two surviving chiefs were getting old, they asked to have the status of the community indisputably upheld in law.[76]

The trial lasted two years and became quite involved and expensive. The ruling of the court "affirmed [the] existence of a voluntary association of individuals composing Yokayo Tribe of Indians, that land held in equity and by common ownership."[77] On appeal, the California Supreme Court upheld the original judgement in 1908:

> But, finally, it may be said, that it would be a reproach to our jurisprudence if, under all the circumstances shown, those laws should compel that this tribe be driven from the land which they purchased, and forced again to become wanderers on the earth . . . At common law, it is true, a deed of conveyance to an unincorporated voluntary association was bad for lack of a capable grantee, and cases will be found which hold that where the grantee could not take directly, he or it cannot take

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[76]Records of the Mendocino County Clerk, No. 6027, Dec. 20, 1904 entitled "Dick Ruddick and Captain Lewis (Indians), for and on behalf of the Yokayo Tribe of Indians, Plaintiffs vs. F.C. Albertson, T.J. Weldon as Administrator of the Estate of Charley (Indian), Deceased, T.J. Weldon as Administrator of the Estate of Bill (Indian) Deceased, Minnehaha, Hiawatha, Ollagoola, Wanahana, Pocahontas, Defendants (it goes without saying that these were not the real names of the Indian defendants - it seems the lawyers made up names for them).

[77]Ruddick et. al. vs. Albertson et. al., p. 13, April 13, 1906, Judgement. Ukiah Republican Press July 14, 1905.

> through the medium of a trustee. But from this grew an abuse which equity was prompt to remedy. So that it is now recognized that a valid grant may be made to trustees for such an unincorporated voluntary association, and that such title will descend in perpetuity. And certainly, if ever there was a case where equity would seek to sustain such a grant, it is the case here presented.[78]

In time the dissenting faction did move back to the rancheria, although informants reported continued tensions over this issue as late as the 1940s.[79]

The significance of this case lies in the ways the Yokayo adapted and used their traditional values first to get land and then to keep it. The inevitable conflicts between the good of the community and individual self-interest put tremendous stress on the group, and threatened to tear it apart completely, and factionalism became a lasting part of Pomo community life. When acting communally no longer sufficed, the leaders turned to white advocates and to the courts for help. The courts and many local people supported tribal ownership of land in this case because the Indians had purchased the land fairly. Further, they seemed to interpret the initiative the Indians had shown in trying to buy land as successful assimilation of Anglo values.

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[78] California Decisions (S.F. No. 4735, Department Two, Dec. 15, 1908).

[79] Alfred Parsell, "A Home of Their Own."

Several other Mendocino County Indian bands followed the example of the Yokayo and bought land in common, but all too often there was too little land and too many people. In Potter Valley fourteen families pooled their savings and bought eleven acres in 1892, but this meant fifty-two persons were living on land that would not adequately support a single white family. At Coyote Valley thirty-six people lived on seven acres and at Guidiville, fifty-nine lived on only five acres.[80] In Upper Lake in neighboring Lake county, the small amount of land in the rancheria did not accommodate them all, and several families had to find other places to stay.[81] Many others lacked the resources to buy land and remained homeless.[82]

In spite of the court decision in the Yokayo case, communal ownership of land went against a central ideal of Anglo society, and federal Indian policy had as an ultimate goal the breaking of tribal communalism through

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[80]C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906, p. 122.

[81]Mrs. Sarah M. Cole, Report of School at Upper Lake, Cal. in U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1895. 54th Congress, 1st session, House Document 5, vol. 2, 1896, serial set no. 3382, p. 363.

[82]Edna Guerrero, Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. I, pp. 185-188.

individual ownership of property. But individual ownership made little sense for Indians given the local realities. In Mendocino County at least, those Indians who owned land communally had the greatest probability of keeping it. Although some California Indians received land as individuals under the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887, most of the land allotted turned out to be very poor and lacking in water. In addition, property ownership was not always the first consideration for the Indians, who sometimes clung to their traditional burying grounds and to living in groups. Purchasing agent Cosby blamed the failure of the Indians to stay on the allotments he chose for them on their savagery. He chose individual homesites for them, "far enough apart in this hilly country to be out of sight of each other." But as soon as they got a little money, they "were eager to return to their old haunts" near their ancestors' burial places. He could not understand why they seemed to venerate their burial places and "are willing to starve on their [ancestors'] graves." He concluded that "of all the Indians I have met the full-blooded Diggers are the most ignorant, and their morals, instincts, and appetites the most depraved. The half or three-quarter bred combine most of the bad qualities of the former with many of the bad

qualities of their worthless sires, though more intelligent, and perhaps worse for that reason."[83]

When Indians did try to stay on their individual allotments, they found that the act made no provision for protecting an allottee and his land from eviction. According to Kelsey, "anyone can jump an Indian's allotment, and there seems no practical remedy, or anyone can move the fence over onto the Indian's land, or divert his water, and it is not even a misdemeanor."[84] While an individual Indian family was unlikely to have the knowledge and resources to hire a lawyer and fight for their land and water rights, Indians in a group might have a chance to pool their resources as the Yokayo had done. Moreover, groups

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[83]U.S., Department of Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1896. 54th Congress, 2nd session, House Document 5, vol. 2, 1897, serial set no. 3489, pp. 85-86.

[84]C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906, p. 122. For information on the Dawes Act, see: Leonard A. Carlson, Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981); Delos Sackett Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973); Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Law (Dawes Act) of 1887 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975); Wilcomb E. Washburn, Red Man's Land - White Man's Law (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971). The Dawes Act proved to be a disaster for Native Americans. Although more than half of them became citizens by 1905, huge amounts of tribal lands were lost to white settlers.

owning land could organize to confront other dangers. Loss of a job, injury, death or illness could, and often did, sink a single family, while a group could work together to keep their land. Clearly, group ownership of land proved to be much more workable for Indians, at least in Northern California, as one can easily see by comparing the experience of the nonreservation Indians with those allotted land from the Round Valley reservation.

Of the 102,000 acres left of the reservation, by the 1890s the Indians could only use about three thousand. The other 99,000 acres were illegally, but completely controlled by white settlers.[85] A series of attempts made by federal troops to evict the settlers in 1887 and 1892 had failed. The government began to implement the Dawes Act in 1895 and continued allotments until 1916. Agents designated land as either "mountain" or "valley," with mountain allotments averaging fifty-five acres and valley allotments only ten acres. The government made twelve hundred forty allotments totalling 42,163 acres and sold the remaining

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[85]U.S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Aug. 31, 1877.

59,955 acres to the settlers.[86] They made all the allotments in a checkerboard fashion to prevent the Indians from forming "land pools." Clearly, the intention was to force the Indians into a pattern of individual land ownership and prevent the formation of any tribal or communal activities. The result of this policy was the loss of over half the Indian allotments over the next forty years.[87]

The reasons for this are many. The allotments were often too small for subsistence, especially as families grew. Employment in the area was scarce, and Indians had no way to earn enough cash to pay property taxes and often lost their land at tax time.[88] Allottees found themselves surrounded by the much larger and more prosperous tracts of the very settlers who had for years infringed on the reservation, and who now used whatever means they could to gain title to all the land, sometimes offering to buy the Indians out during hard times, other times forcing them to sell. Had the

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[86]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 17.

[87]W.M. Hammond, "History of Round Valley Indian Reservation," (M.A. California State College, 1972), pp. 62-63.

[88]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 19.

Indians been able to farm their land together, to establish village communities, to join together to survive illness or crop failure, perhaps many more of them would have kept their land. Most significant about this situation are the ways reformers and the government, in their zeal to destroy Indian tribalism, discouraged in the Indians some of the elements they claimed to idealize about white, rural society: community, neighborliness and cooperation. These were all ingredients in the white settlers' success in finally gaining title to much of the reservation land. They worked together toward the common goal of getting land from the reservation, helped each other during hard times, their cattle even grazed communally over unfenced range (including that belonging to the reservation). The blind faith of the "friends of the Indians" in individual ownership of land as a panacea for all Indian problems resulted in the loss of the better portion of Round Valley forever, while the Yokayo, poor as they were, managed to hang on to their land by group effort.

Helen Carpenter, a Mendocino County writer and friend of the Indians for more than fifty years, wrote that

> if the government had provided a proper environment, and permitted the Indians to retain their tribal relations -- living their

> lives in their own way, and making no attempt to change Indian character and customs -- they would have been just as good and useful and much more happy.[89]

Whether they owned land communally or individually or not at all, Indians had few opportunities to better their status. They were not citizens.[90] Their only chances for work were as agricultural laborers or domestic servants. They had only limited access to education or equality of opportunity. No matter how hard they worked, discrimination limited their ability to earn enough money to buy good, productive land, even with the help of friendly whites. When C.E. Kelsey investigated the conditions of the California Indians for the Northern California Indian Association in 1905-06, he found thousands of them still homeless and living in abject poverty. In Mendocino County 618 Indians lived in landless families while 213 lived on land owned by a family member. Moreover, Kelsey reported that even

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[89]Helen Carpenter, Unpublished Manuscript, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California.

[90]Before 1924 U.S. citizenship was conferred only upon allottees or other Indians who resided "separate and apart from the tribe" and who had "adopted the habits of civilized life," Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), p. 174. All Indians were granted U.S. citizenship in 1924. Wilcomb E. Washburn, Red Man's Land - White Man's Law (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 164.

landowning Indians lived in far from satisfactory conditions in terms of health and sanitation, since they had "been crowded out of anything like good soil and are found in waste places not having enough value to attract anyone else. It is now a matter of difficulty for an evicted Indian to find any place of refuge, except in other Indian settlements already overcrowded."[91]

Congress responded to the report and to growing pressure from groups like the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Indian Rights Association, and the National Indian Association, which promised to work until "every landless Indian in California has a home," by passing the Appropriation Act of 1906, authorizing $100,000 for the purchase of land for the nonreservation Indians of California. (See the list of land purchased in Mendocino County in Appendix A.)[92] Over the next several years, Congress made additions to this amount, ultimately spending $200,000, but the land purchase

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[91]"Census of Non-Reservation Indians, 1905-1906," in C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906, p. 121.

[92]National Indian Association, Annual Report, December, 1904, p. 19 and Dec. 1908, p. 20. For an example of fundraising for the homeless Indians of California see: Indian Board of Co-Operation, "Another Scrap of Paper", Record Group 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 10, National Archives Pacific Sierra Branch, San Bruno, California.

program was fraught with problems. According to the Indian Board of Cooperation, only thirty six percent of the total appropriations proved to be of actual service to the Indians. Much of the land had been overpriced, and the purchasing agents either incompetent or corrupt. They bought the poorest land, least likely to appeal to white settlement; it was often without access to water, and inaccessible. In a Congressional hearing on the conditions of the Indians of California held in 1920, the Indian Board of Cooperation asserted that of the $250,000 appropriated for land purchases over the last twelve years, 64% of the total had gone to overhead expenses. Later, a study by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1937 found only five percent of the lands purchased had been suitable for farming. The rest was brush covered hills and rough mountain land. For example, the rancheria at Hopland (Mendocino County) purchased by agent in 1907 contained 630 acres with absolutely no access to water. The Indians had to live elsewhere during the dry summer months until 1919, when the Office of Indian Affairs finally arranged for money to secure water.[93]

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[93]Indian Board of Cooperation of California, Inc. to Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, Dec. 10, 1919 in: U.S., House, Indian Tribes of California, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian

Yet the local press interpreted the government land purchases in the most positive light, calling the Laytonville rancheria "one of the most prosperous reservations in the state," and claiming the Indians were "showing their appreciation by becoming more civilized." According to the Dispatch Democrat, all the land purchased was "of the best agricultural kind," and noted cryptically that "it is not too bad to be a dependent of Uncle Sam." Whatever the Indians did to resist assimilation, whites interpreted as ungrateful or as a return to "savagery." Most believed that if the Indians still suffered from poverty after the government gave them land, the explanation lay, not in lack of education and opportunity, but in their inherent indolence.[94]

In a statement before a House Committee on the Indians of California in 1920, Malcolm McDowell of the Board of Indian Commissioners revealed some contradictions central to white conceptions of the Indians. He pronounced the Indians on the rancherias around Ukiah to have been "lift[ed] right out of the

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Affairs (hereafter cited as "Indian Tribes of California,") House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2nd session, March 23, 1920, p. 79.

[94]Ukiah Republican Press July 29, 1910; Dispatch Democrat Dec. 31, 1909.

dirt" by the government's purchase of land and the assurance they would not be evicted. "Before the Government [gave them land] those Indians were the scum of the earth. They lied, they stole, they got drunk, they laid around, they were indolent, they could not be depended on for work; but when they . . . could go and build little homes on [their land] those Indians began to come right up." He pointed out that these Indians were "a self-supporting people," who "get their own living by the work of their own hands." Yet in the same report he agreed with the "common opinion of white people of the State" that the nonreservation Indians were "childlike, dependent, and unused to accepting responsibility and assuming the initiative."[95]

Conditions of Nonreservation Indians in 1920

McDowell was correct when he said that the nonreservation Indians of Mendocino County were "laboring men" because they had to be. To survive they been forced into a pattern of semipeonage and became the preferred unskilled labor of the state. They worked the various agricultural crops from spring until late fall, moving their families around during the harvest season, leaving their rancherias deserted except for a few

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[95]U.S., House, "Indian Tribes of California," p. 99.

elderly people and the very young. For example, a 1911 report indicated that between three and four hundred Indians worked in the bean fields near Upper Lake, receiving an average wage of fifteen cents per hour, or about $1.50 a day. Everyone worked, "young and able bodied and old and infirm." After the bean harvest, the Indians went to other ranches to pick hops and prunes. For years they did not get the same wages as white workers, and few could find work during the winter. The storekeepers carried them over the winter, keeping many of them constantly in debt.[96]

During the winter, when the Pomo returned to the rancherias, they supplemented their incomes by hunting, fishing, and trapping.[97] Once a year, the valley Pomo traveled to the coast (35 miles) for salt, as they had always done. All along the road to the coast, white

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[96]Malcolm McDowell, Report in "Indian Tribes of California," pp. 49 and 89. See also U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1911, 62nd Congress, 2nd session, House Document 120, vol. 2, 1912, serial set no. 6223, pp. 13-14. See also: Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 299. The U.S. Manuscript Census for Mendocino County in 1900 lists every adult male Indian as either Farm Labor or Day Labor. Reflecting white gender stereotypes, Indian women are listed either as Washerwoman or the space is left empty, even though other sources tell us that women worked in agriculture as often as men.

[97]Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 299.

people came out to watch the colorful procession of Indians pass by over a period a two or three days.[98] They camped on the beaches and fished, and gathered seaweed, mussels, and abalone for smoking or drying. The men went to the hills to gather wild blackberries and mushrooms. In the fall, women gathered acorns and basket materials, soap root and clover while the men hunted. At the end, they usually divided the food equally, and "if there was someone at home who had no one to go out hunting for them, no husband or relative, this person also got a share."[99]

Whites felt a certain horror at the Indians' willingness to make complete use of every sort of food. "They would take anything you gave them." Chester Bishop remembers that when "we'd kill a beef . . . they'd always get wind of it someway. They'd take the guts and just strip everything."[100] If a farmer had an old cow he no longer wanted, or perhaps one that had died, he would tell the Indians to come and get it.

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[98]Blanche Brown, in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. I, p. 89.

[99]Edna Guerrero (pp. 186-187), Alice Elliot (p. 128), Della Campbell (pp. 94-95), Chester Bishop (pp. 61-62), in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History.

[100]Chester Bishop in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, p. 62.

"Even if the meat had been dead a couple of days the Indians would come and take it, cut it up, and take guts and all in their big baskets carried over their backs down to the rancheria where they would boil the meat in cans."[101]

Other whites testified to the willingness of the Indians to "scrub and clean and cook and do anything" for work, and many families hired Indians to do wood cutting, milking, and many other odd jobs.[102] On Effie Bishop Johnson's place near the Manchester rancheria, the Indians helped hoe and put in the garden or dug potatoes and in exchange her father paid them in potatoes and meat. An Indian woman, Susie, came to help her mother wash once a week. In Ukiah, Indians "did the housework and the yard work and the street work," although whites did not allow them to live in the city limits.[103]

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[101]Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians," p. 154.

[102]Eva Biaggi, in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. I, p. 53.

[103]Mabel Stagner, in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. II, p. 215. Ukiah gradually established unofficial and unwritten, but clear rules of segregation for Indians. This topic will be covered in depth in a later chapter.

Larger farmers had more complex arrangements with the Indians, who found it difficult to make ends meet during the winter when there was little work available. The Spottswood Ranch in Potter Valley depended on Indian labor during the growing season. Mr. Spottswood kept a large storeroom with flour and meat (killing thirty or forty hogs each year) and supplied the Indians with food during the winter. Later, he deducted what he had supplied them from their pay.[104]

Pomo Baskets

The sale of the highly prized Pomo baskets brought in some additional money for the group, boosting the status of the women most skilled at making them.[105] Local stores sometimes bought baskets and often profited from their sale. Even the local newspapers appreciated their rare beauty but found it difficult to fit this into their preconceptions, as revealed in this contradictory compliment: "The Mendocino Diggers are declared by ethnologists to have been the most primitive

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[104]Olive Spottswood Nichols and Geneva Spottswood Christofferson, in Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, Vol. II, p. 212.

[105]The finest decorated baskets were traditionally said to be made by women, but by the end of the nineteenth century, a few men also made baskets. Sally McLendon, "Pomo Baskets: The Legacy of William and Mary Benson," Native Peoples (Fall 1990), p. 27.

of all the Indian tribes of America and their baskets show marvelous handiwork."[106]

By the 1890s demand for Pomo baskets increased as they became better known. Buyers from San Francisco toured the county in search of baskets and curios. The owner of a Los Angeles art and curio store contracted with a local boy, Carl Purdy, to buy baskets for him. Purdy became a dealer in baskets, learning some Indian dialects so that he could negotiate. He sold the Pomo basket collection to the American Museum in New York at a good profit. According to Purdy, the Pomo women refused to deal with a haggler, and ridiculed him in their own language when he tried to bargain. Purdy paid the Indians anywhere from $10 to $75 for a basket, and denies exploiting them since he made only twenty five percent on his investment.[107]

Basketmaking brought Indians into both market and personal relationships with individual whites, providing opportunities for both friendship and mistrust. In 1903, a basket buyer, Grace Nicholson from Pasadena, California, met William and Mary Benson, basket weavers

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[106] Ukiah Republican Press Jan. 20, 1893.

[107] Ukiah Republican Press Aug. 12, 1904. Carl Purdy, My Life and My Times (Eugene E. and Mary E. Humphrey, 1976) pp. 147-149.

from the Yokaia rancheria. This couple, along with several other weavers, produced a series of incredibly beautiful baskets over a period of about thirty years. Nicholson purchased many of these baskets, and the Bensons acted as her agent in purchasing other baskets and artifacts in the region. A close friendship developed between the Bensons and Nicholson. They spent the winter of 1906-1907 with her in Pasadena and met many basket collectors there.

In 1911, Nicholson paid for an operation that saved Mary Benson's eyesight, and by 1916, Grace Nicholson had begun providing a monthly stipend to the Bensons to facilitate their work. The relationship ended after William Benson went to the University of California in 1920 and 1921 to consult on a course taught by anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber. After that, Benson began working with anthropologists on ethnographic research and with linguist Jaime de Angulo on the two Pomo languages he spoke. After his wife died in 1929, Benson went to live with de Angulo in Berkeley where he continued recording Eastern Pomo myths and writing his autobiography. Nicholson was furious when she found out he was giving others access to his knowledge. She wrote, "Now other parties have had the benefit of your work. They will get all of the credit and I will not

even be mentioned for all my work in the matter even though I have furnished the funds all these years to make it possible to preserve the legends, etc."[108]

Nicholson's proprietary attitude did not end with Benson's baskets, but extended even to his knowledge. This sort of conflict was not untypical among the "friends of the Indians." Many benefactors felt their generosity entitled them to the Indians' exclusive attention and loyalty, as if information were a commodity to be bought and sold.

Other collectors were more concerned with bargains than establishing a relationship. C.P. Wilcomb, curator of the Golden Gate Park Museum in San Francisco visited

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[108]William Benson (b. 1862) was the son of a Pomo woman and a white man, Addison Benson. His wife, Mary Knight Benson (b. 1878) also had a white father, John Knight, and an Indian mother, Sarah Joaquin Knight. The Bensons demonstrated their skills at the Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, where they both won silver medals. William Benson returned to Lake County to live with relatives in 1931; he died there in 1937 after publishing "The Stone and Kelsey Massacre in 1849" in the California Historical Quarterly. See also J. Angulo and W.R Benson, "The Creation Myth of the Pomo Indians," Anthropos 28 (1932) p. 261-274; 779-796 and Benson's autobiography and linguistic work done with De Angulo, microfilm in the Boas Collection, Film 372.5, Reel 4, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Nicholson's collection of Pomo baskets is now in the National Museum of the American Indian, along with a collection of letters documenting her relationship with the Bensons. Grace Nicholson's personal papers are in the Grace Nicholson Collection at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

the Potter Valley rancheria on a relic hunting trip. Among other "rare and valuable relics," he obtained a tribal pestle that had descended from chief to chief "until it fell into the hands of a dead chief's wife." According to the local newspaper's account, "only the most persistent effort and a cunning play on the old woman's cupidity secured the pestle for Curator Wilcomb, who cherishes it as one of his dearest exhibits."[109]

Few Indians found benefactors like Grace Nicholson. For most, no matter how hard they worked they could do little more than sustain a very meager existence. Clearly land ownership remained only one factor in the survival of the Indians in Mendocino County, and many Indians who succeeded in getting and keeping land continued to live in poverty. Most people living on rancherias were poor, but the elderly and sick lived in real misery. C.E. Kelsey asserted that while "the sanitary condition of the Indian rancherias is bad, the feeling of helplessness and despair is worse." Kelsey estimated nearly 6,000 Indians to be "dangerously near the famine line" in 1906.[110]

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[109] Ukiah Republican Press July 14, 1899.

[110] C.E. Kelsey, Report of the Special Agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1906, p. 122.

In 1920, a Congressional hearing found the condition of the Indians to be little improved, with the majority "in destitute circumstances and . . . without educational opportunities."[111] The report acknowledged the rapidly rising levels of tuberculosis and trachoma, "the scourge of the Indian race," and promised "an earnest effort" to combat them. But according to Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "the progress of the work has been hampered mainly by insufficient funds." In Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma and adjacent counties, no government physician visited the Indians not living on the Round Valley reservation. Only those few with the money to hire a private doctor received care.[112]

But although the nonreservation Indians received no federal help, the assistance offered by the state or the local community to other indigent citizens was denied them because local people believed all Indians to be wards of the federal government. Dr. Judson Liftchild, for nine years the government physician on the Round Valley reservation and Mendocino County health officer, observed in 1915 that "the indigent, sick, or aged

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[111]U.S., House, "Indian Tribes of California," p. 54. I will discuss the issue of education in a later chapter.

[112]U.S., House, "Indian Tribes of California," p. 83.

Indian receives practically no aid in [California] outside of reservations, he being a shuttlecock between state and national authority, each claiming that the responsibility rests on the other. In [Mendocino County] there are no Indians in the almshouse or county hospital, although there are many instances of pitiable poverty among the aged, and cases of curable diseases which go untreated. Children die of tubercular spines and hips, and many become blind from trachoma and conjunctivitis. The aged, many of them blind, eke out a miserable existence, half clad and half starved, dependent upon the precarious help of their own poverty stricken race, or the intermittent assistance of charitable white people."[113]

Local opinion usually attributed the poor condition of the rancherias to a natural indolence of the Indians, not recognizing how difficult it would be to "make good" if one had constantly to migrate to find work, farm overcrowded land with meager water, contend with a lack of education, while always facing discrimination. In a rare spirit, the Ukiah Republican Press, did argue in favor of county aid for seven elderly, destitute, and blind Indians at the rancheria in Coyote Valley.

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[113]U.S., House, "Indian Tribes of California," p. 83.

According to the Press, their people had abandoned them, and J.L. Cleveland, a neighbor, kept them from starving. Only one could walk to the spring to get water. Government agents asserted that "there is no law that will permit them to assist these starving aborigines."[114]

Most local people, however, simply denied any problem, preferring to believe that the Indians liked to live as they did. In responding to a solicitation in a Bay Area paper to raise money for the "starving Indians of Mendocino County," the Press insisted in 1904 that: "there never was a starving Indian in Mendocino or any other county we ever heard of. An Indian, on a pinch, can get fat on buckeye balls and acorns, but they usually keep themselves well supplied with white men's provender. As a matter of fact, the Mendocino County Indian is one of the sleekest, best fed savages on earth and shares in the general prosperity of our county."[115]

As Kelsey pointed out in 1906, "the most surprising feature of the situation is the absolute ignorance of ninety percent of the inhabitants of

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[114]Ukiah Republican Press July 14, 1899.

[115]Ukiah Republican Press Dec. 9, 1904.

California in regard to the Indians in their own neighborhoods . . . The people of almost any locality who do not know the Indians well are apt to deny that their Indians ever suffer. Other Indians do but theirs do not, and it is a striking fact that the less work there is for an Indian in a locality, the more firmly convinced his white neighbors are that he has all the work that any well-regulated Indian could desire."[116]

Whites in Mendocino County, as elsewhere, measured the Pomo by white standards, and used their differences to keep them powerless. Judged positively only in the extent to which they acted and lived "white," Indians had little access to more than an existance on the fringe of the economy. The key to power and wealth in Northern California had been the control of the land and the resources, and Indians had never controlled them, but had been a part of them, a part the whites did not value. The Anglos completely missed the "complexity and integrity of Indian culture." Still, as Patricia Nelson Limerick has so ably pointed out, "all the cultural understanding and tolerance in the world would not have

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[116]C.E. Kelsey Report in "Indian Tribes of California," pp. 123-124.

changed the crucial fact that Indians possessed the land and that Euro-Americans wanted it."[117]

By adapting many of their traditional values to their new circumstances, the Pomo Indians successfully found ways to retain a sense of themselves as a group separate from whites, and to unite with other Indians. Soon some of them would carry that unity into political action to work to better their conditions. They used their religion and their ideas about land and community to endure the initial crisis of colonization and the destruction of their world, and recreated their village communities in the rancherias. Yet they certainly did not emerge unscathed. Only a small remnant of their original numbers existed in 1920, most living in poverty. One wonders, however, how many Pomo would be left had they failed to respond in this way to their conquest. There is little question that what helped the Pomo to survive was their traditions of community, which they used to get land, to find work and food, and even to enter the white man's legal system.

And, although white people in Mendocino County might deny it, the rancherias seem quite similar to

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[117]Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987), p. 190.

village life and small towns elsewhere. As Pomo Edna Guerrero remembers about the other inhabitants of the Potter Valley Rancheria, "they were just like anyone else; some were lazy and shiftless; some worked and saved. We didn't have fancy homes. Most people would call them shacks . . . [but] they were hard working frugal people who lived on this rancheria. They asked for nothing from anyone. When someone became ill, they all pooled their money together. When someone died, they did the same thing. They were just like anyone else."[118]

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[118]In Bruce Levene, ed., Mendocino County Remembered: An Oral History, p. 185.

CHAPTER 5

INDIANS AND WHITE REFORMERS: FROM RESISTANCE TO POLITICAL CHANGE, 1871-1929

Assimilation and Resistance

The U.S. Attorney in Ukiah reported in 1914 that "there appears to be a mania for burning buildings at the reservation." Beginning in the 1880s, most of these burnings occurred at the Round Valley Agency Boarding School, which had become a symbol for the Indians of government rule. First, students burned the boarding school in 1883. In 1910, someone set fire to the girls dormitory and in 1911 to the temporary dormitory. Finally in 1914 some boys tried to burn their dormitory twice, and eventually succeeded in burning the main school building to the ground.[1]

The burnings of the schools and other agency buildings symbolize the extremely high level of anger and resentment many Indians felt toward the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the agency administration, whose ultimate goal had become the destruction of native

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[1]Ukiah Republican Press, Dec. 2, 1910. See also Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978), p. 120.

cultures and the assimilation of Indian individuals into Anglo-American society. The BIA saw the Indian schools, particularly boarding schools, as centerpieces of the assimilation campaign, and the Indians understood this very well. At Round Valley, the Indians hated the government schools for precisely this reason.

The Indians at Round Valley had little recourse for their anger and opposition to the assimilation policy. Several tribal groups had been gathered onto this reservation and their traditional forms of government through consensus had broken down. They could only react to the most visible aspects of the assimilation policy by resisting it strongly. Burning of buildings was only the most obvious of the many ways, both active and passive, that the Indians simply refused to comply with the programs of the government.[2]

Indians living off the reservation in Mendocino County faced much the same situation, and responded in the same way. Although the Indians refused to go along with a good part of the government's program for them,

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[2]While not all Indians at Round Valley condoned the burnings, they felt protective of the boys and quite concerned about their treatment. For a study of Indian resistance at the Round Valley Reservation, see Todd Benson, "The Consequences of Reservation Life: Native Californians on the Round Valley Reservation, 1871-1884," Pacific Historical Review vol. 60, no. 2 (May 1991), p. 221-244.

they did adapt to this new world. They learned much from their contacts with the Indian Service and the missionaries. By the Progressive period, some Indians began, in concert with various brands of white reformers, to become active politically. During the first few decades of the twentieth century, Indians in California and elsewhere began to discover a collective voice. They began to demand an end to attacks on their culture, and to insist that they be allowed to practice whatever marital, family, religious, and medical practices they pleased. And in California, they demanded redress for the lands promised them and lost in the eighteen unratified treaties. However, Indian interests remained caught in a complex web of conflicting needs and values of white interest groups, including local business interests, the Indian Service bureaucracy, rival religious denominations, and progressive reformers. None of these groups, however benevolent or well-meaning, seemed willing to allow the Indians what they wanted above all else: self-determination.

Beginning in the 1870s with Grant's Peace Policy, agents of the government allied with Protestant missionary reformers in the campaign to turn the Indians into Christian capitalists with patriarchal nuclear

families. Assimilation into white society continued to be the basis of federal Indian policy for decades to come. Policymakers focused on the related goals of converting the Indians both to Christianity and to European-American ways of living.[3]

As the California county with the largest Indian population, Mendocino county provides a useful example of how the assimilation campaign played out on the local level.[4] Here advocates of assimilation waged the

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[3]Useful studies of the assimilation campaign include William Ahern, "Assimilationist Racism: The Case of the 'Friends of the Indian,'" which argues that while most reformers had the best of intentions, their insistence on European American norms as the measure of progress was at its heart a racist one. Journal of Ethnic Studies 4 (1976-77), pp. 23-32. See also Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Christine Bolt, American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Henry Warner Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict (University of Chicago Press, 1981); Clyde Milner and Floyd A. O'Neil, eds., Churchmen and the Western Indians, 1820-1920 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985); Robert A. Trennert, The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Non-reservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," Western Historical Quarterly 12 (July 1982); Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Frederick E. Hoxie, "Beyond Savagery: The Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians, 1880-1920," (Ph.D. Brandeis University, 1977).

[4]U.S. Senate, Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States, Hearings Before A Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, 71st Congress, Second

battle on two fronts: the Round Valley reservation in the northern mountains and in the small rancherias along the coast and in the valleys where Pomo Indians lived independently. In both locations missionaries and government employees fought to eradicate Indian culture while Indians battled to retain it in a much adapted form.

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At the Round Valley reservation the government replaced a series of corrupt politically appointed agency administrators with agents selected by the Methodist church beginning in 1871, the same year the U.S. government nullified tribal sovereignty.[5] By replacing political appointees with missionaries the

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Session, in: U.S. Congressional Hearings 1932-34, p. 15331.

[5]The end of tribal sovereignty meant that the government would no longer make treaties with Indian nations, but would now legislate for them. James S. Olson and Raymond Wilson, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 62. Earlier agents had often used their positions to enlarge their own lands and, upon leaving the Indian service, sometimes took along Indians from the reservation to serve not only as ranch workers but as concubines. Estel Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), p. 325. See also "The Indian Service and the Religious Societies," in U.S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Nov. 1, 1872, serial set 1560, pp. 460-462.

government hoped to improve relations with Native Americans, keep them on the reservations, and facilitate assimilation.[6]

The new superintendents at the Round Valley Agency approached their work with a naive and optimistic faith that their task would be rapidly accomplished, and they were quick to overemphasize signs of change. In 1874 Superintendent James Burchard reported that more than nine hundred Indians had "been admitted into the church on probation (as is the custom of the Methodist-Episcopal Church,) sixty-three of whom have, upon examination of Christian character, been admitted into full connection, six months of trial having expired." In addition, six "earnest Christian" Indians had been licensed to preach.[7] Burchard also reported that the Indians had accepted "citizen's dress," and Christian marriage customs; thirty-eight couples had married "in

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[6]The program to put religious groups in charge of reservations was called the "Quaker Policy." It went hand-in-hand with Grant's "Peace Policy," which placed most Native Americans on reservations to "protect" them and speed up assimilation. James S. Olson and Raymond Wilson, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century, p. 42.

[7]Indian Agent James Burchard to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Feb. 28, 1874, Letter Book, April 1, 1871 to Dec. 11, 1875, 161, Round Valley Agency, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Pacific Sierra Branch, National Archives, San Bruno, Calif. (hereafter cited as RG 75, NASB).

accordance with the laws of the State."[8] The following year Burchard proclaimed that the Indians had renounced "not only their pagan customs and beliefs, but the vices of gambling, swearing, [and] drinking learned from contact with so-called civilization." He claimed that he had "never known as great a stability with any race of people in the Christian faith . . . [and] the religious knowledge gained, the intellectual development and general improvement is a marvel."[9]

Yet only two years later, the new agent in charge had a very different story to tell. He reported that only about twenty Indians "seemed really desirous of

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[8]Burchard to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 10, 1874, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 43rd Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, serial set no. 1639, p. 622; Burchard to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 1, 1875, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 44th Congress, 1st session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Nov. 1, 1875, serial set no. 1680, p. 729.

[9]U.S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 43rd Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Nov. 1, 1874, serial set no. 1639, p. 383; Burchard to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 1, 1876, in U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 44th Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Oct. 30, 1876, serial set no. 1749, p. 420.

being Christians."[10] The adoption of Christian marriage customs by the Indians, which signified so much to Burchard, lasted only a short time. Few of those legally married in church had remained together and most of them now lived with others.[11] Clearly, religious conversion had a different meaning for the Indians than for the missionaries.

More was going on at Round Valley than simply religious services. Hoping to convince the Indians to convert, Agent Burchard made specific promises to them in exchange for their cooperation with his wishes. He promised that their land would be secured from encroaching settlers and that the government would issue them adequate rations, tools, and animals. Burchard led them to believe that these things would be forthcoming only if they made an effort to assimilate as

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[10]Indian Agent H.B. Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 12, 1878, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 45th Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Nov. 1, 1878, serial set no. 1850, p. 508.

[11]Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1880, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 46th Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Nov. 1, 1880, serial set no. 1959, p. 132.

the BIA wished. They did so, but their acquiescence was conditional.[12]

Burchard misunderstood the Indians. Driven to this reservation by violence and starvation, they saw it as a refuge only so long as it met their needs for safety and subsistence. But the reservation had provided subsistence only intermittently. Chronically short of funds, food, and supplies, and constantly under attack by settlers wishing to encroach upon Indian land, the reservation never consistently provided a secure and permanent home for the Indians. From the beginning the government had promised the Indians food, clothing, and safety as well as land, tools, and farm animals as an incentive to stay on the reservation. Most of these promises had been fulfilled incompletely or not at all, and the Indians waited impatiently for the government to make good on its promises.[13]

Shortly after Agent Burchard arrived at Round Valley, Congress passed a bill intended to settle the disputes over the reservation's boundaries. The bill allocated funds to compensate settlers living on the

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[12]Estel Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta, pp. 325-326.

[13]For an overview of the land debates and encroachment on the reservation by local settlers, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

reservation for the improvements they had made. For a time it seemed that the land would be secured for the Indians at last. However, the settlers did not like the government's offer and issued several legal challenges to prevent implementation of the legislation. The boundary disputes continued.[14]

The religious conversion of the Indians coincided with their raised expectations. Burchard used the bill as a bribe to get the Indians to go along with his assimilation program. In particular, he promised the Indians that if they were "good," i.e., if they converted to Christianity and practiced white customs, all their hopes would soon be realized. He convinced the Indians that the promises of the government would be forthcoming when they had become "good," -- had accepted Christianity and the most obvious trappings of white culture such as "citizen's dress." As the new agent, Sheldon, tried to explain to Washington, the Indians upheld their part of the bargain at first, but when Burchard could not follow through on his promises, they saw no reason to continue to "be good." As one Indian told him, "Is all good Christians long as sugar barrel

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[14]Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 6, 1880, Letter Book 5, 165-166, RG 75, NASB.

not empty, but timeby sugar all gone, mos' all slide back."[15]

Protestants and Catholics

Competition between the Methodist administrators and a Roman Catholic priest for the right to proselytize further complicated the issue of religious conversion. For ten years before the Methodists took over the administration of the reservation, a Mexican-born Catholic priest, Father Luciano Osuna, had worked among the Indians in an unofficial capacity. Father Osuna had been responsible for building the first Catholic church in Ukiah, but soon spent most of his time with the Indians and identified with them "to an extent not entirely acceptable to his peers." Ragged, barefoot, and without a permanent home, Osuna adopted the living conditions of whatever Indian family he was visiting, and became a strong advocate for Indian rights. He

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[15]Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 12, 1878, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 45th Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, serial set no. 1850, p. 506. Some Indians clearly had other expectations from conversion. One Pomo woman, Sophie Martinez, was baptized Methodist at Round Valley when she was young and later was baptized again by a Catholic priest. When asked why, she replied, "I don't know. They said it made one feel good. Sister Theresa said Jesus knows our language." Elizabeth Colson, Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women (Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California Berkeley, 1974), p. 67.

wrote, "I have been with the Indians most of the time, they are sick and hungry, so I am hungry with them. We have no place where to live, nothing to do to work for our living." Osuna particularly supported any Indian efforts to resist the rule of the Methodists at the Round Valley Reservation.[16]

Father Osuna challenged the government's right to give the running of the reservations over to religious denominations, and questioned the right of the Methodists to teach religion. He refused to obey the rule that visitors to the reservation check in at headquarters, and when confronted, declared that because he was a priest, such regulations should not apply to him. In response, Superintendent Burchard repeatedly had Father Osuna thrown off the reservation but the priest simply waited a day or two and then returned. Finally, Burchard had the commanding officer at Camp Wright take the priest to Ukiah to the justice of the peace, charging that he was insane and should be locked up.

In 1875 Osuna swore out a complaint about the treatment he had received at the hands of Burchard, and

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[16]St. Mary of the Angels Church, Ukiah California, Centenary History, 1987. See also Luciano Osana Papers, Box 173, Court Records, Round Valley Agency, RG 75, NASB.

at the same time, the Bishops applied to build a rival Catholic church on the reservation. Burchard held a meeting with some Indian leaders, and reported unanimous opposition to having a Catholic Church on the reservation.[17] When the Methodists and the government refused to allow another church on the reservation, the diocese bought land and built a church at Big Valley in Lake County, which Osuna administered while continuing to be a thorn in the side of the Methodists until he returned to Mexico in 1879.[18]

Elsewhere in the county the Methodists and the Roman Catholics continued their competition over Indian missions. The Catholics ran missions on three rancherias in the Ukiah Valley, reaching about 900 Indians, and nuns from the convent in Ukiah taught the school at the Yokaia rancheria.[19] Because their

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[17]Burchard sent the minutes of this meeting to the BIA. The minutes are so perfect, so well-presented, and express such complete unanimity on the part of the Indians that one wonders what really happened at that meeting or, indeed, if a meeting was held at all. "Minutes of a Meeting, composed of the Captains and Leaders of the different tribes, called by the Rev. J.L. Burchard, and held at the Headquarters Schoolhouse on Saturday evening June 12, 1875," NASB, RG 75, Round Valley Agency, Court Records, Box 173, Luciono Osuna Papers (1874-1875).

[18]St Mary of the Angels, Centenery History, p. 26.

[19]St. Patrick's Church was built on the Yokayo Rancheria in 1903, St. Dominic's at Pinoleville in 1917, St. Joseph's at Guidiville in 1916, and St. Francis Chapel

first contacts with Christianity had been with Roman Catholic missionaries, most Pomo Indians in the Ukiah Valley considered themselves at least nominal Catholics, while the Methodists had more success with the Indians at the Round Valley Reservation.[20]

But the adoption of Christianity by the Indians did not imply that they gave up their native beliefs. The extent to which they accepted Christian practices depended on compatibility with their own beliefs and customs, and the conflicts between Protestant and Catholic missions made it easier for the Indians to make their own use of Christianity. As other native people had done before, the Pomo Indians simply reinterpreted the Catholic religion to mesh with some of their traditional beliefs, allowing them to retain important values from their past. For example, they incorporated those aspects of Catholicism that fit well into their customs and resisted those that did not fit. For example, they used both holy water and traditional

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at Hopland Rancheria. St. Mary of the Angels, Centenary History, pp. 26, 27, 28. One of these nuns, Sister Benedetta, told Alfred Parsell that when they opened the school on the Yokaia Rancheria in 1903, none of the children had been to school before and none could read. Parsell Papers, Box 80, Mendocino County Museum.

[20]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, 1579-1978 (Fort Bragg, California: Mendocino County Historical Society, 1980), p. 25.

taboos to guard against evil spirits. They abstained from eating meat on Friday and during Lent; they also continued the Pomo practice of fasting from meat during menstruation and after childbirth. However, they resisted efforts to make them change funeral and marriage customs.[21]

Education at the Round Valley Reservation

The missionaries believed that education, along with religious conversion, would be the key to transforming the Indians. Accordingly, Mary Gibson, the wife of the Indian Agent, opened the first day school at the Round Valley Reservation in 1871. Initially, the teacher held school in the shade outdoors with the goal of instructing Indian children not only in reading and writing English, but in the entire assimilationist vision. First on the agenda was to teach "washing and combing" and wearing of "citizens dress." Of course,

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[21]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 25. See also Helen Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California. General studies of Indians and Christianity include Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (University of Kentucky Press, 1965); Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1975); Henry Warner Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict (University of Chicago Press, 1981).

all instruction was in English. In fact, the Indian service banned the study of any other language in Indian schools on the grounds that English was "the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities beneath the sun . . . [and] is good enough for people of all races."[22] Reformers believed that the best way of changing the Indians was through their children, and it was that intent that lay at the heart of all the Indian school programs.[23]

The transformation sought by the reformers had a clear class dimension. Learning to become civilized meant learning to work at pursuits thought appropriate for the Indians' future station in life. Agent Sheldon reported that he had difficulty finding teachers "who will go far enough, and yet not too far, in the

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[22]U.S., Department of Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 28, 1886, 49th Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, serial set no. 2467, p. 99.

[23]Todd Benson, "The Consequences of Reservation Life: Native Californians on the Round Valley Reservation, 1871-1884," Pacific Historical Review v. 60, n. 2 (May 1991), pp. 238-239. Compared to other states, California reservations were quite slow in initiating efforts at education. In 1872 two teachers in California taught 127 students out of an Indian population of 21,000. At the same time, Oregon and Washington together had fewer Indians but ten schools and nineteen teachers. Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970 (R & E Research Associates: San Francisco, CA, 1977), p. 45.

education of the Indians." Some teachers neglected manual training in favor of too much academic work, while others would "train them to the luxurious habits of the white race." Sheldon wished to make sure Indian students learned to be compliant workers; he did not believe them capable of more advanced learning.[24]

Like other Indian school administrators, Sheldon emphasized the gender norms of the dominant culture. While Indian boys practiced agricultural pursuits, girls learned the domestic arts, such as cooking, sewing, and housework in an effort to train them to become "mistress of a log cabin," as well as to encourage "wholesome rivalry among Indian girls" in dress and cleanliness.[25] But Sheldon predicted that the day

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[24]Superintendent of Indian Schools to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 60th Congress, 2nd session, House Document 1046, vol. 2, 1909, serial set no. 5453, p. 136.

[25]Superintendent of Indian Schools to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 60th Congress, 2nd session, House Document 1046, vol. 2, 1909, serial set no. 5453, p. 136. The "outing system," in which Indian boarding school students were sent to live and work (most often as domestic servants) in white homes was not practiced at Round Valley, where agents believed that such intimate contact with local whites (usually described as being of low moral character) might "be a detriment rather than a help to the children." See Teacher Rose K. Watson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 54th Congress, 1st session, House

schools would fail in their mission no matter what the curriculum, so long as the children had to go home to the "corrupting influences" of their parents at the end of the day. Accordingly, he emphasized the pressing need for a boarding school at Round Valley.[26]

After several years of work and planning Sheldon succeeded in opening a boarding school on the reservation in 1881 with the clear purpose of cutting Indian children off from their tribal and family relations. Sheldon immediately established policies that forbade the students from having contact with outside friends and family in an effort to isolate them as much as possible from native influences.[27]

Document 5, vol. 2, 1896, serial set 3382, p. 137.

[26]Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 6, 1879, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 46th Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, Nov. 1, 1879, serial set no. 1910, p. 118.

[27]Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 47th Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 2, serial set no. 2100, p. 75. See also Todd Benson, "The Consequences of Reservation Life: Native Californians on the Round Valley Reservation, 1871-1884," p. 240. The focus on boarding schools was never as great in California as it was nationally because of the relatively low density of Indian population combined with economic constraints. The general quality of Indian education in California before the end of the 19th century was often called "pitiful." Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970, p. 47.

Many students resisted strongly Sheldon's efforts to "civilize" them. Children repeatedly ran away and the teachers found the older children particularly difficult to manage since they had a financial incentive to leave school. "I find it difficult to retain the larger boys in school regularly as they can earn from 75 cents to $2 per day shearing sheep and harvesting, and to have them out and in is demoralizing in its effects on the others." Soon none of the older boys remained in school, sparking dissatisfaction among the older girls, who wished to escape as well. Sheldon opposed their defection vehemently, not only because their leaving undermined his attendance policies, but because the older children performed much of the labor that kept the school operating. While the schoolboys cut the wood and did almost all the outside work, the girls were responsible for "the washing, ironing, mending, making of clothes for themselves and the boys, as well as the cooking, baking etc. necessary for the support of the school." Their absence was a hardship at a school operating with meager financial resources, and Sheldon used a mixture of force and persuasion to return them to

school.[28] (For examples of scheduled activities at the Round Valley Reservation Boarding School, see Appendix B and C.)

In July of 1883, the school dining hall and kitchen burned to the ground followed, two days later, by the main school building. Sheldon suspected arson and arrested five boys, ranging in age from twelve to sixteen, who confessed to setting the fires. He blamed the school's troubles on those Indians who undermined his authority and "fostered a spirit of discontent and insubordination" in the boys by telling them they didn't have to stay in school. He complained that the school children were "subject to the taunts and jeers of the old and the condemnations of the younger and middle aged." Indeed, most older Indians as well as many younger ones were well aware of the potential impact of

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[28]Sheldon to CIA, 1882, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 47th Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 2, serial set no. 2100, p. 75. The children continued to provide much of the work force for the school and the reservation for years to come. Some teachers complained that academic progress was retarded because the children were taken out of school to pitch hay and do other chores. See for example, the complaints of teacher A.R. Stolz to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 5, 1916, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 166, General School Correspondence 1910-1916, NASB.

these schools on native culture.[29] In addition, Indian parents continually complained that their children came home from boarding schools ill, having contracted trachoma or tuberculosis while living in crowded dormitories.[30]

To compensate for the loss of the boarding school, Sheldon opened a second day school and for several years, two day schools operated about ten months of the year with an average attendance of sixty children. But the agents did not give up their belief in the need to isolate Indian children from the influence of their families and friends, and continued to ask for funds to rebuild the boarding school on the grounds that any moral training accomplished in school was "more than doubly offset by the vices of camp life outside of the

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[29]H.B. Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 10, 1883, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1883, 48th Congress, 1st session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 2, October 10, 1883, serial set no. 2191, p. 74. Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 10, 1884, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 48th Congress, 2nd session, House Exec. Doc. 1, pt. 5, vol. 2, Oct. 15, 1884, serial set no. 2287, p. 60. See also Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978) pp. 116-117.

[30]Alice Ringheim to Alida Bowler, Dec. 10, 1926, CA 360, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library.

school sessions and I am totally unable to prevent these degrading influences without a boarding school."[31] One agent reported in 1885 that "it is simply impossible to protect the young and half-grown girls from the insults of the young 'bucks' while they are allowed to live in the camps."[32]

The agents partially compensated for the lack of a reservation boarding school by sending some children to the off-reservation boarding schools maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. According to Superintendent George Patrick, "the children were selected for this honor by virtue of their superior intellectual brightness . . . and would be taught the useful arts of peace - such as carpentering, blacksmithing and dressmaking." Sometimes officials even bribed parents to send their children away to school. One Pomo woman, Joseppa, denied permission for her son, Billie, to go away to school. When she was at work government agents

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[31]Agent Theo. F. Willsey to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 19, 1886, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 49th Congress, 2nd session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 1, serial set no. 2467, p. 265.

[32]Indian Agent Willsey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1885, U.S., Department of Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 49th Congress, 1st session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 2, serial set no. 2379, p. 288.

bribed Billie's step-grandfather and took the child away before she learned of the transaction. According to Helen Carpenter, she "would not eat, and sat pulling her hair" in grief for weeks. Twenty eight Round Valley children went away to boarding schools in 1897.[33] But these schools could not accommodate all the children, and later that year another boarding school opened at Round Valley.

Few of the children attending Round Valley Agency Boarding School stayed long, and when they looked back on their stay there, few adults remembered school positively. Pomo Elsie Allen was sent to the new boarding school in 1913 at the age of eleven, along with six other children from the Ukiah area. A government agent had visited her family and convinced her mother that Elsie would benefit greatly from attending boarding school. She had never been to school and spoke only the

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[33]Ukiah Republican Press April 2, 1897, p. 1. Even after the boarding school resumed at Round Valley, some children, often those deemed the brightest, continued to be sent away to school. Of a list of fifteen children (ages 13-18) eligible for transfer to nonreservation boarding schools in 1911: six had parents who refused consent for them to go away, two had tuberculosis, and 7 went to Carlisle. "Report of Children Eligible for Transfer to Nonreservation Schools," June 30, 1911, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 166, General School Correspondence 1910-1916, RG 75 CA, NASB.

middle Pomo dialect; she could understand no English and only a few of the other children. Her roommate was very ill with tuberculosis, and Allen spent much of her time nursing her. When Allen grew up, she tried to remember what she learned at Round Valley, but could recall only having to twist yarn through holes in a card. "It seemed so useless," she wrote. She was so miserable and homesick, and her studies seemed so meaningless that she convinced her mother to let her come home after only one term.[34]

Such experiences fueled the continuing resentment against the boarding school, and a series of burnings resulted in the final loss of the school in 1914. This time the administration caught the alleged perpetrators. After three fifteen-year-old boys confessed to the superintendent, the Mendocino County Grand Jury indicted them for burning the school along with $10,000 worth of supplies stored there. However, many Indians at Round Valley claimed the superintendent had used physical abuse and threats to force a confession from the boys, who told the judge that they would prefer to stay in

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[34]Elsie Allen, Pomo Basket Making: A Supreme Art for the Weaver, (Healdsburg, CA: Naturegraph Publications, 1972) pp. 10-11. Allen learned to read and write English at the government day school that opened on the Hopland rancheria the year after she returned from Round Valley.

jail than return to the Round Valley Reservation because of superintendent Wilson's cruelty. According to U.S. Attorney John Preston, the boys had been punished for running away from school and set the fire for revenge, but Preston acknowledged the Indians' grievances and admitted that these were not "bad boys."[35] But instead of attributing the fires to Indian dislike of the school and its policies, he blamed the problem on a preacher named Collett who had "stirred up a good deal of feeling among the Indians against the management of the institution."[36]

Frederick Collett, a controversial figure in California Indian affairs, became an advocate for the

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[35]Superintendent Wilson denied claims that he had abused the boys. He said that while he was away six boys ran away from school, were brought back by the police and strapped by Mr. Bates, the clerk who was left in charge. Wilson argued strongly that more buildings would burn if these boys were not severely punished since this was the fifth building to burn on the reservation and two more attempts had been made to burn the boys dormitory since the fire. T.B. Wilson to John W. Preston, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington papers, Box 2, Folder: Collett, F.G. [4], NASB.

[36]The accused boys were Curtis Ackerman, Tom Duncan, and Arthur Heath. According to the confession Heath and Duncan actually set the fire while Ackerman admitted complicity. A twelve year old boy, Bert Bell was also involved, according to Superintendent Wilson, who pushed to have him charged with the crime as well. But Attorney Preston argued that he was too young, the judge would not allow him tried, and advised Wilson to get the boy transferred to another school. John W. Preston to the U.S. Attorney General, April 11, 1916, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 2, Folder Collett, F.G. [4], NASB.

Indians in this matter. He had organized a branch of his organization, the Indian Board of Cooperation, at Round Valley in 1913. He used the membership to collect money to hire an attorney in an attempt to free the accused boys have abusive government employees removed.[37] During a six-hour meeting, the Indians related to him "tales of mistreatment by the government officials"; he claimed to have between thirty and forty affidavits of mistreatment.[38] Collett also charged the reservation administration with holding the boys in a "dark, dismal, and dirty dungeon" in the village of

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[37]According to Special Indian Agent C.H. Asbury, Collett did not hire an attorney to defend the boys, even though he collected money for this purpose. The boys were defended by a court appointed lawyer. Special Indian Agent C.H. Asbury to John W. Preston, U.S. Attorney for Northern California, July 7, 1914, RG 75 Nevada, Reno Indian Agency, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 2, Collett, F.G., NASB.

[38]For example, Collett cited the case of the Scott family. George Scott had to be away from home shearing sheep in 1912. His wife, Minnie, brought her daughter home from the reservation boarding school for company during that time. The reservation clerk, Mr. Bates, went to the Scott residence to get the girl. Mrs. Scott refused, saying she wished to keep her daughter home but the girl was attending school in Covelo every day. Bates threatened to arrest her if she did not return the girl to the boarding school. Later, he returned with two police officers and forcibly dragged the girl away, after one officer held Mrs. Scott by the neck, choking her and leaving marks on her throat. "Report of Field Secretaries," Indian Board of Cooperation, January 1 - March 20, 1914, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley.

Covelo after their arrest, where the night watchman terrified them by threatening to burn them alive.[39] After a trial in Ukiah, the boys were convicted of burning the school building at Round Valley, and sentenced to be sent away to a government boarding school.[40]

Collett helped the Indians at Round Valley draw up petitions asking the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to remove the current administrator. This action provoked an investigation by Special Agent C.H. Asbury into conditions on the reservation.[41] The Indians told him that in past investigations they had often been kept from speaking privately and freely to government inspectors. They complained about "putrid" food at the school and especially about the severe punishment of children, who, they alleged, had been stripped to their

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[39]"Report of Field Secretaries," Indian Board of Cooperation, January 1 - March 20, 1914, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley.

[40]John W. Preston, U.S. Attorney to Sherman Institute, April 15, 1914, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley. Sherman did not want to take the boys, and Preston wrote to convince them, arguing that the boys could not return to Round Valley due to "internal trouble there."

[41]C.H. Asbury to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Round Valley General Report, May 1, 1914, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 10, Folder: Round Valley, NASB.

underwear and whipped with a heavy strap. In addition to several other administrative matters regarding land leases and the handling of funds, the Indians resented Wilson's strict requirement that they practice legal marriage, and the fervor with which he tried to suppress the liquor traffic. Several Indians had recently been arrested for bringing liquor onto to the reservation and he tried, unsuccessfully to get the District Attorney to arrest Indians for adultery.[42]

Asbury's report suggests a bureaucratic tendency to avoid confronting problems directly. He did not directly criticize the superintendent and seemed to discount many of the Indians' complaints. But he pointed out that diplomacy was more helpful than "having a strong hand" in these cases, and that Wilson seemed unable to inspire the confidence of the Indian people. Asbury nevertheless recommended against changing the superintendent at this time because he feared giving the

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[42]C.H. Asbury to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Round Valley General Report, May 1, 1914, pp. 14-15, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 10, Folder: Round Valley, NASB. Two years earlier, in 1911, the Indians had petitioned for an investigation of the administration, but they later complained that they had no opportunity to tell their stories to Inspector Dorr except in the presence of Sup. Wilson or Mr. Bates. Report of Field Secretary Collett, March 20, 1914, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, NASB. See also Report of Field Secretary Collett, Jan-March 1914, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, NASB.

Indians the impression that they or Collett had won the battle to change the administration of the reservation. Nevertheless, by the following January Wilson had departed for a better job, although the clerk, Bates, remained. The boarding school was never rebuilt.[43]

Frederick G. Collett and his wife Beryl Bishop-Collett continued to advocate for the Indians and to provoke criticism from government officials and most other reformers. They began their work as field secretaries for the Northern California Indian Association. When they learned about the unratified treaties they shifted their attention from converting Indians to convincing state and federal legislators to enact laws that would allow the Indians of California to sue the federal government for lost lands.[44] After

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[43]C.H. Asbury to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Round Valley General Report, May 1, 1914 and Jan. 14, 1915, RG 75, Dorrington Papers, Box 10, Folder: Round Valley, NASB. See also: Clerk of Trustees of Cachil Dehe School District to Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 5, 1916, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 2, Folder: Collett, F.G. [4], NASB. Wilson got a new job as Supervisor of the district based in Roseburg, Oregon. In 1915 Wilson reported that Clerk Bates was not doing a good job at Round Valley and needed to be replaced with someone more competent. He recommended, therefore, that Bates be transferred to a larger agency. Perhaps this sheds some light on the legendary inefficiency of the Indian Service.

[44]Government agents made eighteen treaties with the Indians of California in 1851 and 1852, ceding them what would have amounted to about ten percent of the land in the state. However, the treaties were never ratified by

the burning of the school at Round Valley in 1913, much to the dismay of the reservation administrators, the Colletts organized a group called the Indian Board of Cooperation, intended to help Northern California Indians in several civil rights areas. Until his death in 1955 Frederick Collett continued to lobby on behalf of the California Indians, supported by payments of annual dues collected from Indians, but his intentions and competence came under constant attack from government agents and from all the other reform groups with which he competed, such as the Northern California Indian Association. Its spokesman, C.E. Kelsey, expressed the most common opinion about the Colletts when he wrote that while he did not doubt their desire to work for the Indians, he was "inclined to suspect

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the U.S. Senate because of dissent by the California delegation, which refused to allow Indians to hold that much land. Although the treaties were hidden away in Washington for fifty-three years, the Indians lived up to their part of the bargain, to relocate on reservations. R.F. Heizer, The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 Between the California Indians and the United States Government (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, 1972). See also Robert F. Heizer, "Treaties," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978) pp. 701-704. Collett discusses the treaties in "Report of Field Secretaries," October to December, 1913, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley.

that the matter of getting their own support looms pretty large in their eyes."[45]

Kelsey believed the Indian Board of Cooperation to be "largely a fake," intended mainly to allow the Colletts to collect money for their Indian work. According to Kelsey, "they run around the state butting into Indian matters . . . without any particular result except to make trouble." The Colletts were both ordained ministers of the Free Methodist Church. Mrs. Collett had attended Stanford University but graduated

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[45]Indian Board of Co-operation, "Another Scrap of Paper," RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 10, Folder: Public Schools-Old Reno File, NASB. This document lists as officers of the Colletts's organization a number of important and respected Californians including David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Stanford Univ. and Dorcas J. Spencer, National Superintendent of the W.C.T.U.'s Indian Department. Collett submitted a statement of the Indian Board of Co-operation's recommendations about the California Indians at the Congressional hearings held on the subject in 1920. The statement asked for more federal funds to provide homes, schools, tuition payments for Indian children in public schools, aid for indigent Indians, and a loan fund for Indian farmers. The statement was signed by a number of public officials and the presidents of the colleges and universities in California. U.S. Congress, House, Indian Tribes of California, Hearings of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2nd session, March 23, 1920 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920) pp. 76-87. See also Omer C. Stewart, "Litigation and its Effects," p. 706 and Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," p. 714 both in: Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978). C.E. Kelsey to C.H. Asbury, Feb. 4, 1913, RG 75, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: [school] General 166, NASB.

from a Free Methodist college in Illinois. Adopted at the age of four by an itinerant Free Methodist evangelist, she became a child evangelist, traveling with her family all over the country living, as Kelsey put it, "off the public." For the next thirty years the Colletts and their organization would be constant rivals with the more established white reform and religious groups for the loyalties of California Indians.[46]

Americanizing the Indians

The religious mission of the Methodists at Round Valley was sporadic and generally ineffective, in spite of the church's role in choosing the agents. There was a very high turnover in missionaries, perhaps because of the extremely isolated location miles from any efficient means of transportation over treacherous mountain roads. In 1886, responding to a request from Senator Dawes, the National Indian Association sent missionaries Anna Boorman and Claudia White to establish a mission at the reservation. They quickly organized two Sunday schools, sewing classes, house to house visiting, and a literary society. But they found Round Valley a difficult post and did not stay long. The conditions at Round Valley

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[46]T. B. Kelsey to T.B. Wilson, August 6, 1914, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 2, Folder: Collett, F.G. [4], NASB.

damaged Anna Boorman's health and she left "with broken health, totally blind." Later she recovered her sight and longed to go back to work, but declared herself unable to live in that climate. Claudia White left for another reservation and in 1891 went to China as a missionary. The mission was then turned over first to the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society and later to the Methodist Board of Missions.[47] In 1911 the mission reported only fifteen church members and twenty probationers, a far cry from Rev. Burchard's earlier claims of 900 Indian converts.[48]

When Rev. Burchard left Round Valley to become pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Ukiah, he did not give up on his efforts to "Americanize" the Indians. He promised to look after the spiritual welfare of the Pomo Indians around Ukiah, which meant trying to convince them to trade their own customs for

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[47]Women's National Indian Association, Annual Report (Philadelphia, Nov. 1886), Microform at New York State Library, Albany, NY (hereafter cited as NYSL). Executive Board, Women's National Indian Association, The Indian's Friend Vol. 1, No. 6, (Philadelphia, Feb. 1889), p. 4. See also The Indian's Friend Nov. 1891.

[48]National Indian Association, Missionary Committee, Missionary Work of the Women's National Indian Association and Letters of Missionaries (Philadelphia: The Association, 1885), p. 17. Cornelia Taber, California and Her Indian Children (Northern California Indian Association, 1911) p. 66.

Anglo ones. However, he also felt he had to battle Roman Catholic influences, which he believed to be little better than Indian customs. After one Pomo couple, educated at a Catholic mission near Ukiah, named their child "Holy Mary Mother of God," he took it upon himself to begin naming most Pomo babies, calling them after his family and friends.[49]

Burchard believed his mission was to convince the Pomo to adopt white practices, especially to stop cremating the dead and burning their possessions, since they were so poor. The Pomo responded with

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[49]The issue of names was very significant to the Pomo who, in traditional times, kept their names secret to fool their enemies who might use the power inherent in names to "poison" them. Many older Pomo women refused to name their babies (or at least to make their names public) and referred to them simply as "baby." More modern Pomo parents might give their child a "white" name for public use, but keep its Pomo name a secret. Helen Carpenter tells of a Pomo couple who worked for a pioneer family, the McWhinneys. They named their baby John McWhinney, but when they fell out over the child being slapped by Mrs. McWhinney, changed his name. Later, when the Pomo couple forgave the McWhinney's, they changed the child's name back. Other white people also took it upon themselves to name Indian children, like Grace Hudson (Helen Carpenter's daughter), an artist who painted the Pomo Indians. She named many Pomo babies after her Eastern and San Francisco friends, who often sent presents to their namesakes. Helen Carpenter Unpublished Manuscript, Helen Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino Historical Society Library, Ukiah, CA. For information on Pomo naming customs, see Burt and Ethel Aginsky, Deep Valley: The Pomo Indians of California (New York: Stein & Day, 1967) and E.M. Loeb, Pomo Folkways (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1926).

characteristic politeness and generosity, yet they resisted his efforts. They tried to accommodate Burchard, who they considered a friend, and their own rituals at the same time. They began burying their dead, but could not bear to cease practicing all their funeral customs. Helen Carpenter, a white friend of the Pomo, described a funeral Burchard directed. The Pomo took the coffin to church for a Christian service complete with hymns, and then carried it to the graveyard. Every time Burchard turned away or closed his eyes to pray, the Pomo slipped more blankets, baskets, and other possessions into the grave under the coffin. In another case, an old Pomo man hated the idea of being buried the white way and persuaded his wife to take him back to the mountains to die so she could cremate him in the old way.[50]

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[50]Pomo tradition required the bereaved family to bury the wealth with the dead along with funeral gifts brought by the mourners. It was a disgrace to die and have nothing of value on your body. Some Pomo saved beads or baskets specifically to be placed on their body at death. Friends and relatives gave beads, blankets, baskets or money to the family of the deceased, which then made a return gift equal to that given. To refuse to do this was an insult. Birbeck Wilson, pp. 47-48. See also: Helen Carpenter Unpublished Manuscript, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, CA. The custom of burying the dead along with gifts and their personal possessions continued for many years. Alfred Parsell attended a Pomo funeral in 1940 and reported that the coffin was opened at graveside and the dead person's belongings (clothing, personal items) put inside. Then

But most distressing for the missionaries than almost anything else about the California Indians was their persistent unwillingness to adopt Christian attitudes about sex and marriage. Although traditional family forms did not survive colonization completely intact, Indians in Northern California did not find Christian morality a sensible substitute, and practiced what the anthropologists called "brittle" marriage. The reports of reservation inspectors and officials on this topic remain much the same from the 1870s to the mid-twentieth century. As Col. Dorrington wrote in 1919, "the Indians will not comply wth the laws as regarding marriage unless forced to do so."[51] Mable Brown, who lived at the Round Valley Reservation, remembered that the preacher "made all the people go to church. Teaching and praying. He stopping all the Indian ways. Just do white man's way. Get marry by license." And not only did the preacher force them to get a marriage

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the mourners put gifts on top of the body. Alfred Parsell, Unpublished Manuscript in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. For information about traditional Pomo funeral customs see Edwin M. Loeb, Pomo Folkways (UC-PAAE, Vol. 19, No. 2) and Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1976).

[51]L.A. Dorrington, Inspection Report, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Reno Indian Agency, Investigative Records of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley, pp. 3-4.

license, they had to pay for it, something few Indians could afford.[52]

The Pomo accepted the role of the church in regard to baptism and confirmation because neither conflicted with past customs. But marriages and funerals conflicted sharply, and the Indians resisted efforts to change their customs. The Pomo differentiated between modern marriage (consecrated in a church and legalized by the state) and traditional marriage, sanctioned by exchange of gifts between families.[53] Some Indians believed that adopting white marriage customs brought discord to the band. As Pomo Ellen Wood told an anthropologist in 1939, "our way is good -- no law. You stay with them [husbands] as long as you feel like it and then run away and get another man. We still got that law, piece of it." She believed that when Indians "get married by whites, that makes them mean like the whites are -- they get married, and sometimes they kill each other instead of just leaving."[54] Another Pomo woman advised her son and grandchildren in the 1930s not

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[52]Elizabeth Colson, ed., Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women (Berkeley: University of California Dept. of Anthropology, 1974), p. 106.

[53]Birbeck Wilson, pp. 45-46.

[54]Elizabeth Colson, ed., Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women, pp. 111 and 148.

to marry until they had lived with their partner for a time, and feared that young Pomo might adopt white family customs.[55]

Many long and happy marriages existed among the Indians without benefit of legal or religious sanction. And for Catholic Indians, the proscription against divorce made marriage in church too risky. After leaving her first husband because he drank, Jane Adams "lived with that second man of mine for ten years before I married him by Catholic way. I lived with him, got to know him well, then we got married by the church. My son Francisco is living with a white woman. He wanted to marry her in church, but I told him no. . . . She's a cranky woman and if he left her, he couldn't stay with his church. This way . . . he can't go to communion or to confession, but he can stay with his church."[56]

When Indians did practice Christian marriage, they often found it hurt instead of helped them. In an example reminiscent of contemporary issues, Mrs. Mace, a Pomo woman in her seventies, was receiving $8.00 a month relief for herself, her grandson, and her sick

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[55]Elizabeth Colson, Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women, p. 230.

[56]Elizabeth Colson, Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women, p. 204.

husband. When her husband died and she remarried (to a man almost deaf and blind), the financial help ceased.[57] And for Indians living on the reservation or in remote areas of the county, legal marriage required two trips to Ukiah, three days apart, at considerable expense.[58]

Despite their lack of success, on and off the reservation, reformers waging the campaign to transform Indian culture continued to link formal education with religious conversion and acceptance of white customs as the measure of success. Most Christian missionaries had adopted a common sentimental stereotype of the California Indian, which, while it stimulated some charity toward them, tended to keep them in the role of

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[57]"Indian Hearings Before U.S. Senate Sub-Committee, Nov. 19 & 20, 1928," in CA 360, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

[58]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, (Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Number 31 Berkeley: Department of Anthropology, 1976), p. 60. In an effort to make getting married easier the Mendocino County District Attorney found and implemented (in the mid-1930s) an old law allowing persons already living together to be married at home by a minister, without a license. The minister would issue them a certificate of marriage and record the marriage in the church books. Only five couples at Round Valley availed themselves of this option in the following year. Report of Mrs. Edith V.A. Murphey, County Chairman of Indian Welfare, March 5, 1932, CA 360, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

children.[59] The missionaries held themselves up as role models for the Indian children to mimic and held up their successes with high and public praise. Rev. Burchard defined their measure of success most clearly:

> In Mendocino county there are now living those who distinctly remember that the Indians of a generation ago had no clothing to wear; now they dress just as white people do. . . . The Indian dances have all been abandoned as far as I know. When they do dance, they dance as white people do. Their old gambling games have been abandoned but some of them gamble yet. When they do, however, they play cards, like civilized white men. The Indians do not play shinney, as formerly. They now play baseball, some of them even on Sundays, like the sons of some of our church members. The Indians are fast coming into civilization.[60]

At Potter Valley, the teacher Mrs. Chamberlain demonstrated her success with a prayer meeting where "an Indian youth presided at the organ, an Indian choir joined in songs of praise, while many followed in testimony." According to the Ukiah Republican Press, a wedding held at Potter Valley between "a youth and maiden of the tribe [was] just as solemn as though the contracting parties were palefaced. The bride wore a beautiful well-fitting organdie dress trimmed with white

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[59] L.A. Dorrington, Inspection Report, Nov. 11-28, 1919, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Reno Indian Agency, Investigative Records of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley, p. 2.

[60] Ukiah Republican Press, April 10, 1896.

lawn and ribbon, made by her own hands [and] they are as likely to keep their solemn vows as their white kinsmen." The paper pronounced the celebrations on the rancherias as showing "the blessings of civilization without the curses."[61]

Educating the Nonreservation Indians

Both the Methodist and Roman Catholic churches extended their attention beyond the missions and became instrumental in developing the first educational facilities for the nonreservation Indians of Mendocino county. In 1883, forty-three Indian children attended public schools in Ukiah, but they gained admission only because they were under white guardianship.[62] By 1887, the government had established a separate day school near Ukiah for Pomo children.[63] Reverend Burchard established a mission for the spiritual education of the Pomo, and later the Methodist church

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[61]Ukiah Republican Press, July 29, 1898.

[62]Ukiah Dispatch Democrat, July 14, 1883. See also Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 23. The instance of Indian children being under the guardianship of whites was quite common in the nineteenth century. Some of these children had been purchased from white men who captured and sold Indian children. More were legal apprentices or the children of apprentices. This kind of guardianship had disappeared by the beginning of the twentieth century, when no Indian children attended school in Ukiah.

[63]Ukiah Dispatch Democrat, March 4, 1887.

built a combined church and schoolhouse for the Mission on the Pinoleville rancheria.[64] By 1913 this school had become a government day school with twenty-six students enrolled.[65]

Eva Schnell, who taught at the government school on the Pinoleville rancheria and answered to the Methodist administration at the Round Valley Agency, challenged the Catholics for the loyalties of the Pomo. But both she and the Catholics were threatened by the Rev. Frederick Collett, who conducted missionary work and political organizing among the Pomo. The Catholics refused to cooperate with Schnell. For example, when she asked them to provide lists of destitute Indians to the Superintendent at Round Valley, the nuns at the convent in Ukiah refused to give her any information

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[64]Cornelia Taber, California and Her Indian Children (San Jose, California: Northern California Indian Association, 1911), p. 66. The Superintendent of Indian Schools saw such schools as part of an effort to "colonize Indians in their own communities away from 'degenerating influences.'" Superintendent of Indian Schools to Secretary of the Interior, Aug. 16, 1892 in: U.S., Department of Interior, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, House Executive Document, part 5, vol. III, p. 588.

[65]Only 10 of the students lived at Pinoleville. The rest were transported by horse and wagon from the Coyoteville rancheria by an Indian employee of the government. "Report of Round Valley Agency," March 6, 1913, Supervisor Horace G. Wilson, RG 75 Nevada, Reno Indian Agency, Investigative Records of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, NASB.

fearing that she would give it to Collett or use it against them somehow.[66]

Conflicts between the Protestants (who represented the federal government at Round Valley), the Catholics, and the Collett group undermined the assimilation effort. Indians soon realized that they could use such divisions for their own benefit, and they often did so. At the same time, the divisions hampered efforts to provide help for destitute Indians, and contributed to the legendary inefficiency of the Indian Service. Without a unified administration, the politics of the individual rancherias revolved around the personalities of the government representatives, often only one teacher, missionaries, if any, and the most influential Indians. Whether this situation was helpful or harmful to the Indians depended entirely on the individuals involved.

The Pomo on the Pinoleville rancheria strongly resisted the efforts of their teacher, Eva Schnell, to change their behavior, and made no secret of their dislike for her. The most literate wrote letters to the superintendent, complaining that she did not treat them

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[66]Eva L. Schnell to Sup. Wilson, March 13, 1914, NASB, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day & Boarding Schools, 1910-1922, Box 168, Folder: Schnell, Eva L. [1913-1922].

as kindly or generously as previous teachers had; they found her cold and authoritarian, and she did not give them calico, blankets, and clothing. They did everything they could to make it clear to Schnell and to her superiors that they resented her and the way she administered the rancheria. Unfortunately, they had little recourse beyond making Schnell's life so miserable that she would leave.[67]

As the only white government employee on the rancheria, Schnell's responsibilities went far beyond teaching. Since she was the only local representative of the government, the Indians had to come to her with a variety of problems from starvation and illness to factional disputes such as the proper division of crops. She doled out food to the starving, and curtly refused those she believed undeserving. And it fell to her to decide how rigorously the Indian policeman would treat the issue of liquor on the rancheria. She ordered him to arrest anyone found with liquor or who offered to

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[67]Eva L. Schnell to Sup. T.B. Wilson, Aug. 9, 1913; Schnell to Wilson, Aug. 12, 1913, NASB, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools 1910-1922, Box 168, Folder: Schnell, Eva L [1913-1922].

give or sell liquor to another on the rancheria, causing much resentment among the Indians.[68]

For her part, Schnell felt persecuted. She complained to the superintendent that the Indians expected her to give them gifts and to provide treats for the children, and accused her of being stingy, although she had spent $150.00 of her own money for the sick and for school supplies. Further, Schnell accused the Indians of purposefully trying to undermine the school by taking their children away during the winter. Schnell's dealings with the Indians frustrated her, and in particular, she bemoaned the inability of her pupils to write the original compositions on the subject of "Citizenship" required by the Indian Service. She wrote that this subject was "beyond the comprehension of any child in school . . . I cannot send what my pupils are unable to prepare." The Pomo were successful in ridding themselves of Schnell; she soon applied for transfer to another school.[69]

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[68]Eva L. Schnell to Sup. T.B. Wilson, Aug. 9, 1913; Schnell to Wilson, Aug. 12, 1913; Schnell to Willie D. Williams, policeman, April 14, 1913; Schnell to Wilson, April 20, 1913, NASB, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools 1910-1922, Box 168, Folder: Schnell, Eva L [1913-1922].

[69]Eva L. Schnell to Sup. T.B. Wilson, March 24, 1914, NASB, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools 1910-1922, Box 168,

At the Manchester rancheria on the Mendocino coast the personality of the teacher had a more positive impact. Pomo children at Manchester did not attend school at all until 1894, when a local Methodist minister, Rev. W.P. Grant, wrote to Washington asking the BIA to provide a teacher's salary. He later recruited a teacher from the East, Ella Brown, who taught at the Manchester Day School until her retirement in 1915.[70] When Brown arrived in 1894 she found no school building or equipment and the Indians were homeless, because white settlers had evicted them from their village. The Northern California Indian Association bought forty acres of land for them and built a small school. In addition the association sent a small monthly stipend to Ella Brown for medicines and other supplies. The government furnished nothing for the school except the teacher's small salary. The school building (sixteen by twenty feet) lacked closets,

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Folder: Schnell, Eva L. [1913-1922]. All Government schools were provided with required final examinations, as well as particular programs to emphasize, such as the Citizenship topic Schnell mentions. In general, Indian children did very poorly on the standardized examinations, which would have been challenging for middle class white children and included no references to Indian culture at all. Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970, p. 50.

[70]Cornelia Taber, California and Her Indian Children, pp. 26-27 and 67.

shelves, and drinking water. Miss Brown carried water from home for the children.[71]

Manchester's location 125 miles from the agency headquarters at Round Valley, and far from a main highway, contributed to the government's lack of attention. Most Indian Service administrators never visited Manchester, although Brown consistently sent them reports and pleas for supplies.[72] The problems Ella Brown experienced at Manchester Day School were similar to those of other nonreservation government schools in Mendocino county. All these schools were many miles from the agency headquarters and received little support or supervision from the government agents. The teachers were comparatively poorly paid (Brown was making $62.50 per month on a ten month basis

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[71]The Northern California Indian Association, founded in 1894, was a branch of the National Indian Association (previously the Women's National Indian Association) based in New York City. This interdenominational Protestant organization had the stated goal of "help[ing] our native race to Christian faith, education and self-support." See Cornelia Taber, California and Her Indian Children, pp. 26-27. C.H. Asbury to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Inspection Report on Manchester Day School, Jan. 13, 1915, pp. 1-2, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 167, Folder: [Manchester], 1914-1915, NASB.

[72]C.H. Asbury, Report on Manchester Day School, 1915, p. 3, RG 75 CA, Round Valley, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 167, Folder: Manchester, 1914-1915, NASB.

in 1915) and, excepting Ella Brown, teachers did not stay long. Indian children more often experienced a rapid turn over of teachers.[73]

Nonreservation Indian communities in this county were always small, poor and the only work available for adults was following the hop or other agricultural crops, making it necessary to travel away from home from mid-summer well into the fall. Some families also took ranch work in the spring. With few exceptions, families had no choice but to take their children along, and for older children, the opportunity to earn money in the fields was more alluring than school. For example, in 1904, Ella Brown closed her school in mid-August when the Indians went to pick hops. She opened the school again on Sept. 24, but only five children had returned. She constantly worried that the government would decide

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[73]E.B. Maritt to Ella S. Brown, Feb. 26, 1915, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 167, Manchester, 1914-1916, NASB. Officials in the Indian Service often complained about the difficulty of finding competent employees in all fields because of low pay. Employees were better compensated in other government departments as well as in private positions. U.S., Department of Interior, Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 30, 1920, in Reports of the Department of the Interior, Vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920) pp. 16-17. For the purpose of comparison, in the Manchester public school in 1911 a male teacher was paid $80; a female teacher earned $70. Ukiah Republican Press, Oct. 13, 1911.

to close the school permanently because of the small number of students.[74]

In the absence of any other government representative Ella Brown acted not only as teacher but as a general guardian and provider of services for the Pomo children at Manchester. She often took children into her own home to live. In 1915, for example, four Pomo children age six to twelve whose mother had died were living with Brown in her small rented cottage. Their father had to go out of the community to find work, although he did try to send some money for the children's support. According to the local storekeeper, Brown not only cared for Pomo children but served as an informal advisor and protector for all the Manchester Pomo. She often stood between the Indians and white neighbors that would take advantage of them; she mediated land and other disputes, and spent most of her own earnings on food, clothing, and medical supplies for children and the elderly.[75]

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[74]Ella Brown Diaries, 1904-1909, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, CA.

[75]C.H. Asbury to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Inspection Report on Manchester Day School," Jan. 13, 1915, p. 1-2, RG 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 167, Folder: [Manchester], 1914-1915, NASB.

Brown stayed in contact with the Northern California Indian Association, the Federated Women's Clubs, local church groups and any other charities she thought might help the Manchester Pomo, providing a conduit for clothing boxes, gifts of food and medicine, and anything else she could convince them to send. She and the children planted a school garden to supplement their diets, and she agonized over their poverty and their weaknesses. "Poor children" she wrote, "They came without having breakfast. If I were keeping house I could do more." "It makes me feel badly to know about Emily. What is a poor Indian girl to do? Whenever Fred Jack comes he brings wine to the Rancheria."
Ella Brown's diaries reveal a lack of judgement and respect for the Indians that was most unusual. In 1909 she wrote, "A fine day. I wonder in years to come if I will find myself bemoaning lost opportunities. I don't believe I will when I think of these school days with the Indians."[76]

Ella Brown and Indian service personnel like her, often women, developed such personal relationships with the Indians that they were sometimes able to transcend the poorly conceived and inefficient policies they

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[76]Ella Brown, Diaries, 1907-1909, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, CA.

worked under. There is no question that Brown and others like her quite literally might mean the difference between life and death for a group of Indians who had no other advocates. But relying on individual relationships could not protect them forever. Increasingly, some Indians realized they could not continue to rely on their few white friends to intercede for them. Gradually, using education as their focus, they began to speak for themselves.[77]

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[77]Ella Brown's career ended sadly. By 1914 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote to Superintendent Wilson at Round Valley questioning the need for a school with such a small enrollment. Wilson visited Manchester for the first time in October and wrote to Washington, arguing in favor of keeping the school because Brown served the Pomo in so many other ways and without her they would be entirely without help. However, the following February Ella Brown, then sixty-four years of age, became ill and had to resign. She wrote to the Commissioner's office to inquire about a government pension. The Assistant Commissioner replied,
"with reference to a pension, you are informed that while the effective work you have been engaged in for the past twenty-two years is appreciated, there is no law authorizing the pensioning of civil employees in the Government Service. Should you be able physically to resume work within your year of eligibility, the question of your reappointment will be given careful consideration . . . [if] accompanied by a physician's certificate."
T.B. Wilson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 8, 1914 and October 3, 1914, and E.B. Meritt to Ella S. Brown, February 26, 1915, RG75, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Day and Boarding Schools 1910-1917, Box 167, Manchester, 1914-1916, NASB.

The issue of education brought together several disparate strands of dissatisfaction Indians felt about their situation. Increasingly after 1900, Indian people moved beyond simple resistance to government schools and organized to seek better educational opportunities for their children. Some of them gradually extended this new activism into other areas, initiating an era of increased political activity.

By 1914, public schools had become the main form of education for Indian children in much of the United States. After the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, which separated Indians from tribal relations, allotted land to individual men, the Office of Indian Education began to push for the attendance of Indian children in public schools as an important way not only to foster assimilationist goals but to save the government money. In 1890 the Office began to contract with some school districts near reservations for payment of tuition for Indian pupils whose parents were not taxpayers, beginning a long and often frustrating campaign to convince state, county, and local officials to provide public schooling for Indian children. However, the government did not press local school districts that refused to admit Indians because of prejudice and

continued to operate separate schools for Indian children.[78]

Still, by 1912 the Indian Service became more aggressive with its campaign to get Indians admitted into public schools and by 1914 more Indian children attended public schools than Indian schools nationwide, although many of them were segregated into separate schools or districts. In comparison with other counties in California, Mendocino and Lake counties, both with large Indian populations, were very slow to allow Indians into the public schools. In Lake County one school district got money from the state to build a new school by counting Indian children, but then did not allow them to attend.[79] By the 1926-27 school year California had only five separate public schools maintained for Indian children to keep them out of the

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[78]Irving G. Hendrick, "The Federal Campaign for the Admission of Indian Children Into Public Schools, 1890-1934," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 5:3 (1981): pp. 13-32. See also: Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, p. 53 and Charles Wollenberg, All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 87-91.

[79]C.E. Kelsey to C.H. Asbury, October 14, 1912, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Reno Indian Agency, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, [School] General 166.

white schools; four of them were in Mendocino County and one in Lake County.[80]

In Mendocino county, where Indians lived in small groups scattered over a large and inaccessible area, public schooling was particularly significant. Some government Indian day schools operated with an average attendance of only five or six pupils, an expense the government was increasingly less willing to bear. (See Appendix D) For example, the Potter Valley Day School had an average attendance of seven students, which dwindled by May to only two students. The Superintendent then closed the school entirely. The cost of operating the school for the year had been $561.85, much more than the cost of paying tuition to the public school.[81]

White citizens in Mendocino County objected strongly to the idea of using their taxes for educating

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[80]Irving G. Hendrick, "The Federal Campaign for the Admission of Indian Children Into Public Schools, 1890-1934," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 5:3 (1981): pp. 13-32.

[81] E.A. Hutchinson, Annual Report, Round Valley Agency and School, 1919, p. 9, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, NASB. In 1913 the government paid $9.00 tuition per quarter or $27.00 per year for each child, based on average daily attendance. Report of Field Secretaries F.G. and B. Collett, Dec. 13, 1913, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, NASB.

Indians, especially since many Indians paid no property tax. Payment of tuition by the government seemed the only viable option, and this was the factor that began to convince whites that Indians in the public schools might be tolerable. But Mendocino County whites still insisted on separate public schools for Indians.[82]

According to Special Indian Agent C.E. Kelsey, the school districts in California that admitted Indian children into white schools were most often small districts in danger of closure without the Indians. Elsewhere racial prejudice kept Indian children out of white schools.[83] In some rural areas of Mendocino County Indian and white schools closed for lack of attendance when combining would have saved the schools. The Hiawatha District Indian school had to close in 1915 because only four of the district's eight students attended regularly. Adjoining the Indian school district was the all-white Cahto School District with a

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[82]Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, p. 54. C.E. Kelsey, the respected special agent for the California Indians feared that the payment of tuition to some districts could endanger the districts where Indian children were admitted without aid from the government. He also feared that establishment of separate schools would compromise the goal of full participation in American life for Indians.

[83]C.E. Kelsey to C.H. Asbury, Oct. 14, 1912, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Reno Indian Agency, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, [School] General 166.

school building located only one and one-half miles from the Indian settlement. It too closed for lack of attendance; only one white family there had children of school age. One problem preventing such districts from joining was a difference in the customary school schedules. In this area the white school usually began in July and continued until the rainy season (November); then school was suspended until April. But the Indians had to travel around to work in the hopfields through the summer and early fall and took their children with them.[84]

But over the next several years this situation would change drastically. Pushed by the Indian Bureau's increasing effort to cut the cost of running day and boarding schools, and helped by organizations like Collett's Indian Board of Cooperation, Indians in

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[84]C.H. Asbury to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Oct. 15, 1915, RG 75, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder [school] General 166, NASB. Maintaining enough children in a district to keep a school open was crucial in the most rural areas of Northern California. By 1904 a census marshall had been appointed to visit remote cabins to make sure all children were in school because a district could lose its school for lack of one child. Ukiah Republican Press, May 13, 1904.

California began to attend the public schools in ever greater numbers.[85]

Indians soon joined the government and white reform groups in the campaign to integrate Indian children into the public schools. Indians began to organize to have their children admitted into public schools because they believed they provided a better education. Collett's Indian Board of Cooperation helped Indians in Lake and Mendocino counties get petitions signed for three new Indian school districts in a continuing effort to integrate Indians into the public school system beginning in 1913.[86] While federal officials generally worked with the ultimate goal of admitting Indians into the nearest public school along with whites, the Colletts concerned themselves more with providing adequate schooling for Indian children than

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[85]According to one report on California, 316 Indian children attended public school in 1915, 1,469 in 1916, 1,820 in 1918, and 2,199 in 1919, an increase of over 700% in four years. Malcolm McDowell, Report on the Landless Indians of California, Dec. 31, 1919 in: U.S., Dept. of the Interior, Fifty-first Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 52.

[86]C.E. Kelsey to C.H. Asbury, Feb. 4, 1913, RG75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: [school] General 166, National Archives, San Bruno, CA. The districts were Hopland, Sherwood, and Laytonville.

with segregation, and most of their efforts resulted in separate Indian districts.[87]

The Colletts had received a hostile reception from Superintendent Wilson at Round Valley. They bitterly accused him of opposing the government payment of tuition for Indian children to attend public schools because the children were his own "bread and butter," and he wanted to keep them dependent on him and on the reservation.[88] Wilson in turn accused Collett of "doing all he can against the Government schools and Government employees." He constantly accused Collett of using "evil influence" to turn the Indians against the government because of his efforts to organize them.[89]

The Indians, however, seemed quite happy with their new public school districts. At Sherwood, the teacher and Indians built the school house themselves, furnished with fifty-seven desks donated by the Berkeley school board. Several "Italians and Americans" living nearby

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[87]Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, p. 54.

[88]Frederick and Beryl Bishop-Collett, Report of Field Secretaries, 1913-14, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Investigative Reports of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley.

[89]See for example: Report of Horace G. Wilson, Supervisor, Round Valley Agency and Schools, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, pp. 5-6.

promptly applied for admission of their children to this school and the Indian parents found themselves in the unusual position of deciding whether to admit white children to their own school. They agreed to allow the white children to attend.[90]

By the first decade of the twentieth century, Indian efforts to have their children admitted to the public schools accompanied a more general political activism. Many Indian parents disliked the assimilation policies practiced in government schools, and became convinced that their childrens' education was inferior to that received by white children in public school, and they began to make their wishes known. Although they had little reason to believe the public schools would respect Indian culture, they hoped the worst elements of

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[90]Frederick and Beryl Bishop-Collett, Report of Field Secretaries, January 1 - March 20, 1914, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley. Superintendent Hutchinson at Round Valley told Special Agent Dorrington that the Sherwood School had been built with lumber provided by a local lumber company, which had a lien on the building. When the owner of the land collected $70 from the county for rent he intended to pay it to the lumber company, but Collett asked to be reimbursed for funds he had spend "in looking after the Indians." Collett was paid $35 of the money. According to the Superintendent, the Government had almost made an arrangement by which the land would be clear of encumbrance when Collett got involved, and had the school building erected, creating a lien of $600. on a building worth much less. E.A. Hutchinson to L.A. Dorrington, Feb. 1, [1915], NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley.

assimilation policy would be absent. Indeed, they were correct. The public schools rarely practiced the heavy-handed methods of the Indian schools, but continued their standard curriculum unchanged.[91]

On the Round Valley reservation Indian parents, who had always resented the reservation schools because of their attempts to force assimilation, strongly supported public schooling for their children. Even Superintendent Wilson gave in and recommended in 1915 that the government day school with thirty-one children enrolled consolidate with the public school of thirty-five students located a little more than a mile away in the Methodist Church. The county agreed to furnish salaries for two teachers if the government would build a school.[92] The Reservation Day School was finally abolished in 1917 and the children sent to the Reservation Public School, where the county paid the teacher's salary and the government paid tuition fees of twelve cents per day per pupil. Resentment against any

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[91]Although there were many dedicated and competent teachers in the Indian schools,in general teachers in the Indian Service were "a little less well prepared [and] a little poorer paid" than most public school teachers. Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, p. 50.

[92]Report of Horace G. Wilson, Supervisor, Nov. 15, 1915, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, NASB, pp. 3-4.

schools as symbols of oppression did not end immediately, however. In April of 1919 unidentified arsonists set the new school on fire and burned it to the ground. The public school, still for Indians only, reopened in the Methodist Church.[93]

The end of government school activities at the Round Valley Reservation was part of a general scaling back by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Inspection reports for 1919 show plans for the reservation physician to be replaced with a private contract doctor from Covelo, and for the agency headquarters to be moved to a central location in Ukiah. The final solution was even more drastic. The Indian Service completely abolished the Round Valley Agency in 1924 and transferred its duties to the Sacramento Agency. The only officials remaining at Round Valley were a contract doctor, who the Indians criticized for ignoring their needs, and a farmer.[94]

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[93]Superintendent E.A. Hutchinson, Annual Report of Round Valley Indian Agency and School, 1919, p. 8, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, NASB. See also "Indian Hearings Before U.S. Senate Sub-Committee," Nov. 19 & 20, 1928 in CA 360, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

[94]L.A. Dorrington, Inspection Reports, Nov. 11-28, 1919, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Reno Indian Agency, Investigative Records of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley.

By 1920 many school and government officials in California had become more accepting of Indian children in the public schools. In the atmosphere following World War One, with its emphasis on democracy and Americanizing the immigrants, the integration of Indians into the public schools seemed a worthy goal. Certainly there were exceptions to this. The California legislature, responding to local anti-Indian sentiments, fired a final shot for separation when it cut off public school attendance by Indians in districts where government schools were available, but the California Supreme Court struck down the law.[95]

But the issue of segregated schools had not been resolved. In Mendocino County, efforts to integrate the public schools by enrolling Indian children continued to provoke bitter opposition from some local whites. Typical arguments included the idea that Indian children were dirty and diseased. One parent recalled: "I can remember those people on the school board yet. One woman just screamed, 'I don't want my children sitting next to any dirty Indians!' And a man yelled, 'We'll close the school.' Oh, my I'm telling you it hurt."

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[95]In some parts of California the desire to segregate Mexicans was behind much of the agitation that led to the segregation of Indians. Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, p. 56.

White school districts were more than happy to accept funds from the government for educating Indian children as long as the government also provided a separate school building for the Indians. In the early 1920s some schools even "integrated" by partitioning the classrooms and hiring a separate (white) teacher for the Indians.[96]

Mendocino County School Superintendent Roy Gord represented a typical local response to integrated education. He reported in 1919 that about seventy Indian children in Mendocino county attended public school along with white children, with their tuition

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[96]C.E. Kelsey to C.H. Asbury, Feb. 4, 1913, RG 75, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: [school] General 166, NASB. See also: Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth Century Secular Movements," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, Vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C. 1978), p. 714. C.H. Asbury to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 27, 1915, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: [school] General 166, NASB Lake County was particularly uncooperative in its opposition to allowing Indian children in public schools and managed to keep them out until 1929. At a protest meeting white parents justified segregation by arguing that Indian children were sickly, dirty, and carried lice. The government agreed to provide a doctor to examine all the children on the first day of school. They found three white children with lice but none of the Indian children had them. David Holmes Mayall, "Directed Social Change in a California Indian Group," (M.A. University of California, 1958), p. 37. See also NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Investigative Records of Col. L.A. Dorrington, Box 11, Round Valley; E.A. Hutchinson, Annual Report, Round Valley Agency and School, 1919, p. 9, and L.A. Dorrington, Inspection Report, Nov. 11-28, 1919.

paid by the federal government. Gord did not think highly of their potential. He wrote:

> They are slow to learn and lazy about their work. Seldom go beyond the sixth grade. Principally because their parents take them out to work . . . and also because they are backward. They have not the interest in schools which white children have and this . . . is due to their inheriting a sluggish mind and the low standards of education and immorality held before them . . . All money for educating Indians should be provided by the Federal Government.[97]

Dr. M.A. Craig, the health officer for Lake county agreed with Gord and declared himself to be:

> of the firm opinion that the Indians should not be educated beyond the common public schools at the expense of State or Federal Government for the good and sufficient reason that they are not mentally capable of a higher education . . . They are naturally indolent, and the more that is done for them the more indolent they are.[98]

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[97]U.S., House, Indian Tribes of California: Hearings of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2nd session, March 23, 1920, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 113. County superintendents represented remarkable differences of opinion about the capabilities of Indian children. Some reported them to be sluggish, lazy, below average, while others said that the Indian were good scholars. Malcolm McDowell, Report on the Landless Indians of California, Dec. 31, 1919, Department of Interior, Fifty-first Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920) p. 55.

[98]U.S., House, Indian Tribes of California: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 1920, p. 113.

Another kind of argument against integrating the public schools held that cultural norms among the Pomo and other California bands taught children to be shy and passive, and thus unable to compete with white children. Some teachers reported that Indian children were so easily intimidated by the white children that they took any opportunity to skip school, although they learned fast when they did come.[99] Other advocates of separate schools argued that full-blooded Indian children were handicapped not only by a lack of English, but by a "sluggish mentality, natural bashfulness, and the economic conditions which compel its parents to migrate with the families to the fields." County superintendents claimed that finding competent teachers for mixed classrooms was becoming more difficult, and complained that these teachers demanded higher pay.[100]

Indians brought the issue of segregated schools to public attention in 1923, when Stephen Knight, a Pomo

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[99]Minnie Tillson to E.A. Hutchinson, May 31, 1916, NASB, RG75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Records Relating to Agency Day and Boarding Schools, 1910-1917, Box 166, File: General School Correspondence, 1910-1916.

[100]Malcolm McDowell, Report on the Landless Indians of California, Dec. 31, 1919, Dept. of the Interior, Fifty-first Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 52.

from the Yokayo rancheria, filed suit against the Carroll Public School District. Knight was a respected leader of the Yokayo tribe, a nephew of one of its founders, Captain Charlie Pinto, and an active member of the Indian Board of Cooperation. The son of a Pomo mother and an Irish-American father, Knight had attended a government boarding school in Oregon. Although he had earlier lobbied to have the government school built on the rancheria after the Catholic school there closed, he came to believe the government school was inferior to the county public schools and the teachers unqualified.[101] Also, the government school ended with the sixth grade. When Knight's daughter, Virginia, finished sixth grade, he decided to send her to the Carroll District School, only one mile north of the rancheria. Knight tried simply sending his daughter to Carroll school in November of 1923; she came home crying, and told her father, "Miss Jamieson says I'm a

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[101]The first school on the Yokaia rancheria opened in 1903. It was taught by Roman Catholic nuns from Ukiah but was government subsidized. According to one of the teachers, Sister Benedetta, all the children were illiterate when the school started. It closed when the government support stopped. The new government school opened in 1917 after Knight and other Indians got Father Sebastian in Ukiah to pressure the Archbishop to pressure Senator Phelan. Stephen Knight was one of the carpenters hired to build the school. Steve Knight interview, Parsell Papers, Box 2 and Box 80, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California.

dear girl but Mr. Waugh (of the school board) says I can't come to school."[102]

Knight did not hire a local attorney because he believed local whites "all stayed together," so he requested the assistance of the attorney for the Indian Board of Cooperation in San Francisco, who agreed to represent Knight. The case came up in Mendocino county Superior Court in November and December of 1923. The complaint was simple: as residents and taxpayers within the school district, the Knights argued that the only reason the school board refused to admit their daughter to Carroll School was because of her race. Further, they argued that the school provided for Indian children by the government was not equipped or maintained with "either facilities or teacher to provide for an adequate . . . education as does the public school." Later, Knight remembered that at the trial the school superintendent and the school board members "made him feel like . . . just a lone Indian." Nevertheless, the court ordered Carroll School to admit Virginia Knight.[103] Still, Knight had to threaten to sue again

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[102]Steve Knight Interview, Parsell Papers, Box 2, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California.

[103]Virginia Knight by S. Knight vs. Carroll School District of Mendocino County, file #10012, Superior Court, Mendocino County Clerk's Office, Dec. 24, 1923; copy in

before the school complied with the order. Although the Knight case established the legal right of Indians to attend public schools in Mendocino county, for several years Virginia Knight was the only Pomo child in the Carroll School.[104]

As more Pomo people began to enroll their children in other public schools, some local whites attempted to limit their enrollment by improving the rancheria day schools and getting them accredited. They were willing to go to some expense to accomplish this; for example, the school board hired a regular teacher, not a BIA employee, for the day school on the Yokayo rancheria, and agreed to pay her salary. The Pomos retaliated by ignoring the rancheria school and insisted on sending their children to public school along with white children. Enrollment at the Yokayo School dropped so much that it had to close in 1927 and all the rancheria children began to attend Carroll school. In 1928, Indian children began to attend Ukiah High School for

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Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. See also Ukiah Republican Press, December 26, 1923.

[104]Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 25.

the first time. One of them was Stephen Knight's son, Bill.[105]

Admitting Indian children into the public schools showed a new cooperation between federal, state, and sometimes local officials, but did not mitigate the fact that only rarely did Indian children come close to an education equal in quality to that received by whites. Inequality was greatest in the rural northern counties of the state, like Mendocino and Lake. A state public health survey of Indians in Northern California, published in 1921, revealed that of three hundred fifty-six Indians surveyed, one hundred eighty-seven had never attended school. Of the one hundred sixty-nine who had completed one or more years of school, only seventy-seven had completed fourth grade or higher. The survey concluded that Indians in the northern part of the state were "not receiving any education worthy of the name."[106]

The conflicts over education in California provided a focus for some Indian people to begin to speak out

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[105]Steve Knight Interview, Parsell Papers, Box 2, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California. The government school on the Pinoleville reservation, just north of Ukiah, continued to operate until 1937.

[106]Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, p. 57.

against other forms of discrimination they experienced. Of particular consequence was the increasing activism of some Indian parents in the attempt to improve the quality of their children's lives. In the first few decades of the twentieth century, Indian people moved from resistance to social and political organization in trying to improve the lives of their people. White reformers joined them in this effort, but usually approached Indian issues from their own perspectives and, as before, had significant conflicts among themselves.

Even the friends of the Indians practiced a kind of paternalism exacerbated by the nebulous position the Indians occupied legally. Most of the counties of California did not recognize Indians as citizens and they enjoyed neither the same rights nor the responsibilities as other Americans. As Special Indian Agent Dorrington put it, "the unfortunate Indian has found himself in quite a doubtful status, half-ward and half-citizen, it depending largely upon local sentiment."[107]

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[107]Congress did grant citizenship to those Indians that served in the military during World War One and received honorable discharges. U.S., Department of Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 30, 1920, Vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 10. Thirty-five Indians from the Round

Indeed, by 1917 the legal status of California Indians had become most confusing. For many years, the state and federal governments had regarded some Indians as citizens. They both paid taxes and voted. The government drafted them for service in the First World War, while many more enlisted and served with distinction in Europe. Partially in gratitude for this service, but also to further assimilation goals, Congress in 1924 conferred citizenship upon all Indians born in the United States. Nevertheless, the BIA did not interpret citizenship as conferring authority over the tribal or individual property of Indians and continued its control over Indian lives, property and resources.[108]

In Mendocino and other northern counties, attitudes of local people toward Indians were to some extent determined by occupation, length of residence, and amount of contact with the Indians. Long time residents had developed stereotypes about the local Indians carried over from frontier days into the twentieth

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Valley Reservation and the rancherias nearby were drafted and served in the army. Round Valley Indian Agency and School, Annual Report, NASB, RG 75 Nevada, Box 11, Round Valley.

[108]Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," p. 715.

century, often by people who, while they might have lived in the area all their lives, had little direct contact with individual Indian people. Often newcomers, like the Italian immigrants, or those that had much more contact with the Indians, like some missionaries, maintained a much more tolerant attitude, and were able to see individual differences among the Indians, instead of assuming all Indians to be the same.

Missionaries therefore, might serve as agents of the government as they did at the Round Valley Reservation, or they might become agents of change. In 1917 missionary Frederick Collett and the Indian Board of Cooperation raised funds among California Indians to support the attempt of Ethan Anderson, a Pomo, to register to vote in Lake county. Anderson sued the county for refusing to register him, and the case eventually reached the State Supreme Court, which ruled in Anderson's favor, establishing a citizenship right for nonreservation Indians three years before all Indians received citizenship in 1924.[109] One

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[109]Anderson v. Mathews, 174 Cal. 537, 163 Pac. 902 (1917). See also Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," p. 715. The crux of the case lay in interpretation of the federal government's relationship with the California Indians. The legal basis for refusing to allow Indians to vote was the Dawes Act, which held that "a member of a distinct alien political society is not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States."

unforeseen outcome of the case, however, was that citizenship rights sometimes put helpless, old, or indigent Indians in a more difficult position since it added to the common local opinion that caring for the Indians should not be a public responsibility.[110]

In the local area missionaries helped the Indians to form civil rights organizations and worked to promote a pro-Indian sentiment to local whites. For example, Rev. Father Raymond O.M. Cap of Saint Mary's Catholic Church in Ukiah brought groups of rancheria Indians from Mendocino, Lake, and Sonoma counties together in an organization called the Society of Northern California

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The California Supreme Court held that Ethan Anderson was a U.S. citizen precisely because the federal government not treated his tribe as self governing and had not dealt with it as an autonomous power. The treaties made with the California Indians were never ratified, and the government had controlled the lives of Anderson's people. Even though he lived on government land and paid no taxes, the Court ruled that he was nevertheless a citizen. See Donald Holmes Mayall, "Directed Social Change in a California Indian Group," (M.A. thesis, University of California, 1958) pp. 35-36. Dorcas Spencer of the Women's Christian Temperance Union's Department of Work Among Indians wrote of working side by side with the Indian Board of Cooperation to secure the right to vote for Indians, because she hoped Indians would be allies on the temperance question. See her report in: National Indian Association, Annual Report (New York: Dec., 1917) pp. 18-19, microform at New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

[110]U.S., House, Indian Tribes of California, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2nd session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920) p. 106.

Indians. The most significant aspect of this group was the cooperation between Pomo, Konkow, Yuki, and Wailaki peoples. At a conference in Ukiah attended by the representatives of fourteen rancherias the group stated its purpose as:

> to promote the advancement of and to secure a peaceful and prosperous existence for the Indians; to obtain and publish a history of their people; to establish a legal department to advise the Indians, and to suggest and obtain remedies for unsatisfactory conditions; to work together for more and better schools for their children and to arrange for lectures on agriculture, stock raising, domestic science, etc.[111]

In 1922, another white-led reform group, Frederick and Beryl Bishop-Collett's Indian Board of Cooperation organized several "Indian auxiliaries," including one in Ukiah, and began to collect dues of $36 from every member in Northern California. Frederick Collett went to Washington, D.C. to lobby for a bill to use the Indian Board of Cooperation as a distributing agent for

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[111]Malcolm McDowell, Report on the Landless Indians of California, pp. 69-70. McDowell was sent in 1919 by the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to investigate and report on the conditions of the landless Indians of California. He attended the Society of Northern California Indians conference in Ukiah, and asked the representatives from each rancheria to tell him what they wanted and why. As the representative of a government investigation into land issues, the response of the Indians to McDowell's questions focuses on areas in which they might expect help from the federal government. Their response is in Appendix E.

a per capita cash settlement of Indian claims. But in November, 1922, at a statewide meeting, auxiliary delegates found that a major part of the $30,000 raised among the desperately poor California Indians had gone to pay Collett's travel, salary, and personal expenses. Accusing Collett of defrauding them, some Indian leaders broke away, including Stephen Knight and Albert James from the Yokayo rancheria near Ukiah. They began to plan a new Indian-led organization, the California Indian Brotherhood.[112]

Stephen Knight had decided to break with Collett even before the November meeting. The Ukiah members of the Indian Board of Cooperation had elected him to accompany Collett to Washington, D.C. in 1922 to lobby for the California Jurisdictional bill. In Washington, he came to believe that Collett was a liability to

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[112]Stephen Knight and Henry Campbell of the Ukiah Auxiliary granted Collett a Power of Attorney as their Agent in 1921. Knight rescinded it later. See copy of Power of Attorney and letter from Stephen Knight to Rachel B. Barker, July 7, 1929 in CA 360, Carton 10, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library. See also Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 26 and Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," p. 716. Although the Board of Cooperation's executive committee cleared Collett of wrongdoing, the press had a field day with the accusations and also with the fact that Beryl Bishop-Collett had sued her husband for divorce. Charles Wollenberg, All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975, pp 95-96.

Indian activism because most congressmen believed him to be a racketeer. In addition, Knight became convinced that Indians could no longer rely on white-led organizations to represent them. He realized that Indian leadership was crucial to bring about change in Indian policy when he came to understand the ingrained stereotypes about Indians most politicians retained. Knight felt deeply embarrassed by Indians who profited from those stereotypes and wrote, "I hated the Indians that came to Washington decked out in their Indian costumes," he said, "I thought it made the impression that the Indians in America were still in their savage state. The politicians there seemed to want it that way." In Washington, Knight resolved to start an Indian organization with no white members.[113]

The California Indian Brotherhood, organized in Ukiah in 1926 by Pomos Stephen Knight and Albert James, was the earliest all-Indian welfare and intertribal organization in California. Knight and James had the

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[113]Interview with Stephen Knight in Parsell Papers, Box 2, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. Knight told Parsell about how a local celebration in Ukiah, organized by white people, came to be called a "Pow-Wow." It featured some California Indians dressed in the manner of the Plains tribes, who danced in a manner clearly intended to fulfill white stereotypes about Indians. Knight was angered by the participation of Indians in such deceptions.

example of several other all-Indian organizations formed over the previous two decades. The largest, the Society of American Indians organized in 1911 by college educated Indians of several tribes, proposed to participate in "all lines of progress and reform" for the betterment of Indian people. SAI leaders were proud of tribal values and wanted Anglo Americans to recognize their value. Ultimately, the SAI was crippled by increasing factionalism among its members, a problem that plagued other Indian organizations as well.[114]

Knight recalled that the most difficult obstacles in organizing the California Indian Brotherhood were factionalism and the lack of self-confidence among Indians in their own ability to lead. Following the SAI's example, Knight and James did not wish to cut off relations with white reformers, whose support they needed, but to show that Indians could organize on their own and speak for themselves. They invited John Collier, then head of the Indian Defense Association, to

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[114]For information about the Society of American Indians and other Indian organizations, see Hazel W. Hertzberg, The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971. See also James S. Olson and Raymond Williams, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century, pp. 91-94.

attend the meeting. He sent an interested San Francisco attorney, Jim Pemberton in his place.[115]

The California Indian Brotherhood soon acquired a membership of three thousand native women and men from many Northern California bands and tribes. The organization's goals were straightforward: small farms for all California tribes, public schooling with free lunch and clothing, opportunities for college educations for native young people, and a bill that would allow the California Indians to sue the federal government over the unratified treaties.[116] Beyond these goals,

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[115]Parsell Papers, Steve Knight Interview, Box 2, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. John Collier of the Indian Rights Association, was a Progressive Era reformer and social worker who had discovered in the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico a vision of community life he believed was missing from industrial America. The Indian Defense Association defended Indian religious practices against attacks by the BIA, proposed self government for Indians, an end to allotment and assimilation policies, and called for a Senate investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1933, Collier would be appointed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and would change the course of federal Indian policy. Studies of Collier include: Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); Lawrence C. Kelly, The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983); Graham D. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-1945 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

[116]"Indian Hearings Before U.S. Senate Sub-Committee," Nov. 19 & 20, 1928, CA 360, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library, University of

however, Knight made it clear that he expected the Brotherhood to be "the beginning of a movement that will in time break Mr. Collett and his works."[117]

The annual meetings of the Brotherhood became the location of colorful debates between Frederick Collett and his followers and John Collier's Indian Defense Association. Both these groups were critical of the Indian Service, but competed with each other for Indian support. Collett became an enemy of the Brotherhood, but continued to speak at its annual meetings, hoping to sway Indians to his side, while Collier himself attended the 1928 convention in Amador County.[118]

California, Berkeley, CA. See also Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements, p. 716; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 26.

[117]Stephen Knight to A.C. Bowles, Oct. 19, 1926, CA 360, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library. Few records of the California Indian Brotherhood survived. Although women were members of the organization, it is not known whether they were elected leaders. Nevertheless, we do know that women took central and influential roles in rancheria affairs.

[118] Parsell Papers, Steve Knight Interview, Box 2, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. The Brotherhood did not have perfectly smooth relations with pro-Indian organizations other than Collett's. For example, Knight criticized the Society of Northern California Indians, organized by a Ukiah priest to serve as a clearing house for lobbying the Indian Bureau about specific cases of poor Indians needing help, for allowing itself to be used by the Indian Bureau. Stephen Knight to Miss Bowles, Nov. 15, 1926, CA 360, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library.

The annual conventions of the California Indian Brotherhood became important gathering places for members of the Northern California bands, who had not seen themselves as one people until recent decades. These events drew on personal connections made during earlier Ghost Dance and other religious gatherings, and on the common tradition among California bands of the "big time," when neighboring villages gathered for a joint celebration. The Brotherhood held its 1929 convention at the Yokaia rancheria near Ukiah. The hosts, the Yokaia Pomo, built a dance platform, fixed up the roundhouse, and built a table to seat all five hundred Indians from all over the state who attended the four day gathering. Besides a political meeting, the visitors enjoyed "wrestling, boxing, ice cream, and a carnival." Steve Knight said that this "was the last real big time the Indians had anywhere in California."[119]

While the California Indian Brotherhood organized to help Indians enter the political arena, they also publicly supported the right of Indians to practice tribal customs against attacks by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. One area of contention was the right of native

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[119]Steve Knight Interview, Parsell Papers, Box 2, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA.

healers to practice curing rituals. For example, in 1929, a well-known young Pomo woman died of tuberculosis.[120] A few weeks later her eight year old sister died of the same disease. The government nurse, Miss Keenan, accused Indian medicine men of hastening the deaths of the two girls with their treatments, and called for an investigation. Her accusation resulted in such hysterical headlines in the local press as, "Indian Child Dies After Torture by Medicine Men."[121]

Pomo people believed strongly in the necessity of traditional doctoring, since they assumed most illnesses to be the result of either breaking taboos, seeing ghosts or spirits, or poisoning (witchcraft) by one's enemies. Only a traditional doctor could cure such cases and reverse the damage. However, Pomo doctors were quite willing to compromise with white doctors, because they believed western medicine to be most appropriate to treat what they termed "white men's diseases," - illnesses like smallpox or measles

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[120]Geraldine Williams, called by the press a "pretty Indian princess," had represented Mendocino county in 1927 when she christened the San Francisco Bay ferry boat "Mendocino" dressed in beaded buckskin Indian costume. Redwood Journal May 7, 1929, copy in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA.

[121]Redwood Journal May 21, 1929, copy in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, California.

contracted from white contact. By the 1920s most Pomo people would call in both Indian and white doctors for serious illnesses, particularly if the diagnosis was in question.[122]

The Indian Service paid the medical bills from a contract doctor for Indians around Ukiah who were wards of the government. County medical personnel and reformers had agitated for better medical care for these Indians until, in 1927, the BIA appointed Miss Keenan as visiting nurse, to serve Indians in Mendocino and Lake Counties. According to Alice Ringheim, Mendocino County District Nurse, filling this position was very difficult since it was "a thankless task involving endless following-up," and the salary was not attractive enough to attract a good nurse.[123]

After hearing Nurse Keenan's testimony, the Mendocino county Grand Jury quickly indicted Tony Metock, Medicine Man and Topsey Petit, Medicine Woman

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[122]L.S. Freeland, "Pomo Doctors and Poisoners," American Archaelogy and Ethnology Vol. XX (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1923) reprint (New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1965). See also Alfred P. Parsell, Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe (Ph.D. New York University, 1948) pp. 79-84.

[123]"Confidential Report of Conversation with Miss Alice Ringheim," Aug. 29, 1927, CA 360, Carton 9, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library.

for murder, even though the medical examiner had listed cause of death as tuberculosis.[124] Meanwhile, Col. L.A. Dorrington, of the Sacramento Indian Agency, ordered medicine men and women to stop treating children, and promised that any parents calling in medicine men would "be held responsible." After further investigation the Grand Jury rescinded the indictment, because they found no evidence to justify prosecution.[125]

Although criminal prosecution was no longer a threat, Keenan and Dorrington threatened to cut off all

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[124]Tony Metock (1837-1935) was a well-known leader among the Pomo even though he was a Huchnom by birth. He had been brought up among white people and understood their laws and customs. As youth, he was stolen from his parents and sold under California's apprenticeship laws. Bound to the owner of a foundry in Petaluma, Metock became a machinist, but his employer sent him home when he was believed to have developed tuberculosis. Doctoring ran in Metock's family; his father and grandfather were medicine men. In addition to doctoring (he was both a sucking and outfit doctor), Metock worked in agriculture and shearing sheep. He was quite interested in politics, and sometimes gave speeches in favor of Prohibition. He often represented the Pomo people in their dealings with whites. He was listed in the Great Register of Mendocino County (1898) as having first registered to vote in 1894. See Helen Carpenter Manuscript, Carpenter Papers, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California; Estel Beard, "A Sketch of the Life of Tony Metock," unpublished manuscript also in Held-Poage House. See also A.G. Tassin, "Chronicles of Camp Wright," Overland Monthly, July, August, September, October, November, 1887). Metock was a great friend of Tassin and one of his informants for these articles.

[125]Redwood Journal June 4, 1929.

government help for Indians caught using traditional Pomo medicine. The local chapter of the California Indian Brotherhood protested, and officially called for the removal of Keenan as Government nurse, saying that she had "on numerous occasions displayed an attitude of unsympathetic indifference toward sick Indians."[126]

The Brotherhood's defense of the Indians' right to their traditional customs coincided with a new trend in national Indian reform circles. As the Indians began to voice their own concerns, they were often supported by white reformers not only critical of assimilation policies, but who professed to appreciate ethnic diversity. Influenced by John Collier of the Indian Defense Association, several white reform groups joined the California Indian Brotherhood in attacking the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 1920s. Non-Indian groups including the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, Native Sons of the Golden West, The Federated Women's Clubs, the California Indian Rights Association, The Women's Christian Temperance

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[126]Redwood Journal June 11, 1929. An editorial in the same issue of the Journal argued in favor of the Indians in this case. It reasoned that white men had been trying to reform the Indians for a century and had failed. Indians had not profited from adopting many white customs and were not better off. "Each [Indian and white] is as entitled to his own views as the other, and no amount of argument or patience or effort with 'reform' either."

Union, and John Collier's Indian Defense Association all pressed for reforms in Indian policy and increasingly concentrated most of their resources into the campaign for a bill that would allow the California Indians the right to sue the federal government over the eighteen unratified treaties.[127]

But almost all these groups singled out Collett's Indian Board of Cooperation for attack. According to a confidential report sent to the Indian Service from Rachel Barker, secretary of the Indian Defense Association, Collett "stir[red] up racial hatred and anti-patriotism," set quotas for their agents to collect from each Indian family, told the Indians that unless they pay dues to his organization they would not be eligible for any benefits of the Claims bill, and

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[127]Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," p. 716. After 1920, reformers split into two contradictory camps over the issue of assimilation. Two ways of thinking struggled for dominance. The assimilationists remained strong, in the Indian Rights Association and the Board of Indian Commissioners. But a new policy of reform, promoted most visibly by John Collier, sought to protect and nourish Indian traditions. Reformers recognized the failure of previous policy and wished to restore Indian traditions in an attempt to build self-esteem and self-sufficiency. The new view grew out of the Progressive tradition of social science investigation and secular solutions. The anthropologist, not the missionary, became the center of Indian policy. Francis Paul Prucha, The Indians in American Society (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985) pp. 56-61.

predicted that the attorney general would not represent their best interests. After attending a meeting of the Indian Board of Cooperation, one observer wrote, "the heart-sickening part of the meeting was after the speeches when those poor old illiterate people came forward to the long table at the front of the hall and deposited their fives and tens . . . I stood within three feet of that table and saw the grape money, and fruit money go."[128]

Finally, in response to all this activity, Congress passed the Indian Jurisdictional Act of 1928, allowing the Indians of California to sue the United States. However, the specific provisions of the bill did not fulfill the hopes of most California Indians. The bill provided for an agency to determine the number of Indians who were residents of the state on June 1, 1852 and their legitimate descendants. In addition, it required the Indians to use the services of the Attorney General of California instead of their own attorney. Should the Indians win their case, the bill prevented

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[128]To Andrew E. White, Nov. 15, 1934 and Rachel B. Barker to Miss Mary Stewart, Oct. 31, 1929, and Chauncey J. Goodrich to U.S. Webb, Attorney-General of the State of California, Nov. 26, 1930, CA 360, Box 10, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA.

both per capita payments and the return of lost land. Instead, the land involved was to be appraised at its value in 1851, or $1.25 per acre. After determination of the total price, "offsets," the value of all services ever provided the California Indians by the government between 1851 and 1928, would be subtracted from the total.[129]

Although the California Jurisdictional Act had passed, Frederick Collett continued to solicit funds for this purpose from Indians. In 1928 the government indicted him for mail fraud for his methods of soliciting funds for his organization. However, each of two trials ended with a deadlocked jury, and Collett continued to raise funds from Indians for the Claims

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[129]Kenneth M. Johnson, K-344 or The Indians of California v. the United States (Los Angeles: Dawson Book Shop, 1966) pp. 63-66 and U.S., House, "California to Bring Suit in Court of Claims on Behalf of the Indians of California," March 15, 1928, House of Representatives Report No. 951, 70th Congress, 1st session, serial set #8836. See also Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," p. 716; Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 27. There was some controversy about the offsets. Supporters of the Indians claimed they wanted to protect the Indians against such "fantastic set-offs as the cost of Indian wars, Indian massacres, etc." Generally, all but the Indian Board of Cooperation came to believe the Indian Bureau was doing all it could for the Indians and put their support behind the bill. Letter (unsigned) to John F. Miller, Secretary of Northern Calif. Indians, Feb. 25, 1929, CA 360, Carton 9, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library.

case as late as 1934, although the state attorney general was already representing the Indians without charge. Collett's organization, sporting a new name, the Indians of California, Inc., now claimed three-fourths of the Indian population of California as members. In a 1934 report, Collett took credit for most victories the California Indians had won, including the admission of Indian children to the public schools, citizenship, and the Court of Claims law. The report blamed John Collier, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for delaying the Claims case, for opposing per capita payments, and for keeping the Indians of California from choosing their own attorneys, costing them thousands of dollars each year.[130]

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[130]Collett's fund raising efforts involved offering cash prizes, donated by white friends, to Indians who raised the most money from their family and friends each week. The prizes were to be awarded "at the annual convention . . . or as soon thereafter as adequate funds have been raised for the work." "Auxiliary Officers and Members," Indians of California, Inc., CA 360, Carton 10, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library. In 1934, Collett was being investigated by the U.S. Department of the Interior, Division of Investigations for his fund raising methods and "possible misuse of federal relief funds," but some suggested perhaps the Department of Justice could do a better job. The investigation came to nothing. Walter V. Woehlke, Field Representative, Office of Indian Affairs to Rachel B. Barker, Indian Defense Association, San Francisco, nd., CA 360, Carton 10, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library.

In response to the report, Collier issued a statement warning Indians in California not to contribute money to Collett. The Indian Defense Association solicited personal examples to bolster their case against the fund-raising methods of the Indian Board of Cooperation:

> I will testify "of Rosie's frequent births by different fathers; of the condition in which you found her . . . living in a hovel with her month old baby wrapped in an old dish cloth . . . and how the Indian Board of Cooperation, unmindful of her when jobless and hungry, induced her to give up her first week's wages to them."

The Indian Defense Association also promised to pay the expenses of any Indian in the Bay region willing to testify to such events at the upcoming Senate committee hearings.[131]

Despite Collett's efforts to become the agent for the California Indians in their lawsuit against the government, the state attorney general represented them

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[131]When the Indian Defense Association found out that Collett had passed a bad check in New York several years ago, they were almost gleeful. To: Mrs. Harry C. Roberts, June 25, 1934, CA 360, Carton 10, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library. The U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, composed of mostly progressive politicians, held hearings about conditions of Indians from 1932-34 as part of a more general investigation of the BIA. The Chairman was Lynn Frazier, a Republican from North Dakota. In the fall of 1932 they took testimony in Sacramento and Ukiah. See U.S. Senate, The Committee on Indian Affairs, Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States, 1932-1934.

according to the terms of the Jurisdictional Bill. The case dragged on for years. In 1934 the Interior Department determined the offsets, the amount to be deducted from the total payment for expenses to the government, at $12,029,099. Ten years later a settlement was finally reached, setting the value of the Indian lands lost at $17,053,941. After subtracting the offsets, the government credited the Indians with $5,024,842. However, distribution of this money did not occur until 1951, when it was divided equally among 36,092 people, bringing each individual about $139.00.[132]

Inspired by reform groups like the Indian Board of Cooperation, the California Indians had tied so much of their efforts and expectations into this bill that many of them became bitterly disillusioned with politics.

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[132]Kenneth M. Johnson, K-344 or The Indians of California v. the United States (Los Angeles: Dawson Book Shop, 1966) pp. 63-66. Thomas C. Owens, The Yokaia: A History of the Ukiah Valley Indians, p. 27. In 1954, Congress amended the 1928 act to allow appeals until 1955. As of June, 1971, $6,408,630 had been distributed to the Indians of California in per capita payments. This did not compensate the California Indians for all the land they lost to the United States. The payment was a minimum compensation of $1.25 per acre for 8,619,000 acres promised them in the 1851-52 treaties, less the value of the 611,226 acres in reservations and rancherias. Remaining was another 91,764,600 acres not included in the payment. This would be the basis of continued efforts on the part of Indians and their friends. Omer C. Stewart, "Litigation and its Effects," pp. 706-707.

Although Frederick Collett and others tried to keep the pressure on Congress for another day in court, the continued conflicts and rivalry between white reform groups and the Indian Service contributed to the Indians' increasing disenchantment with the political process. Indian organizations like the California Brotherhood continued to exist, but kept a far smaller membership. But more than anything else, it was the onset of the Great Depression that interfered with the growing participation of California Indians in politics. Already the poorest segment of the population, the economic downturn during the 1930s decimated native communities in Mendocino County and the rest of the state, bringing Indians into more direct competition with whites for the few available jobs and for shrinking government resources, and increasing the already virulent racism and discrimination in local communities. Simultaneously, much of the support from sympathetic whites disappeared along with the Progressive impulse, as they too became primarily concerned with survival.[133]

However, the Indians of Mendocino County, along with other California bands, did not return to patterns

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[133]Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," p. 716.

of past acquiescence and resistance. They had learned to use their collective voice and would raise it loudly, if not always successfully in the coming decades, to protest continuing discrimination and to demand fairness from the federal government and the local community. Their concerns remained much the same: land, cultural survival, health care, education, and above all, self-determination.

CHAPTER 6

"NARROWNESS EXEMPLIFIED": INDIAN AND WHITE COMMUNITIES IN THE NINETEEN-THIRTIES

near the foot of slopes fen-
cing the valley on the north
the reservation rests quietly
as defiance burned out

through the heart of Covelo
Commercial Boulevard parades past
a gas station, cafe, saloon, store:
signs of the empire

across the street nearly mute
an old woman moans alone
inside the buckhorn saloon
cowboys drink up and stomp

north by south, west from east
an invisible but historical line
cuts across the valley's lives
sharp like bloodlines

William Oandasan, excerpt from
A Branch of California Redwood[1]

In a series of editorials published in the Ukiah Republican Press in 1937 and 1938, editor T. O'Brian claimed that the local Indians were better off than anyone else in the (Ukiah) valley because the federal government took care of their every need. This widespread misconception proved a fatal one for many Indians. The following year local ranchers hired fewer

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[1]William Oandasan, A Branch of California Redwood (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, University of California, 1980).

Indians than usual to work in their fields, maintaining that during such hard times all available jobs should go to white men. When Indians applied for jobs they were "reminded that they are Indians and that the Government should take care of them."[2] Many white people in Mendocino County refused to acknowledge the grave effects the Great Depression had on the Indians of the region, most of whom were the poorest part of the population even in times of prosperity.

The way the people of Mendocino County responded to the crisis of the Depression is typical of other rural areas in Northern and Central California where Indians and whites lived near each other.[3] But only in a few Northern California counties like Mendocino and Humboldt did so many Indians and whites live in such close proximity. It is those counties that tell us the most about how race relations were changed not only by the Depression and the increasing role of the federal

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[2]U.S. Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, "Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States," in U.S. Congressional Hearings, 1932-34, Microfilm Room, Tower Library, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA., p. 15338, hereafter cited as U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34.

[3]In some parts of California almost all Indians had been removed to the reservations at Round Valley or Hoopa (in Trinity County).

bureaucracy in the form of the New Deal programs, but by the growing influence of mass culture.

Some white people intensified their earlier attempts to maintain a system of privilege based on both race and class as they realized that not only had the Indians failed to vanish as predicted, they had become competitors for scarce jobs and for the increasingly important influx of federal dollars into the region. As whites accepted the reality of a multiracial West, some of them felt more than ever the necessity of setting firm boundaries.[4] Businessmen and landowners in economically marginal areas like Mendocino County experienced a growing sensation of powerlessness in the face of economic disaster. They responded defensively by working even harder to reinforce and institutionalize racial boundaries in towns like Ukiah and Covelo.

But it is would be a mistake to conceive of white people as one unified group with similar interests and

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[4]For a useful discussion of boundary setting in the American west, see: Sarah Deutsch, "Landscape of Enclaves: Race Relations in the West, 1865-1990," in William Cronon, George Miles, Jay Gitlin, eds., Under An Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992) pp. 110-131. Deutsch argues that the dominant group increased boundary setting in the twentieth century as it became apparent that a multiethnic West was inevitable. Examples of boundary setting in the West included racial segregation, residential restrictions, denial of landowning or voting privileges and the like.

beliefs, advancing together in conquest over the West and its people. In Mendocino County and elsewhere, local white people fell into a few interest groups. While businessmen, landowners, and white workingmen enforced racial boundaries, other local people, many of them women associated with Progressive Era reform movements, continued their earlier efforts to improve the lives of Indians. However, the severity of the economic crisis caused them to direct their efforts primarily at relieving the worst poverty of the Indian population. All too often, however, their efforts were hampered by their failure to imagine true equal opportunity for Indian and other nonwhite peoples. Instead, they generally regarded Indians as children needing care and kindness.

Even before the Great Depression most American Indians lived in serious poverty. In Northern California, Indians provided labor for an agricultural system that had evolved over several decades, in which ranchers had access to a large, low-cost work force during the busy season of the year (July to October), but needed a much smaller work force at other times. The Indians had little access to other employment, and experienced regular periods of joblessness and hardship.

Except for state or federal relief, they derived almost their entire income from ranch work.[5]

During the early years of the Great Depression, Indian access to both federal funding and jobs decreased, and life became even more of a struggle. Unemployed whites now competed with nonwhites for lower-tier jobs, and American leaders were slow to recognize the grave effects of the Depression on Indians, who had been some of the poorest Americans even during prosperous times. It was not until the fall of 1931 that the Indian Bureau organized a relief program, but the resulting assistance was meager.[6] To survive Indians continued earlier efforts to preserve their own communities on rancherias where they could exert some control over their lives, although organized political activity slowed under the strains of the economic crisis. In some ways the Depression encouraged a return to some traditional patterns of subsistence activities

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[5]Alfred Parsell, "Seasonal Farm Labor and Community Integration: A Case Study of Intra-Community Mobility," (unpublished paper presented at the National Conference on Social Work, Atlantic City, N.J., May 17, 1951, copy in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA.) p. 6.

[6]B.T. Quinten, "Oklahoma Tribes, the Great Depression, and the Indian Bureau," in Bernard Sternsher, ed., Hitting Home: The Great Depression in Town and Country (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1989) p. 201.

and reciprocity. Some Pomos began sharing food with each other as they experienced a shift away from working for whites for wages to hunting and collecting to survive.[7]

But while Indian people tried to maintain the rancherias as enclaves for cultural and economic survival, some of them, especially the young, became aware that separation could be a double-edged sword. Rancherias and reservations could be necessary refuges for Indians, places where they could associate with other Indians, revive or reinvent native traditions, or organize politically without much interference from whites. Yet these enclaves could become places of confinement, where Indians remained cut off not only from the negative influences of white culture, but from the promise and possibilities of modern American life.[8]

Although the Roosevelt administration officially abandoned failed policies of cultural evangelism, the white cultural invasion did not cease. The arena simply shifted to the increasingly pervasive influence of consumer culture and the mass media. Young Indian

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[7]Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," in Robert F. Heizer, ed. California. Vol. 8 of William C. Sturtevant, Handbook of North American Indians (Washington, D.C., 1978) p. 301.

[8]Deutsch, "Landscape of Enclaves," p. 121.

people found their loyalties divided between their past and a rapidly modernizing white society, causing conflicts between old and young. As Indian communities responded to the Depression, the agricultural labor system, discrimination, modern life, and continuing pressure from white society to adopt Anglo social norms, rancherias were torn by factional feuds as long suppressed hostilities toward whites found the only safe outlet; they directed their anger inward.

Impact of the Depression

Agricultural work had rarely provided enough income for Indians to live on all year. As the Depression brought lower wages, fewer jobs, and more competition from other workers, Indians faced real deprivation. One state official maintained that "the Indian [was] the first one hit [by the Depression]," causing "real starvation at times." Those who had food ate mainly potatoes and biscuits made from Red Cross flour.[9]

For Indians, surviving the winter became a real challenge. There was no work at all during the winter because the Depression forced farm families to do their own winter work or make do without hiring any help. Even in spring and summer, work was harder to find,

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[9]U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34" p. 360-362 and p. 434.

wages were low, and the Depression brought competition for agricultural work from white migrants. Saving enough to live on during the winter was out of the question. The luckiest had arrangements with summer employers to borrow against expected summer wages, but they feared the Depression would end this safety net. Arthur Treppa, the foreman of a crew of two hundred Indians that regularly picked beans for a cannery in Upper Lake, testified that it was impossible to get through the winter without relying on the cannery's customary loan of a little money against next year's work. In the past, the cannery had loaned about $1500 to 120 Indians each year, and every loan had been repaid. But Treppa feared that the hard times would cause the cannery to end these loans. His concerns were justified; indeed, fewer employers were able to advance money to workers.[10]

By 1932, getting through the winter depended on federal help, which consisted mostly of army surplus clothing for men and the funds paid to school districts for educating Indian children. Formerly, this aid had paid for serving noon lunches to the children, but in

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[10]Testimony given at Senate hearing in Ukiah, CA on September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34," p. 440.

response to the severe need, several school boards voted to pay the federal money directly to the Indian families of these children. Each family received $3.00 per month for every child attending school. This was the only money many Indian families in Mendocino County had to live on through the winter. In addition, four or five Indian people over the age of seventy received $7.00 per month in state relief. According to reports, "the families having such a member [were] among the fortunates."[11]

Most Indians were not eligible for the relief enjoyed by white indigents, who might receive as much as $25.00 per month from the state in 1932. Indians who had participated in Indian organizations formed in the 1920s now used their political skills to seek equity for their people. Few were as persistent as Pomo Andrew E. White, who went before the Mendocino County Board of Supervisors to request relief for the nine families

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[11]Unsigned letter to John Collier, March 9, 1932, California League for American Indian Papers, CA 360, Carton 9, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA, hereafter cited as California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library. In the early thirties, the state of California put into practice a program of state aid to indigent persons over seventy years of age. The state and county shared the cost equally. Will Van Dyke, Probation Officer, Mendocino County to U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, November 4, 1932, in: California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library.

living on the Manchester rancheria on the coast. He argued that they were in desperate straits and those who had not been able to borrow money against their summer wages had run out of food entirely.[12]

In a situation typical of similar communities in the state, the supervisors denied White's request for county aid because they considered the Manchester Pomo to be wards of the federal government and "the government's duty." White then appealed to the Indian Bureau, his Congressman (Lea), the Indian Defense Association, and the DAR committee on Indian Relief. None of these groups was willing to take responsibility for this group beyond providing them with some old clothing.[13]

The Superintendent of the Sacramento Agency, O.H. Lipps, did send the Indian Service nurse, Catherine Martin, to investigate conditions at Manchester in December, 1931. According to White, "She spoke negatively on every subject . . . she asked questions

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[12]Unsigned to John Collier, March 9, 1932, California League for American Indian Papers, Carton 9, Bancroft Library.

[13]Hearing in Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34," p. 505-506. See also Andrew E. White to Indian Defense Association, March 5, 1932, Carton 9, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library.

[like] 'Why aren't you working? Your place here looks much nicer than I have seen.' 'You don't look like you're starving." White believed that local white enemies of the Indians, had convinced Martin that the Indians did not need help.[14]

At the Round Valley Reservation, allottees worried about the coming winter. One graduate of an Indian boarding school wrote to the Senate committee that "the state will not be bothered with us -- Uncle Sam tells me I'm a citizen. Taxes are eating what little property that we have attained. Our credit is closed because of no work. I've had men come to me every day and say,

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[14]Hearing in Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34," p. 15505-6. Catherine Martin seems not to have been much liked by the Indians. Interestingly, at the Senate hearing in Ukiah, she became a scapegoat for all the inequities reported by Indians to the senators. Lipps explained that while the title of field nurse might indicate a medical position, it was really more like a social worker. He argued that Martin had the problem of "finding enough food [for Indians] to keep body and soul together," and had a very large region to cover. Superintendent Lipps placed the problems squarely at the government's door, especially its meager funding for Indian progrems. Nevertheless, Senators Wheeler and Frazier publically castigated Martin for derilection of duty. See U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34," p. 15458-15460. Martin's written response to the senators is on page 15523.

'What are we going to do this winter? What are we going to feed our children?'"[15]

Even private sources of relief denied monetary help to government ward Indians because they found raising funds much more difficult. In January of 1933, a desperate Ella White (Andrew White's wife), wrote to Rachel B. Barker of the Indian Defense Association office in San Francisco, who had once purchased a basket from her, offering the only thing of value she had to sell. "I am very sorry to have to trouble you," she wrote, "but I am compeled (sic) to ask you for assistance. I will devote my time in making another basket for you, this will mean some time for the making of an original design is usually slow." Barker replied that she was sorry neither she nor her organization could help White because she was a ward of the federal government. Barker suggested White "try Sacramento"

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[15]William Frazier to Senator Lynn J. Frazier, October 2, 1932 in U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15502-4. William Frazier was a Wylacky Indian from Round Valley, who was described by Edith Murphey, a friend of the Round Valley Indians, as "a shining example of what government schools can do for the Indian." She called him a "born leader and a patriot," who "is not very dark, could pass for a white man, but is proud to be an Indian. If anyone can hold the Round Valley Indians together, he is the man." Edith V.A. Murphey to Senator Lynn J. Frazier, October 5, 1932 in U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34," p. 15501.

(the Sacramento Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters).[16]

Besides jobs and relief, Indians worried about their limited access to medical care. While county and private hospitals in Mendocino County did accept Indian patients, they expected the federal government to pay the bill, and the government did not have the funds to provide for all the ward Indians needing hospitalization.[17] Funding was available only for the most serious cases, as shown by this letter from the field nurse to an Indian mother:

> Your letter concerning the tonsil operations for your children, Catherine and Freda . . . has been received. It is understood that we

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[16]Mrs. Ella White to Mrs. Rachel B. Barker, January 12, 1932, Carton 9, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library. The market for baskets was hurt badly by the Depression, and Indians found it even more difficult than before to sell them for a reasonable price.

[17]U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34," pp. 331-2. The resources of the BIA were stretched thin. In all of California there were only three field nurses (located in counties with the largest number of ward Indians, including Mendocino County). In addition, they employed four part-time contract doctors, (one in Mendocino county) to serve the entire state. The field nurses combined the duties originally done by the field matron program with those of the public health nurse. For information on field matrons see: Lisa Elizabeth Emmerich, "To Respect and Love and Seek the Ways of White Women: Field Matrons, the Office of Indian Affairs, and Civilization Policy, 1890-1938," (Ph.D. University of Maryland, 1987). Some California county hospitals did treat Indian patients without charge but Mendocino County Hospital did not. U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34," p. 456.

> have no fund now available for any tonsil operations. When we do I shall be glad to have your children on the list for the necessary care.[18]

In Round Valley the problem was even greater because of the reservation's isolation. As one resident put it:

> At present a Round Valley Indian who is injured, if he is not a ward, and if he has no means, is obliged to go either to Willits or Ukiah, provided he can beg or borrow the money. It is about 60 miles to Willits by car, and 80 to Ukiah. He cannot go to the county hospital, and he is not particularly wanted at the general hospitals of either place. He probably has not enough money to stay to make a good recovery, and comes back too soon to the valley to drag out a miserable death. Obviously, he had better stay in the valley in the first place, where his people are, because the result will be the same eventually and he will be spared the two journeys. We have doctors, but no X-rays, or equipment for surgery . . . when [government] funds are available, Indians are hospitalized. This means wards only. Nonwards are out of luck.[19]

The question of whether an Indian was a federal ward was crucial in determining access to state and locally funded services like public schools, relief, and health care. In a troublesome 1926 ruling, the

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[18]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey 1932-34," p. 15455.

[19]Edith V.A. Murphey, Report of the County Chairman of Indian Welfare of Mendocino County Given to the Federated Women's Clubs of Mendocino County, CA on March 5, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 15497-8.

Comptroller General followed the assimilationist creed and ruled that only Indians living in tribal relations or on reservations, or on land allotted from the public domain were the responsibility of the federal government and entitled to its services. Many Indians fell through the cracks and became ineligible for assistance from either federal or state sources.[20]

The Indian Service provided direct assistance only to federal ward Indians, no matter how desperate the circumstances of non-ward Indians. During the Depression, the BIA did bend the rules and gave non-wards some army surplus clothing and Red Cross flour, but could expend no funds on helping them.[21] However, the criteria for deciding wardship was not always clear, and many Indians did not know their wardship status. BIA officials were themselves often confused about the issue.[22] Because they lived on land they owned, the authorities deemed the Yokaia

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[20]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15320-1 and p. 15335.

[21]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15474.

[22]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15446.

Indians nonwards, and refused them all federal aid on the grounds that they were citizens of California.[23]

This situation was difficult for the Indians to understand because they understood very well that in practice whites did not consider them equal citizens of California. When officials told Henry Campbell he could expect no federal help because he was a "citizen Indian," not a government ward, he demanded an affidavit proving he was "the same as a white man," because when he requested help from county officials, they "said that he was an Indian and the [federal] government took care of him." Campbell was denied both county relief and private charity, but it was hard for him to find work because employers assumed the government supported him. Campbell demanded an affidavit proving that he was a citizen, as the officials claimed. "And I want my beer, too," he added, referring to the law against selling liquor to federal ward Indians.[24]

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[23]To Edith V.A. Murphey, March 12, 1932, California League for American Indians Papers, Carton 9, Bancroft Library. See also Alfred Parsell, Jr., "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," (Ph.D. New York University, 1948), p. 145.

[24]Henry Campbell Interview, Nov. 1, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA, hereafter cited as Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum. Most white people interpreted the liquor law as forbidding the sale of liquor to all Indians, ward or not.

Although most whites believed the government took care of ward Indians, in fact, the BIA was not only broke, but hampered by its bureaucratic inability to respond quickly to the crisis. For example, when a fire at the Sherwood rancheria destroyed several cabins and left twenty-three people living in the schoolhouse (seventeen x thirty-four ft.) and carrying water over a quarter of a mile, the BIA said it could not help. Federal funds appropriated earlier to buy land for Indians could not, according to the rules, be used instead for building houses for the homeless.[25]

While most local people denied the Indians were in need, state and county officials testifying at a 1932 Senate hearing in Ukiah acknowledged their desperate situation. However, they argued that the federal government had to look after all the Indians, ward and nonward, because Mendocino County was unable to provide for the many needing help. Officials said that because timber interests had suffered and tax revenues had decreased, county relief to Indians averaged only $4.65 per person each month. Indians could no longer supplement this with hunting and fishing, because

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[25]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 15441-3; pp. 15452-3; p. 15496.

hunting and fishing licenses cost $4 each. Meager relief funds could only be used for indigent relief, leaving Indians without access to constructive funds for items like tools, seeds, or other materials that might help them earn money for themselves.[26]

Arguing that most of California's Indians resided in only a few counties, and that Mendocino County had "fifteen times its share" of nonward Indians, county officials appealed to their Congressman to try to change the rules and allow some federal money to be used for the relief of nonward Indians.[27] However, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs responded negatively to Congressman Lea's request, noting that

> compliance with this suggestion would involve the virtual reassumption of Federal responsibility for emancipated Indians who have been reabsorbed into the general mass of the population as constituent parts of the citizenry of the State. This, in fact, marks the end of our work as to such Indians who

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[26]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 360-362.

[27]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 526. What the county feared was that the federal government would follow through on its long-held policy to force acculturation on the Indians and then to and extricate itself entirely from responsibility for them. One official pointed out that it was the poorer California counties, with only seven percent of the population and wealth that were "burdened with sixty percent of all the Indians." Will Van Dyke to U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, November 4, 1932, in California League for American Indian Papers, Carton 9, Bancroft Library.

thereafter belong to the several communities in which they live.[28]

The county's probation officer replied that "if nonward Indians are considered a local problem and if the Indian Department is administering their affairs and shaping their course in a way to emancipate the Indians as rapidly as they can, and graduate them into citizenship, giving them the right to vote and the right to starve to death . . . the problem is quite a serious one."[29]

In Mendocino County many nonward Indians had inadvertently lost their connection with the government by living off the reservation for two or three years, or because they did not build a home on their allotment.[30] Arthur Knight's case provides a typical example of how an Indian might lose wardship status without being aware of the possible consequences. During the period of allotment of Indian land, Knight moved off his rancheria because there was not enough land available for him to have a plot allotted to him. Later, when he needed medical care, he could get no help

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[28]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15527.

[29]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 15526-7.

[30]U.S. Senate, "Survey," p. 15520.

because by moving off the rancheria, he had severed his relationship with his tribe and thus, with the government. When Senators Wheeler and Frazier heard Knight's story at the hearing, they reacted strongly to this example of federal policy run amuck. Although Superintendent Lipps told them that "there are thousands of [Indians] in California in that status," they could not believe the absurdity of the situation. Senator Wheeler shouted, "I do not care whether the Comptroller General has ruled that or who has ruled it, the fact of the matter is they cannot do it, and the Supreme Court will not sustain them. I don't care if ward or nonward, where you have some Indian who needs attention and you have a nurse to look after them she ought to go and do what she can to take care of them. If the county will not do it and the city will not do it, what are you going to do with these poor, unfortunate people?"[31] Indeed, the friends of the Indians both in government and the local community had been asking that question for decades.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act (also known as the Swing-Johnson Bill), passed by Congress in 1934, finally

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[31]Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 490-493.

resolved the confusing question of wardship.[32] This law empowered the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate contracts with the states for monetary relief in the areas of Native American education, medical aid, agricultural assistance, and social welfare. Federal funds went to the state of California, which took on the responsibility of educating the Indians and made Indians eligible for state aid. Significantly, during the Depression, the bill continued to allow federal funds for education to be used for relief for the families of children attending the public schools.[33]

Although the Johnson-O'Malley Act finally provided access for Indians to state health and welfare services, it did not prove to be a panacea for the poverty of California Indian families. The act was an attempt to combine federal and state resources, but success depended on cooperation. California was the first state

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[32]Letter to John F. Miller, May 9, 1934, Carton 9, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library.

[33]For information on the education of Indian children in California, see Irving G. Hendrick, The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970 (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, Inc., 1977), p. 58; Charles Wollenberg, All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) p. 101; Margaret Szasz, Education and the American Indian (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974) p. 95.

to receive federal funding under the new law but problems immediately arose because state officials did not want any federal interference with their policies, particularly with regard to schools. Overall, the impact of the Johnson-O'Malley Act was often quite small because, since the state now controlled these funds, the BIA could no longer insure that they were consistently used to benefit the Indians. Many public schools, including the school at Covelo, happily took the Indian funds and used them for general operating expenses, but failed to establish special programs to benefit Indian students.[34]

Indians wanted more than merely access to relief, and during the early thirties, Pomo Indians wrote many letters to the BIA requesting help with projects that would provide work or allow them to grow some of their own food. At first the BIA rejected these projects

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[34]Letter to John F. Miller, May 9, 1934, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library. Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1977), pp. 133-134. James S. Olson and Raymond Wilson, Native Americans in the Twentieth Century, pp. 113-115. In some locales government tuition funds were used for the benefit of the Indians, as at the Stewart's Point Rancheria in Sonoma county, where the money was used to build seven houses for homeless Indians, repair others, and provide water to the houses. U.S. Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15452.

because of insufficient funding, but after 1932, New Deal programs began to provide some assistance. For example, the Indian Emergency Conservation Work provided some much needed employment for young men. In 1934 the Civil Works Administration employed seven young Pomo men from the Manchester Rancheria to work on the highway. They welcomed the work, although some complained that it did not provide enough income to support a family. Older men were given work on the rancheria repairing fences.[35]

The same year the Public Works Administration began a project at Manchester Rancheria to build an addition onto the school, construct a teacher's cottage, build a bath house, and improve the water system on the rancheria. They hired Indian laborers for this work, although a white foreman supervised them. The BIA commented that Indians in California now had more cash wages than before because of work for CSA and IECW, although these programs were reduced in 1934 for lack of funds.[36] Nevertheless, the New Deal was making its influence felt in Mendocino County by 1933.

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[35]Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians," (Ph.D. Syracuse University, 1971) pp. 169-170.

[36]Dorothea Theodoratus, "Identity Crises," p. 171.

Local Reform Efforts

The Depression provided an abrupt setback for reform groups like the California Indian Defense Association, who continued to lobby both the state and federal governments to provide help for the Indians, a campaign they had carried on through the 1920s with little success. In Mendocino County, the California Committee on Indian Relief brought together members of reform groups and religious leaders in a concerted effort to "get things from the Indian Bureau" and the state for the Indians. One member wrote in 1927 that the suffering of Indians in Mendocino County was so great as to justify a "showdown" with Indian Service officials, who, she believed, "would like nothing better than to see this Committee grow discouraged and stop."[37]

Although the state did not make a firm commitment to care for Indians, Mrs. Spivalo, head of state welfare work, did promise California's commitment "to do better" in the attempt to stir the citizens of California into

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[37]Alida C. Bowles, Executive Secretary, California Indian Defense Association to Father Alban Cullen, January 27, 1927, Carton 9, California League for American Indians Papers, Bancroft Library.

an active interest in the welfare of its Indians.[38] The Depression made this difficult, however, and raising funds from private sources became almost impossible.

In Mendocino County, a few women led organized efforts to provide relief for local Indians after the economic crisis distracted most male reformers from this work. Edith Van Allen Murphey, a resident of Round Valley with a long history of activism on behalf of Indians, operated as an informal distributor of donations and an intermediary between government agencies, white charitable and reform groups, and local ranchers, trying to arrange both relief and self-supporting activities for the Indians. Murphey, a naturalist well known for her collecting of native bulbs and wild plants, had learned much from Indian friends and often employed them as guides and collectors. In the new economic crisis, she set out to persuade white landowners to allow Indians to gather native plants, food, and basket materials on their land. In addition, Murphey traveled among the Indians as a buyer of baskets

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[38]U.S. Senate Hearing, Ukiah, CA, September 23, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 521.

and other artifacts for the State Museum and for a collection at Santa Rosa Junior College.[39]

As Chairman of Indian Welfare for the Covelo Women's Club and later as Welfare Chairman of the California Federation of Women's Clubs, Murphey worked for the passage of the "Mendocino Resolution." Adopted by the state Federated Women's Club, it asked Congress to provide for the needs of the California Indians.[40]

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[39]Edith V.A. Murphey Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah, California. See also U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 500. Born in Albany, N.Y., Edith Van Allen Murphey (1879-1968) came to California in 1902 to work as a librarian at the University of California. Along with two female schoolteacher friends, she took up a homestead in the mountains of Mendocino County where she developed close friendships with the local Indians, who instructed her in the use of native plants. The University hired Murphey to collect native artifacts, especially baskets, and she traveled widely among the Indians of Northern California, accompanied by her 90-year old Yuki friend, Lucy Young. Later, Ukiah botanist Carl Purdy hired Murphey to collect native plants and seeds; in turn, Murphey paid her Indian friends for specimans. From 1935-45 Murphey worked for the Indian Service in Nevada, Wyoming, and Montana as a range botanist, advising Indian and white ranchers on poisonous plants. The Shoshone named her "Seed Seeker." She kept her contacts in Mendocino county where, for four decades, she led Indian reform efforts. She retired to Round Valley in 1945 and continued her work on behalf of the Indians. In 1955 Murphey was a guest on Edward R. Murrow's radio show "This I Believe." Skee Hamann, "Seed Seeker in the Flowering West," Horticulture (Vol. LVI, No. 3, March 1978) p. 14-20; Edith V.A. Murphey Collection, clipping file, Held Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library.

[40]Resolution of Federated Women's Clubs of Mendocino County, Myrtle S. Eglin, President, Luella C. Biggar, Secretary, March 5, 1932, Carton 9, California League for

Murphey maintained relations with women's clubs and reform groups outside the county, including five chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Burlingame Women's Club, the San Francisco Indian Defense Association and many individuals who sent her clothing, money and supplies to distribute to the Indians. Sometimes she arranged for "certain motherless families" to become "proteges" of some groups, who provided for specific needs as arranged by Murphey. According to Murphey, some Indians who had never needed relief before asked for help during the winter of 1932. That year she distributed clothing for 225 Indian people, keeping careful records since "a warm coat must last a woman two winters, but each individual gets yearly one big warm garment."[41]

Murphey also tried to find work for the Indians. She cooperated with the Daughters of the American

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American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library. See also U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 522.

[41]Mr. Lipps, Superintendent of Sacramento Indian Agency to Mrs. W. Baylor, Santa Barbara American Indian Defense Association, March 21, 1932, California League for American Indians Papers, Carton 9, Bancroft Library. Edith V.A. Murphey, Report of the County Chairman of Indian Welfare of Mendocino County Given to the Federated Women's Club of Mendocino County, California on March 5, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 494-496. See also Edith V.A. Murphey Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society, Ukiah, CA.

Revolution in their program to place Indian women in jobs, usually as domestic servants, and called on DAR members to lobby the state assembly to help individual Indians get state aid.[42] Murphey also negotiated with the government to supply the materials to repair the road to Round Valley, which had become impassable, and to pay the Indians for doing the work. Seven families earned about $125 from the road work in 1932. In addition, Murphey pushed to have Indians hired by the state to fight fires in the summer.[43]

Prodded by Murphey and a few other leaders, local women's clubs began to provide help for Mendocino County Indians but it was too little and many in need slipped through the cracks. The Willits Improvement Club and the Pythian Sisters of Willits collected fruit jelly, shoes, and clothing for the Sherwood rancheria where

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[42]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 344. Murphey's work to funnel donations from reform groups to the neediest Indians had begun even before the Depression. For example, in 1926 she sent a check for $5.00 to a Covelo store for elderly Indians Mr. and Mrs. Jeff Davis. With the money they bought bacon, rice, sugar, coffee, and meat. Murphey kept records of all such transactions. Edith V.A. Murphey Collection, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society, Ukiah, CA.

[43]Edith V.A. Murphy, "Report of County Chairman of Indian Welfare of Mendocino County, Calif., to the Federated Women's Clubs of Mendocino County, October 1, 1932 in: U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 15498-15500.

there lived ten families with about fifty children. Indians took this kind of help gratefully, but it did little more than alleviate suffering for a few days or weeks.[44]

In Ukiah, Grace Emory, Chairman of the Kosmos Club and owner of a millinery shop, led the effort to provide help for local Indians. Her shop served as a place where people could leave clothing or other help for local Indians. Emory also kept a small fund for loaning out to Indians in need, and according to reports, they always paid her back. In addition, Emory acted as a contact for the sale of Pomo baskets. Her group distributed Christmas stockings and other gifts at a party given by the local Campfire Girls. A Bay Area Campfire troop donated the stockings and the Ukiah Business and Professional Women's Club paid for the food. Other well-to-do local women donated food for Indian relief: Mrs. O'Brian gave 100 pounds of sugar and Mrs. Hudson fifty loaves of bread. The Dominican

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[44]Edith V.A. Murphey, "Report of the County Chairman of Indian Welfare of Mendocino County Given to the Federated Women's Clubs of Mendocino County," March 5, 1932 in U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15494.

sisters served hot lunches to the old Indians any time they went to the convent.[45]

Exhibiting the maternalism many women reformers exhibited toward Indians, Murphey recommended that donors give relief in supplies instead of money because Indians were liable to "fall prey to unscrupulous white or other friends." As evidence, she offered the case of one World War One veteran who had "never been right" since the war. The very day he returned from San Francisco with a government check for $1000 as compensation for his medical condition, he lost $600 to fraud. Murphey went before a judge and asked for a temporary guardian to be appointed to look after the money.[46]

Murphey, Emory and others convinced the county nurse to begin visiting the Manchester rancheria regularly. A local minister took on the task of treat the children on the rancherias for impetigo. Also, a local physician gave diphtheria and smallpox

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[45]Edith V.A. Murphey Report in U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 15494-95.

[46]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 500.

vaccinations.[47] However, charitable efforts were inconsistent and excluded many needy Indians.

Underlying the failure of well meaning reformers like Murphey to do more than paper over the worst misery of the Indians, lay their inability to imagine real equality for native people. They were, after all, products of a world view that ranked all non-European cultures as inferior and believed Manifest Destiny to be inevitable. Even when Murphey joined Collier and the New Deal in a new appreciation of cultural pluralism, she did so assuming that assimilation remained the ultimate goal, and always defined the "best" Indians as those who had adopted white cultural norms most successfully. She praised compliant and dutiful Indians and criticized the more activist, especially those who spoke up against white hegemony.

In addition, women like Murphey, who had taken on the difficult role of intermediary between the two groups, were themselves in a vulnerable position. Her success depended first on the support of the white community. Without that support, she could do little for the Indians. Later, when Murphey went to work for

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[47]Edith V.A. Murphey, "Report of the County Chairman of Indian Welfare of Mendocino County Given to the Federated Women's Clubs of Mendocino County," March 5, 1932 in U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15494.

the Roosevelt administration, she was similarly dependent on the government for her new career. Murphey's personal papers suggest an unusual level of respect and admiration for native societies, yet she always assumed assimilation would be the ultimate outcome. As Sarah Deutsch has pointed out, women creating opportunities for themselves as mediators between Indians and whites rarely had the "freedom to question the larger framework within which they worked."[48]

Conflicts with Whites

Another important role played by reformers during the Depression involved their intervention on behalf of the Indians in conflicts with local whites over increasingly scarce resources. For example, on the Mendocino coast, Indians had to cross a private ranch to reach the beaches where they harvested seaweed to dry and sell to a Chinese dealer for ten cents per pound. When denied access to the beaches, Andrew White wrote to Chauncey Goodrich, an attorney for the Indian Defense

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[48]Sarah Deutsch, "Landscape of Enclaves: Race Relations in the West, 1865-1990," p. 117. Others have also made this point. See, for example, Lisa Elizabeth Emmerich, "To Respect and Love and Seek the Ways of White Women": Field Matrons, the Office of Indian Affairs, and Civilization Policy, 1890-1938," (Ph.D. University of Maryland, 1987).

Association, who provided free legal advice to Indians through the Association. Goodrich wrote the owner explaining the Indians' need for this way to earn a little money. In spite of this, the owner denied the Indians access to the beach.[49]

The efforts Indians made to return to traditional subsistence patterns pitted them against white landowners. For example, white residents complained to the California Department of Fish and Game that the Indians on the rancheria were using illegal nets in the Garcia River. The game wardens convinced the Indians to stop netting fish, although neither the state officials nor the BIA were sure of the jurisdiction since Manchester rancheria was not a treaty reservation. A few years later, the Manchester Pomo retaliated and began to charge a fee to non-Indians who used their rancheria for hunting and fishing. Local whites protested strongly.[50]

Such conflicts over resources were not new, but the Depression brought a new urgency to such debates. The

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[49]Andrew E. White to Indian Defense Association, May 10; 1929; Chauncey S. Goodrich to Walter B. Frick, May 31, 1929; Stanley J. Smith to Mr. Frick, June 24, 1929; all in California League for American Indians Papers, Carton 9, Bancroft Library.

[50]Dorothea Theodoratus, "Identity Crises," pp. 153 and 161.

ability to hunt deer or fish meant more than ever to the Indians, yet they could not afford to buy hunting or fishing licenses, and so could be arrested if caught. Reformers like Murphey worked hard to bridge the divisions of race and class, but the gulf widened under the pressure of economic distress.

Divided Communities

In Ukiah and in Covelo, the two centers of contact between white and Indian people in Mendocino County, strong divisions of race and caste embodied in a local social and economic code had evolved over about eighty years of contact. The white communities maintained quite rigid race and class divisions, enforced by custom. By the end of the 1920s, these small, isolated, segregated communities were still ruled by what visiting anthropologists called "old timer" elites, with social lines drawn according to race and outsider status. However, several forces had been working to undermine these structures since the Progressive Era, including attrition. Older residents died, younger people moved away or married outsiders, diluting the influence of the old timers. The next two decades of depression and war put even greater pressure on the existing social structure, setting the stage for the transformations of the postwar years. During the Depression, white elites

struggled to maintain and even strengthen racial boundaries, as they grappled with increasing challenges to their hegemony.

Ukiah

By the 1930s, Ukiah, a town of about 5,000 people, served as the sole commercial center for a rural population of about 10,000 people in the valley itself and many more in the rest of the county. As the county seat, it served as a center of government, and it was the largest town between Eureka, 175 miles north, and Santa Rosa, sixty miles south. Although the population around the town included Anglo-Americans, Native Americans, immigrants from Europe and Asia, and migrating groups of agricultural workers following the harvest, outside observers characterized Ukiah as narrow and provincial. Members of a social science research team studying the inhabitants of the area repeatedly emphasized the insularity of the population, the social and racial stratification, and the entrenchment of power in the hands of descendants of the original settlers. Members of the Field Laboratory called this group the "old timer" elite.[51]

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[51]Portions of this chapter rely heavily on data gathered by members of the Social Science Field Laboratory established in Ukiah in 1939 by anthropologists Burt and Ethel Aginsky under the auspices of New York University.

This "old timer" group descended from the original settlers and continued to exert a strong influence on the economic and social life of the community, as it had

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The Aginskys had come to know the area during three field trips between 1934 and 1936, when they studied the Pomo Indians. The field work of the Laboratory continued until 1941, when World War II drew most of the participants away from the area. The research resumed in 1946 and continued through 1948, but the sponsorship had changed to the Maxwell Graduate School of Syracuse University. Additional support came from the Wenner Gren Foundation and the Social Science Research Council. A total of thirty-two social scientists from various disciplines worked in the Laboratory, resulting in several master's and doctoral dissertations based on their research. The Aginskys published a number of articles and a book as well. The goal of the project was "to make a long term study of a culture from the points of view of all of the social sciences" and "to provide supervised training and field work at the predoctoral level, and facilities for professional social scientists." The Laboratory is described in William Henderson and B.W. Aginsky, "A Social Science Field Laboratory," American Sociological Review Vol. VI, No. 1 (Feb. 1941). Reprints of Burt and Ethel Aginsky's articles on the Pomo Indians are collected in: B.W. and E.G. Aginsky, Selected Papers of B.W. Aginsky and E.G. Aginsky (New York: Printing Unlimited, 1955). See also Burt W. Aginsky and Ethel G. Aginsky, Deep Valley: The Pomo Indians of California (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1967). Theses and dissertations resulting from the Field Laboratory research include: Alfred P. Parsell, "Population and Environment of a Northern California Indian Community," M.A. thesis, Syracuse University, 1941; Alfred P. Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," Ph.D. New York University, 1948; Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community, M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1941. See also Elizabeth Colson, ed., Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women (Berkeley: University of California Dept. of Anthropology, Archaeological Research Facility, 1974). Alfred Parsell's field notes and other research papers from his stay in Ukiah are now the Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum in Willits, CA.

since the frontier era. Everyone recognized that this small group "stuck together," helped one another, and collaborated in running the town. The old timers generally participated most fully in community life, held positions of leadership in business and social activities, and shared economic ties. They purchased their food and clothing from one another, voted for one another, and their children often married each other. They treated most newcomers as outsiders. In fact, new arrivals in town sometimes joked that "what this town needs is a dozen important funerals."[52]

The dominance of the "old timer" elite rested on much more than wealth alone. While the elites tended to occupy important positions in local businesses and to control a good deal of property, their position depended more on family connections, association, and length of occupancy than on economic status. And the old timer elites included persons of both major political parties, because their influence lay on keeping local power in

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[52]Burt W. Aginsky, "The Fragmentation of the American Community," The Journal of Educational Sociology reprinted in Selected Papers of B.W. Aginsky and E.G. Aginsky (New York: Printing Unlimited, 1955) pp. 92-94. See also, Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1941).

their own hands, not on promoting a particular political viewpoint.[53]

By the nineteen-thirties, the old timers were a shrinking group; they seemed to feel their power slipping away. As older members died, and some of their children left the area or married outsiders, they came to feel defensive and embattled. The economic crisis, the increased federal presence in the region, and the social changes brought to town by modern mass culture all exacerbated their defensiveness. In Ukiah these were the boundary setters, attempting to ensure their own power by drawing the lines of race and class more clearly, and clinging to the past.

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[53]For a discussion of power in U.S. cities and towns, see David C. Hammack, "Problems in the Historical Study of Power in the Cities and Towns of the United States, 1800-1960," American Historical Review 83 (1978). A number of sociologists have explored the systems of caste and class present in small town American life in the twentieth century. Notable studies include W. Lloyd Warner, ed., Yankee City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); Granville Hicks, Small Town (New York: Macmillan, 1946); John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Anchor, 1957); James West, pseud. (Carl Withers), Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945); Albert Blumenthal, Small-Town Stuff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932); Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1929) and Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1937); Edmund Bruner and J.H. Kolb, Rural Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933) and Elvin Hatch, Biography of a Small Town (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

Social groups in Ukiah had evolved over time and, like residents of many other small towns, most people clung to familiar habits. Newcomers without local connections found the town a difficult place. One local doctor admitted that "a new doctor in town would have a hard time getting started. The people will go to the old doctor; they're clannish that way. You've got to be a native son or a sonuvagun."[54] (sic)

Those residing in the Ukiah Valley who were not "native sons," like the immigrants from Italy, who had purchased several ranches and wineries in the valley, participated little in the social and political life of the community. They formed social organizations like the Sons of Italy and the Altar Society and mixed primarily with each other. They had become, however, important participants in the economy of the region.[55]

The authentic "native sons" occupied positions of outsiders in the town. The indigenous people of the Ukiah Valley, the Pomo Indians, lived on rancherias

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[54]Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 32.

[55]Anthropologist Alfred Parsell divided the population into 4 basic groups: White Americans (includes both newcomers and old timers), Italians, Indians, and migrant workers. In addition, there were a few Chinese families who owned businesses in Ukiah (a laundry, a grocery, and three restaurants). Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 12-13.

outside town or on the ranches where they worked. Although they played a significant role in the economy as the major agricultural work force, no Pomo or other Indian lived or worked in the town of Ukiah, except a few domestic servants, who commuted to work in the morning and returned to the rancheria at night.[56]

Anglo Americans in Mendocino County generally viewed Indians as natural parts of the local landscape, but largely in terms of their own needs. They did not classify them as aliens or interlopers as they did Chinese and Japanese immigrants. To the ranchers, Indians were a necessary reservoir of easily controlled, skilled, cheap labor for agricultural work. Storekeepers wanted Indians to spend money in their stores if this did not cause trouble with their other customers. And religious groups wanted to convert the Indians to their particular brand of Christianity. Although Ukiah residents were as likely as any other

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[56]Most domestic servants in Ukiah were Indian or white women except for one Chinese man who worked at the Palace Hotel. Alfred Parsell, "Non-Rancheria Indians Census, Aug. 15, 1940," in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum. Parsell's census included only the Ukiah Valley. He found 51 Indians living off the rancherias. All but two of these families lived on ranches where they were employed. The remaining two families lived in rented houses just outside the town line. See also Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 2.

whites to romanticize Indians of the past, they did not include the local Indians in their vision, derived mostly from the movies. Racial notions about the California Indians had remained strong since the nineteenth century, when Anglos considered Indians a degraded race. One Ukiah resident commented that "our 'Digger' Indians aren't like the 'real' Indians [the Plains Indians]. They didn't ride horses or fight."[57]

When anthropologists Burt and Ethel Aginsky first visited Ukiah in 1934 to study the Pomo Indians, they found a town with strictly defined boundaries separating Indians from the white majority. Customarily, whites excluded Indian from most public places in Ukiah, with the notable exception of the public schools, which had begun, under duress, to admit some Indian children in the 1920s. Local custom relegated Indians to the balcony of the Ukiah theatre.[58] Only one [Chinese] restaurant in town served Indians. Indian people had to cut their own hair or travel to Santa Rosa (60 miles away) to have their hair done, since no Ukiah beauty or

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[57]Interview Number 5, June 24, 1991.

[58]Burt and Ethel Aginsky, Deep Valley, pp. 16-17. Parsell Papers, Field Notes 11/11/39, p. 5. See also Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 264.

barber shops served Indians.[59] In spite of the money Indians might spend, many businesses in Ukiah posted signs indicating that Indians would not be served. While the storekeepers might have welcomed their money, they feared boycotts by their white customers.[60]

The threat of peer pressure, understood by all, kept this system of segregation in place. Indeed, the most common explanation business owners gave for excluding Indians was their fear of offending their most influential white customers and losing business. One optician feared that "if it got around town that I fitted the Indians, the whites wouldn't come to me and I'd lose all my good trade." A soda clerk admitted that "Indians never come in here as a rule . . . They realize

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[59]Burt W. Aginsky, "The Interaction of Ethnic Groups: A Case Study of Indians and Whites," American Sociological Review Vol. XIV, No. 2 (April 1949) reprinted in Selected Papers of B.W. Aginsky and E.G. Aginsky (New York: Printing Unlimited, 1955) pp. 81-82. Parsell lived with a Pomo family at the Yokaia rancheria. The mother cut the whole family's hair, telling him, "they won't cut Indian's hair in that damned town of Ukiah." Parsell field notes, November 12, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum.

[60]Even friends of the Indians like Grace Emory, who collected clothing and money donations at her hat shop for Indian relief could not openly serve Indians. Had she done so, her white clientele would have disappeared. Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 248-250; Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 35.

that they are a different and lower social class and they are not wanted here. If any Indians tried to sit at the soda counter, I would have to ask them to leave. It's not that I mind personally, but my customers might not like it." One beautician remembered that when she came to town she didn't know "that people made a distinction between themselves and the Indians," so she took Indian trade. Soon her white customers let her know she would lose their business if she continued to serve Indians.[61]

Some business owners got around the problem by providing separate facilities for Indians, like the beauty operator with "a separate place fixed up in the back for Indians. She only worked on them behind a screen." Another beautician gossiped that one shop served Indians secretly, after hours. For the most part, Indians had to do without certain services or conduct their business out of Ukiah. Significantly, the Pomo Indians did not report being denied service in the businesses of Santa Rosa, sixty miles away in Sonoma County, perhaps because it was a larger, less isolated

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[61]Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 35.

community with more access to urban influences from San Francisco.[62]

Other forms of segregation were less obvious, enforced simply by making Indians feel set apart, in a kind of psychological apartheid. "You'd think the church would be one of the few places in Ukiah where an Indian would be welcome -- but he isn't," one Pomo man told Alfred Parsell. Although most of the Pomo people considered themselves Roman Catholics, very few of them attended church in Ukiah. Instead, the priests from the parish in Ukiah held services on the rancherias in rotation once a month, except during the summer. Churchgoing Indians attended mass monthly on their own rancheria, along with Italians and a few Filipinos who also felt unwelcome at the Ukiah church. According to reports, Indians explained that they felt unwelcome at the town church because whites would not sit near them or speak to them.[63]

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[62]Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," pp. 35-36.

[63]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 253. Birbeck Wilson, "Ukiah Valley Pomo Religious Life, Supernatural Doctoring, and Beliefs Observations of 1939-1941" (Berkeley: Department of Anthropology, University of California Archaelogical Research Facility, 1968) pp. 44-45. The nuns visited the rancheria churches to teach catechism to the children, and a few Pomo girls attended the small convent school in Ukiah. Church attendance was usually limited to children

In the newly integrated schools, students reported a social chasm separating white from Indian children, who were acutely aware of their minority status, especially at the high school. In October of 1939 there were only twelve Indian students in the Ukiah Union High School, out of a total enrollment of 490 students. While the school officially allowed Indian students to participate in school sponsored activities, like band and sports, they were routinely excluded from most social activities.[64]

Pomo students in the 1930s were quite different from those of a generation earlier, who said they "considered it an honor to go to school with white children."[65] When asked about school, many young people spoke up strongly about their feelings of isolation. Although Hiram Campbell played trombone in the Ukiah High School band, his sister Dora remarked that "this town would blow up if an Indian girl were

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and a few middle-aged people, and several informants reported that "they all supposed to be Catholic, but they don't believe it." The very old and the young avoided church except for funerals, although most Pomos did observe Christian religious holidays and customs.

[64]School Attendance, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum. See also Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 261.

[65]Edna Sloan Interview, 8/13/40, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum.

(sic) drum major."[66] Like other young Indians, Dora was extremely angry about the discrimination in the high school. "Something has got to be done in that high school," she said. "It gets so that sometimes you just don't feel like going to school. Just because you're an Indian everybody stays away from you and they make remarks about you like 'black Indian,' or 'dirty Indian,' or 'fat Indian.'" Dora had lived and attended school in Fresno, and claimed that discrimination was much worse in Ukiah. When she first came to school in Ukiah, other students did not realize she was an Indian because of her light skin. She made some good friends; her best friend was an Italian girl. But when her friends discovered that she was an Indian, they dropped her.[67]

This situation caused the Indian children to isolate themselves. Defensively, they generally grouped together in the cafeteria, on the school bus, and the school grounds. They were shy about participating in

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[66]Dora Campbell interview, Nov. 3, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum.

[67]Dora Campbell Interview, Nov. 4, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum.

school activities, and many of them had poor attendance records.[68]

Dora found that her light skin caused conflicts with her Indian friends as well. She complained about feeling set apart from both whites and Indians, who often teased her or "made mean remarks." "You'd think it was a crime to be born with a lighter skin than other people. I can't help it if my skin is light."[69] Like many Indian people who had assimilated more than most, Dora felt the sting of existing between two worlds.

Indian high school students reported slights not only from white students but from teachers. The music teacher showed much interest in Dora Campbell's ability before it became generally known that she was an Indian. After that, he had no time to help her. Dora and other young Indian girls interviewed reported that they hated to walk around the streets of Ukiah at night because white men assumed all Indian girls to be loose, and would follow them, and harass them.[70]

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[68]Dora Campbell Interview, November 4, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum.

[69]Dora Campbell Interview, Parsell Papers, Nov. 4, 1939, Mendocino County Museum.

[70]Parsell interview with Dora Campbell, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum. Instead of taking music in school, Dora continued her study of the piano with a local farmer's wife in exchange for domestic work.

The situation looked very different from the side of the white majority. When questioned about Indians in the high school, they denied that discrimination existed. They invariably cited a few isolated cases, like the Indian boy who was the star player on the high school football team. However, they did not acknowledge that this boy and his Indian peers were not welcome at school dances or other social occasions, no matter how they excelled on the football field. There is no record of any purely social group in any school inviting an Indian student to join. In addition, no Indian parents had ever been members of either the school board or the Parent-Teachers' Association, apparently because they felt so unwelcome.[71]

Despite the discrimination Indians faced in Ukiah, the town was the sole commercial and social center for the area. The population of the three rancherias in the valley was too small to support Indian-owned businesses there, even if the Indians had been able to afford the costs of starting their own businesses. Their only access to many necessities of life including food, recreation, supplies, news, banking, and medical care

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[71]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 264.

was in Ukiah.[72] And during the harvest season, Indians from all parts of Northern California gathered in the Ukiah Valley to pick hops, grapes, and pears. According to one Indian agricultural worker, "there [were] probably more Indians in and around Ukiah than in any other city in the state, especially in the picking season in summer."[73]

Over the years a few public spaces in Ukiah became available for Indians. They assembled on the public benches outside the courthouse on most Saturdays, where they visited with friends from other rancherias and let the children play on the grass. Across the street from the courthouse, Martin's Cafe, a combination barroom, liquor store, pool hall, lunch counter, and gambling den, catered to working men and ranch workers. During the 1930s, Martin's began to serve Indians, becoming the one place in town where Indian men and boys could "hang out," in summer often on the street outside and in winter, around the stove in the back room. Although Martin's served food to Indians, federal and state law

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[72]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 242; Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contace and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 31.

[73]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Community," p. 245.

still prevented selling them liquor until the mid-1940s.[74]

A branch office of the Sacramento jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs opened in Ukiah in the 1920s, becoming the major contact for Indians with the government.[75] The staff consisted of a doctor, a nurse, and the Indian police captain, Steve Knight, whose duties consisted primarily of enforcing the prohibition against liquor for Indians in Mendocino, Lake, and part of Sonoma counties.[76] The doctor and nurse served roughly the same territory, and because these three counties are so large and travel difficult in the mountainous regions, patients usually had to travel to Ukiah for medical care. This brought many Indians into town, not only from the Ukiah Valley, but

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[74]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 244. Even after the law was changed, several liquor dealers in Ukiah told Steve Knight that "they had never before sold liquor to Indians and, law or no law, they didn't intend to start now." Parsell Papers, Oct. 31, 1939, Mendocino County Museum.

[75]Jurisdiction for Mendocino County Indians was moved from Round Valley to Sacramento in the twenties, leaving the reservation with only two employees, a contract doctor and a clerk/overseer. This had the effect of giving the Indians in the Ukiah Valley greater access to the government than those on the reservation, simply reversing the situation that had existed earlier.

[76]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 245.

from Hopland, Round Valley, and the coast. In addition, once a week the nurse held classes in Ukiah to teach Indian women nutrition, care of children, and general homemaking.[77]

One other place in town that welcomed Indians was the ball park. One locally sponsored team, the Ukiah Braves, was composed solely of Indians. Predominantly white teams also had a few Indian members; one of them depended on an Indian for its pitching, and another team had two Indians members. The most exciting games of the season were those between Indian teams from Hopland or Covelo and the Ukiah Braves.[78]

In spite of the racism and segregation directed at Indians in Ukiah, the town provided them an entry, however limited, into modern life. Ukiah seemed to many residents narrow and isolated from modern life, but for young Indian people it offered everything that the rancherias did not: magazines and newspapers, movies, music, electric lights, a sense of "things happening." "Going to town" became an almost daily vigil for many Indian people, and anyone heading for town in an

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[77]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 246.

[78]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 246.

automobile generally acquired as many passengers as the car could hold.[79]

Besides spending more time in Ukiah, Indians also had increasing access to the world outside the county. By 1930 some of them owned automobiles and frequently traveled to Santa Rosa, San Francisco and further. By the thirties it was a rare Indian who had never been to San Francisco. Travelers often returned to report that outside the valley white people treated them with more respect than they received at home. One young woman remembered that the first time she left the Ukiah Valley, she "was afraid of something everytime she went into a theatre and sat downstairs," or entered a restaurant. Once she went to a night club, although she felt "terribly nervous about going in there, little chills ran up and down my spine, and I kept wondering if someone was going to tell me to leave," as would have happened at home.[80]

The more Ukiah provided an entry into modern life for both Indians and whites, the faster the town changed. New ideas entered the community much more

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[79]Alfred Parsell Field Notes in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum.

[80]Dora Campbell Interview, Nov. 4, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum. See also Burt W. Aginsky, "The Interaction of Ethnic Groups," p. 83.

rapidly as residents were increasingly exposed to mass culture through movies, the radio, magazines, and advertising. More isolated areas of the county experienced change much more slowly. The other center of interaction between Indians and whites was the tiny all-white town of Covelo, located on the edge of the Round Valley Reservation. Round Valley was far from larger population centers and major roads and modes of transportation. One had to travel over mountain roads that washed out in the winter to reach the railroad line in Willits, or to go to the movies in Ukiah. This created an atmosphere of isolation that was difficult to penetrate.

Covelo: "Narrowness Exemplified"

In a 1934 report on relations between Indians and white people in Round Valley, Sidney J. Thomas declared that:

> this little town [Covelo] is narrowness exemplified. The geographical setup was perfect for renegade whites in the early days. The topography until very recently has barred outside interest or interference. The government has always been easy pickings and so have the Indians . . . The Whites have not only gained the best and upper hand, but will resent any sort of interference with their locally developed social or economic code. As I was born in, and spent many years in other similar small communities, it is easy for me to understand the depth of feeling, the lengths to which these people will go, and the

methods they will use in maintaining their bigoted little kingdom.[81]

In Covelo, the all-white commercial center for Round Valley, even more rigid divisions had developed between Indians and Anglos. Covelo was "narrow" in its isolation from outside influences and in the similarity of its white population. Round Valley's location in the northern mountains many miles from a main highway, contributed to the power of the dominant elites, allowing them to control the economic and social life of the town without interference. Covelo's location near the reservation put a smaller number of whites in touch with a larger group of Indians than was the case in other parts of the county. Smaller than Ukiah, in 1936 Covelo had three general stores, three service stations, a hotel, a poolroom and saloon, two churches, an electric plant, and a school. Several white families lived on land that was once part of the reservation, in the northern part of the valley. (See chapter one of

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[81]Sidney J. Thomas, "Round Valley, Mendocino County, California," Berkeley, 1937 (unpublished report of 1934 survey of tribes of California, for the BIA) quoted in Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, No. 31 (Berkeley: University of California Department of Anthropology, 1976) p. 47. Amelia Susman, a doctoral candidate in Anthropology from Columbia University, did field work on the Round Valley Reservation in 1937, funded by the Works Project Administration, Federal Writer's Project and supervised by Ralph Linton and Ruth Benedict.

this dissertation for the story of the reservation boundaries). At the southern end of the valley was a hop ranch owned by one of the largest land companies in the state. The most common occupation in the valley was stock raising, and a single group of white men set both wages and prices.[82]

Covelo's business elite controlled local markets by exploiting the isolation of the area. The fortunes of poor whites and Indians alike suffered because as small ranchers, they could not sell their livestock in large enough quantities to ship them out of the valley. Neither could they afford to purchase feed in the quantities necessary to import it from outside the valley. Thus, they became dependent on the well-off white businessmen of Covelo, who could afford to purchase large quantities of feed and resell it locally at very high prices. The local butcher paid almost nothing for meat, which he bought locally from small ranchers, but sold at very high prices. This is because when the Indians needed cash, their only option was to sell a cow, a sheep, or a pig locally at one-half the market price outside the valley. The same was true for

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[82]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 46.

the sale of hay, which the most affluent whites bought up cheaply and resold at twice the purchase price.[83]

As they had done since the nineteenth century, white ranchers used Indian land for their livestock operations, leasing some, but trespassing on more. According to a Senate report in 1934, "trespass, checkerboarding, and strong arm stealing [was] reported to be in full sway," allowing the larger white landholders to hold the local economy in a virtual stranglehold.[84]

The most influential white people in Round Valley strongly opposed the new policies of Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier and the Roosevelt administration and continually lobbied the Indians against them. White people often bought drinks for Indians while trying to convince them that the Indian Reorganization Act would take away their access to the benefits of modern life and make them "sit on the floor and eat acorn soup." Some said that the white people

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[83]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 52.

[84]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 46.

were just friendly enough to Indians to make "Indian buck Indian for the benefit of the whites."[85]

John Collier, Roosevelt's new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, reversed the direction of federal Indian policy by acknowledging the importance of ethnic values and Indian communities. Collier, who believed individualism to be the cause of many of the nation's ills, saw in Native American traditions a model for an idealized community life he believed would benefit all Americans. Collier attacked the old policies promoting rapid assimilation of Native Americans into mainstream society, and worked instead to preserve tribal heritage and culture. Many assimilationists fought Collier's reforms, protesting that he wanted to "return Indians to the blanket."[86]

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[85]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, pp. 47-48.

[86]General works on federal Indian policy during the New Deal include: Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1977); William H. Kelly, ed., Indian Affairs and the Indian Reorganization Act: The Twenty Year Record (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1954); Lawrence C. Kelly, The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983); Graham D. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-1945 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980). See also Donald L. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," Pacific Historical Review 40 (February 1971) pp. 39-57. For the Indian view, see

At the center of Collier's policy was the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, an open admission that the Dawes Act, after forty-seven years of operation, had been a devastating blunder. Of the 138,000,000 acres of tribal landholdings in 1887, only 48,000,000 remained in 1934.[87] The Indian Reorganization Act ended allotments, restored some surplus lands to tribal ownership, and permitted voluntary exchanges of allotments for interests in tribal corporations. Congress agreed to appropriate $2 million annually to acquire additional lands for tribes, and authorized spending $250,000 a year for the organization of tribal governments and tribal corporations, which could then borrow money from a revolving credit fund to finance economic development of reservation resources. The law also created an annual scholarship fund for Indian students, and gave Native Americans preference for jobs in the BIA. The various tribes had to vote on whether to reorganize their tribal governments according to the terms of the act. Not all Indians approved and some,

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Kenneth R. Philp, ed., Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986).

[87]Wilcomb E. Washburn, Red Man's Land--White Man's Law: A Study of the Past and Present Status of the American Indian (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 75.

notably the Navajo nation, rejected it. When a majority of the adult members of a tribe voted to approve the act, they could then write a constitution, which had to be approved by another majority vote and then by the Secretary of the Interior.[88]

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[88]Collier believed so strongly in the new policy that he even manipulated the Indian elections in order to make sure the tribes approved the IRA. For example, tribal members that did not vote and sometimes even the deceased were counted as voting in favor. In the end, 174 tribes voted "yes" and 78 rejected the IRA. Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954, p. 162. Collier's critics argue that although he had more respect for native cultures than his predecessors, assimilation was still the ultimate goal. Seeking cultural pluralism, Collier saw assimilation into modern life and preservation of culture as compatible goals. Still, Indians under the IRA were expected to create tribal governments based on EuroAmerican political norms, not on native traditions of consensus. The result often amplified factionalism within tribes. For an examination of the impact of the Indian Reorganization Act on a variety of native people, see Kenneth R. Philp, ed., Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986). See also Ronald Takaki, A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993) pp. 238-239. General works on the changes in federal Indian policy during the New Deal include: Lawrence C. Kelly, The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983); Graham D. Taylor, The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-1945 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980). See also Lawrence C. Kenny, "The Indian Reorganization Act: The Dream and the Reality," Pacific Historical Review 44 (August 1975) pp. 291-312 and "John Collier and the Indian New Deal: An Assessment," in Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox, ed. Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976) pp. 227-241.

The debate over whether to reorganize the reservation under the IRA sparked controversy in Round Valley. Frederick G. Collett, leader of the Indians of California, Inc., the only political organization at the reservation, joined most local whites in urging the Indians to reject the Indian Reorganization Act. Collett was an unlikely ally of local white interests, but John Collier's new policies threatened Collett's influence just as they did the power of local elites. And Collett, always opposed to the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was an old enemy of Collier's. His local representative, Mr. Thompson, the Indian preacher at the reservation Pentecostal Church, constantly preached against the legislation during church services.[89]

Other New Deal programs threatened the power of white elites in Round Valley. Whites vigorously opposed Indians doing WPA or other relief work, in part because

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[89]Collett had been a controversial figure in California Indian Affairs for two decades, and was much criticized by virtually all other Indian reform organizations, especially the Indian Defense Association led by John Collier, who accused him of raising funds from California Indians for his own use. After Collett successfully organized the Hupa and Klamath Indians to reject the Indian Reorganization Act, Collier accused him of forgery. Collett responded by filing a lawsuit against Collier for libel. For more information on Frederick Collett, see chapter four of this dissertation and Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 55.

they preferred the jobs to go to white people, but mostly because they feared Indian access to government jobs would upset their locally-controlled labor system or inflate wages. At the insistence of local farmers, all WPA work programs, like the road repair that provided employment for some reservation Indians, closed during the harvest season so as not to threaten the ability of local farmers to find their work force at the usual wages. In addition, local farmers opposed New Deal programs to expand Indian farming because they might interfere with their ability to lease Indian land cheaply. One observer "believe[d] they would oppose anything for the Indians that they could not control thoroughly and possibly make a little out of in some way or other."[90]

Indians complained that the white people in Covelo interfered in reservation business, especially the administration of the elementary school. The white citizens of Covelo insisted on maintaining two elementary schools, one on the reservation and one in Covelo, although there were only enough children for one school, in order to preserve as much racial separation as possible. However, supporting two schools during the

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[90]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 48.

Depression put financial strains on the district, and the reservation school had to fight for every penny, in spite of the fifty-three cents per day the federal government paid the district for educating each Indian child.[91]

Because both elementary schools were in one district, white voters elected the school trustees and profited in many ways from the reservation school. For example, while the trustees spent as little as possible on the reservation school, they hired whites to drive the buses, and awarded contracts to sell wood to the reservation school to white people, never Indians.[92]

Some Indians corresponded regularly with Indian Service officials in Sacramento and Washington D.C., and tried to enlist federal support for changing the situation. Although the BIA representatives often expressed their sympathy, they did little to help. In 1932, the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs conducted hearings in several locations in California, including Ukiah, but did not travel to inaccessible areas like Round Valley. At the Ukiah hearing held on Sept. 23,

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[91]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 64. U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15462.

[92]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 48.

1932 and chaired by Sen. Lynn Frazier of North Dakota, several local Indians and whites testified, including a few Indians from Round Valley.[93]

Mrs. Clarke, an Indian woman from Round Valley, testified that the reservation school lacked "everything except teachers." She complained that, unlike the white school in Covelo, the reservation school had no auditorium, and no domestic science or music programs. She told the senators that white families living on the reservation refused to send their children to the reservation school with Indian children, and so deprived the school of the state funds for those pupils. Instead, they took them to the school in Covelo.[94]

The white community in Covelo profited from Indian funds even more when the school principal solicited money from the Indian Service to build a high school to serve all the children of Round Valley, Indian and white. The Covelo High School became a special source of resentment for the Indians after its completion in the early nineteen-thirties with federal Indian funds.

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[93]Hearing at Ukiah, CA., September 23, 1932, U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, pp. 15420-15530. Others submitted written statements. Several Indians from Round Valley wrote to the committee later, complaining that the committee meeting in Ukiah had not been publicized in the rural areas of the county.

[94]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 461.

Once the school opened, few Indians attended because, although it was officially open to them, the school made no effort to make Indians a part of the school community. Excluded from most social activities and unable to afford the incidental expenses of high school, Indians felt alienated from the school. Many had to depend for their school clothes on local charities, and felt self-conscious attending school in hand-me-downs from their white classmates.[95] Some Indian children went away to Indian boarding schools; most quit school after completing eighth grade.[96]

Indian parents at Round Valley often felt ambivalent about their children's education, since they had experienced no value from their own, and the truancy rate was high at the reservation school. The few Indians who saw potential value in education hoped that education would help their children to "stand up to white people." One native woman insisted on taking her children to the Covelo town school where she believed they would get a better education.

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[95]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 64. Edith V.A. Murphey, County Chairman of Indian Welfare, collected clothing for the Indians of Round Valley reservation.

[96]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 463.

At the Senate hearings in Ukiah, Senator Wheeler lectured the white people of Covelo about their attitude toward Indian education, arguing that

> the people of the community ought to feel that they want these Indian children educated, because they are going to live here, and they ought to bear in mind that this country at one time belonged to these Indians. The whites have come in here and driven them back . . . and the good land has been taken away from them by the whites and the whites are morally obligated to see that these Indians get better treatment than they are now getting in this section of the State. You have slums up here now. I think not only the Government but the people up here ought to be ashamed of the slums that these Indians are living in at the present time.[97]

Like other reformers, Wheeler failed to understand that it had long been in the interest of local white people to keep the Indians powerless. As such, they formed not only a willing and inexpensive work force, but a focus of federal funding that historically had profited local white people through their free use of Indian land, access to cheap land and timber leases, and such federally funded projects as the high school. Indeed, as one observer noted, "white people are friends of the Indians only when they have nothing."[98]

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[97]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15462.

[98]Sidney J. Thomas, "Round Valley, Mendocino County, California," Berkeley, 1937 (unpublished report of 1934 survey of tribes of California, for the BIA) quoted in Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indian of California, p.

Few white people in Covelo were willing to admit that the Indians had suffered in any way from colonization or from the Depression, and they felt abused when outsiders showed a sympathetic interest in the Indians. Doctors, social workers, Indian Service personnel, and anthropologists all found life in Round Valley difficult because local white people labeled them as "white people who go up to the reservation to agitate the Indians."[99]

Perhaps as devastating to the Indians in Round Valley as economic hegemony and poor education was the psychological domination they experienced. Social mingling between Indians and whites occurred rarely. Indian women told Amelia Susman that they had never entered a white home except as domestic servants. Whites barred Indian people from white dances, and when the Women's Improvement Club invited a group of little boys from the reservation to give a puppet show, the

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[99]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 47. The white people of Round Valley felt defensive over any implied criticism because they had been criticized so much over the years. For information about the colorful history of Round Valley, see chapters one and two of this dissertation. See also Estel Beard and Lynwood Carranco, Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars in Northern California (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981).

ladies sat them at a separate table to eat. Susman found most Indian children on the reservation to be more shy and fearful of whites than those living off the reservation, and observed that Indians and whites living in the mountains away from town often made friends but "as soon as they come down to Covelo," became separate.[100]

Susman believed that discrimination was responsible for the shyness of the Indians, and many Indians told her they stayed away from white people because they did not like "having their feelings hurt." Colonization took a profound psychological toll, and many young people grew up with little sense of self respect or self confidence. According to Susman, boys suffered psychologically more acutely than girls, perhaps because the conquest had more strongly disrupted their former roles of hunter and warrior.[101]

The traditional system of male professions had all but disappeared as men were forced into migratory labor patterns or reservation life, while the central roles played by women in family and community continued. The

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[100]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 57.

[101]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 58.

process of colonization tended to promote stronger women's roles. In the frontier era whites often hunted down and killed male Indian leaders perceived as dangerous. Indian men soon learned how dangerous it could be to show strong leadership in front of white people. The killing of so many men and the scattering of families in the frontier era often left women to care for children on their own without the help or protection of male relatives.[102]

Women and men participated equally in the agricultural labor system that became their main source of income. Often, women had more access to work than men because they were more likely to be hired for

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[102]Burt W. Aginsky and Ethel G. Aginsky, "A Resultant of Intercultural Relations," Social Forces Vol. 26, No. 1 (October 1947) reprinted in Selected Papers of B.W. Aginsky and E.G. Aginsky, pp. 76-79. For information on gender roles in native California see Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 302; Elizabeth Colson, ed., Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women (Berkeley, CA: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1974); V. Brady, S. Crome, L. Reese, "Resist! Survival Tactics of Indian Women," California History (Spring 1984); Kjerstie Nelson, Marriage and Divorce Practices in Native California, (Berkeley, CA: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1975); L.J. Bean, "Social Organization," and E. Wallace, "Sexual Status and Role Differences," both in Robert F. Heizer, ed., California, vol. 8, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C.: 1978); Nona C. Willoughby, Division of Labor Among the Indians of California (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974).

domestic service jobs when not working in the fields. Since each individual received wages separately, and because divorce was common, the Indians developed the habit of keeping their pay separate from the family. In spite of their poverty, Pomo women, unlike many white women, had control of any money they earned.[103]

Through their work as domestic servants, Indian women had closer personal contact with white families, and observed the roles white women played in the community. Indian women came to play dominant roles in community and family life on the reservations and rancherias. For example in 1920 Pomo women near Ukiah organized the Pomo Mothers' Club, which came to control most of the social events in on the rancherias. This club planned dances, gatherings with Indians from other reservations, and encouraged young people to have a good time without using alcohol.[104]

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[103]Burt W. and Ethel G. Aginsky, "A Resultant of Intercultural Relations," p. 78.

[104]The Pomo Mother's Club made contact through Edith V.A. Murphey with other Indian women's clubs. For example, they advised the Papago Women's Club (from the Papago Reservation in southwest Arizona) on organizing sales of native crafts. Edith V.A. Murphey Collection, clipping file, Held-Poage House, Mendocino County Historical Society Library, Ukiah. See also Burt W. and Ethel G. Aginsky, "A Resultant of Intercultural Relations, p. 77 and Alfred Parsell Field Notes, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits.

By the Depression era, the Mothers' Club had become a significant intermediary between the rancherias and white society. The group sought to break down racial stereotypes by promoting more understanding of Pomo culture, and worked with white reformers to organize demonstrations of native arts and crafts for the Ukiah Saturday Afternoon Club and other organizations. It organized similar exhibitions in San Francisco as well. The club also acted as representatives of their community in dealing with government officials on such matters as hot school lunches for Indian children, aid for needy families, and similar community problems.[105]

While Indian women at Round Valley played central roles in community life, they had more to contend with at the reservation, where separation was even more pronounced than in Ukiah. At Round Valley, Indian people usually kept to themselves on the reservation as much as possible, where community life came to revolve increasingly around its two churches.

Indian Responses

The Pentecostal Church, established on the Round Valley Reservation in the 1920s, became known as "the Indian Church." It assumed a central role in the social

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[105]Burt W. and Ethel G. Aginsky, "A Resultant of Intercultural Relations, p. 77.

and religious life of the group, filling a vacuum created by the departure of most Indian Service personnel and with them, most centrally organized community activities. In addition, Pentecostalism closely resembled some aspects of native shamanism, and came to serve a similar purpose as the Ghost Dance of a generation before, with similar ideas. The idea that the end of the world is imminent was as central to the Pentecostal religion as to the Ghost Dance. Like the traditional shamanistic religion of the Indians, the Pentecostals preached the experience of God in dreams, the preacher as healer who practiced the laying on of hands, speaking in tongues, and trance and vision experiences. Shamanism still supplemented white medicine at Round Valley, but gradually the church absorbed the curing function as native healers aged and died.[106]

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[106]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 41. The Pentacostal Church also played a central role at the Manchester rancheria on the coast where one Maru (dreamer) stopped dreaming when he joined the church. According to reports, the Pentacostal ministers at Manchester preached against the native religion as being of the devil, and tried to get the dance house destroyed. By 1953, twelve members of the band had joined the church. Dorothea J. Theodoratus, "Identity Crises: Changes in Life Style of the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians."

Almost everyone on the reservation attended both Methodist and Pentecostal services, often going to the Methodist Church in the morning and the Pentecostal in the evening. Throughout the nineteen-thirties, the Methodist minister concentrated most of his energy on attacking the Pentecostal Church, with little success. Most Indians agreed that at the Methodist Church one "sits and goes to sleep."[107] The Indians thought of the Pentecostal Church as their own, because it had Indian preachers and because they built it themselves. Elderly people found in Pentecostalism a satisfying emotional experience and an outlet for their strong feelings against oppression. Younger, more modern people liked the Pentecostal Church for political reasons. Some of them told Susman that the Methodist Church "pats rich men on the back," while "[the Pentecostal] is a church for the poor and oppressed." And for some Indians the fact that Indian people led this church added to its enjoyment as pure entertainment. One man aptly described the social value of the church, saying "all the Indians go to church, good ones, bad ones, young ones, old ones. It's just

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[107]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 62.

fun there, that's why I go lots of times."[108] Certainly the church served as important public entertainment for a reservation community with little access to other forms of recreation. Excluded from the social activities of Covelo, and too far from larger towns to have access to movies, dances, or other public entertainments, the Indians at Round Valley had little else to do.

The oppositional nature of the Pentecostal Church disturbed whites in Round Valley, even supporters of the Indians like Edith V.A. Murphey. Murphey believed that the church was a bad influence on the Indians and took every example to attack it. For example, she claimed that the Pentecostal minister's brother brought "maryjuana" (sic) to the reservation from Sacramento every year - a sign of the church's demoralizing influence.[109]

However interesting, the Pentecostal Church was not enough for young people, who chafed at their isolation in Round Valley. Like the Pomo Indians from Ukiah, those who traveled outside Round Valley believed that

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[108]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, pp. 62-64.

[109]Letter to O.H. Lipps, March 30, 1932 in California League for American Indian Papers, Carton 9, Bancroft Library.

prejudice against them was less outside. Although young Indians were often shy among white people, they had learned to be more outspoken than their parents, and their complaints caused controversy in the community. Both older Indians and whites disliked the new tendency for young Indians to criticize their circumstances (and their elders), and often attributed this new aggressiveness to their mixed blood.[110]

For decades Mendocino County ranchers had preferred Indian laborers because they worked hard and accepted poor working conditions and meager pay without complaint. According to one Indian Service employee, "due to their carefulness, the Indians were often the victims of their own skill, being given the cleaning up, packing and culling, slower and more difficult work that brings less pay on a piecework basis."

Increasingly local ranchers contended that young Indians didn't work as hard as their parents did and one complained that "they are letting the ranchers down" by preferring WPA work to ranch work. One rancher, Mrs. Crawford believed this was due not only to mixed blood but to the young people's ignorance of Pomo language and customs, and their new ability to travel. "Young

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[110]Amelia Susman, The Round Valley Indians of California, p. 44.

Indians don't know about themselves or their people; they don't know how to speak the Indian language. Indians aren't as happy and contented as they used to be. Booze and gasoline ruined the Indian."[111] Younger Indians had become less dependent on local whites, and their new awareness of the world outside led them to expect more than their parents did. Ranchers looked with dismay at a work force less likely than their parents to accept exploitation at a time when they needed an inexpensive and compliant work force more than ever.

Factionalism

While most Indians supported their own groups in conflicts with outsiders, internal disputes often threatened the social fabric of the rancheria communities. Most common were feuds between families, which older Indians claimed never happened before white

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[111]Crawford claimed to know more about the Indians than any Indian now alive. According to the Indians, her husband Charlie Crawford certainly did not. To better communicate with his ranch workers, he learned to say, "How do you feel?" in Pomo, but instead mistakenly asked a woman, "How does your ass feel?" She responded, "You old bastard, how's your own ass?" Parsell interview with Henry Campbell, Nov. 1, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits. See also Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," p. 131.

contact.[112] But by the 1930s, much of the tension in Indian families was due to divisions between generations. In traditional society, old people had been the teachers of all aspects of culture and greatly respected for their knowledge and power. Contact with white culture and modern life eroded the traditional role of elderly people because the knowledge of traditions did not seem to help young people in their new task of adjusting to the white world. Increasingly, Indian mythology and wisdom was challenged not only by the new ideology learned in school, but by the radio, the news media, and above all, the movies, which introduced many young native people to the new values of mass culture.[113] These influences increasingly worked

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[112]For example, the Knight and Peters families had a long standing feud, which Steve Knight claimed had begun in 1850 when many members of his Pomo band were massacred by soldiers after the Bloody Island Massacre. Knight's grandfather had hidden a baby in a basket in the river and the baby drowned. The Peters family spread rumors that he killed the baby on purpose, which began the hard feelings between the two families that continued at least until the 1930s. Steve Knight Interview, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA.

[113]For an excellent analysis of the way movies contributed to the shift from a producer to a consumer society, and to a distinct alteration in American identity, see Lary May, Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980). May emphasizes that the movies helped ease the transition from Victorian to modern life, and to legitimize the consumption economy. Indians absorbed the new gospel of

to divide Indian communities into sub-groups based on age.

The most obvious example of these new aged-based divisions was a steady decrease in knowledge of Indian languages. In the Ukiah Valley, all elderly and many middle-aged people spoke at least one Pomo dialect, but few young people understood more than a few words of their native language. Old people claimed that young people didn't try to learn the language, but spent all their time at the movies or listening to the radio. This growing identification with white culture by younger people no doubt irritated the elderly, who gave up trying to teach the Pomo language and culture. Young people, on the other hand, maintained that the older people refused to teach them.[114]

Elderly Pomos also complained about young people's acceptance of white notions about individual property, especially the disappearing practice of sharing material good fortune with all members of the tribe. Like others

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middle class consumption, but perhaps as appealing for them was that "mass culture had become a focal point for nonauthoritarian behavior." (p. 238). Indians learned to desire material goods, but they also learned a more militant attitude toward white society. One can only speculate on their reactions to the Western movies of the era.

[114]Frederick Elliot Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community," pp. 110-114.

of her generation, eighty-two year old Rosie James of the Yokaia rancheria believed that young Pomo Indians had become selfish and lacking in respect for their elders. She mourned for the time when a hunter felt obliged to share his bounty with the entire community, but younger people now took their kill home for their own household.

> It looks to me now that they ain't going to follow the old Indian ways. Just die out and be forgotten. Now the young people don't believe nothing . . . They're turning white . . . They don't care to help. It makes me sorry when I see the young people act like that. The old people in my time, they all say the same thing. 'They don't act right. They don't do right . . . When they kill deer they don't give to anybody.'[115]

Conflicts between old and young erupted in a dispute over the use of tribal funds at Round Valley. The tribal fund of about $10,000 had been established from money received when the BIA sold much of the original reservation to white settlers. During the Depression, the government used these tribal funds to provide relief for old tribal members with no other sources of income and to pay the salary of the man in

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[115]Frederick Elliott Robin, "Culture Contact and Public Opinion in a Bi-Cultural Community, p. 112. Of course, the complaint extended beyond the issue of sharing meat. Older Indians clearly believed that the values of consensus and community had been lost to white values of individualism and consumption.

charge at the reservation. Younger Indians began to argue that they should have the right to help decide how tribal funds should be spent, and argued that the government should take care of elderly people out of general BIA relief funds so the tribal funds could be used for the good of the entire community. BIA representatives argued that they had not nearly enough funding to care for all the needy Indians, therefore "those [tribes] who do have some money should use their own money for their people."[116]

Indian communities also divided over the assimilation of some of their members, and their allegiance to white institutions. When Yokaia Steve Knight, one of the most active and influential Pomo leaders, took a BIA job as the Indian Chief of Police, many in the community began to distrust him. His primary duty was to enforce laws against the consumption of liquor by Indians, bringing him into conflict with many Pomo people.[117] They feared that because he depended on the government for his salary, he would now side with the government against the Indians and no

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[116]U.S. Senate, "Survey" 1932-34, p. 15466.

[117]Interview with Steve Knight, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. See also Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," p. 221.

longer represent their interests. Other comments suggest some envy for his steady salary. One said, "Steve is on the government side. All he does in loaf around town [and] make money from the government. Nobody knows how much he gets."[118] Resentment against Knight was particularly pronounced at the Pinoleville rancheria, because Knight was from the Yokaia Rancheria. According to reports, much poisoning was directed at Knight since his new job. He had become an enemy to many Indian people.[119]

Indeed, Knight's critics were correct to argue that his role in the community had changed. Certainly the government saw Knight as their agent. When BIA Superintendent wanted Indians to testify at the Senate hearings in 1934 in San Francisco, he wrote that since Knight had a government car, he should "round up other

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[118]Interviews with Henry Campbell (11/1/39) and Jim Knight (7/6/39), Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. Knight told Parsell his salary was $75. per month.

[119]Parsell Papers, Nov. 1, 1939 and Nov. 11, 1939, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. One informant attributed the Knight family's bad luck to the poisoning directed at Steve, but Steve himself did not believe in poisoning. Interview with Rhoda Knight, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum.

Indians to come with you to San Francisco and testify at the hearings."[120]

Anthropologists attributed the family feuds and growing factionalism that beset virtually every rancheria to anger over the treatment of Indians by whites. Elizabeth Colson speculated that to survive the white invasion, aggressive feelings toward whites had to be strictly controlled, and perhaps instead directed back into the Pomo group. Even in the twentieth century, when Indians began to articulate their anger against whites, it was in a generalized antagonism toward whites or the government; rarely did Indians direct their anger against an individual white person. Also, in an atmosphere of scarcity, resentment against the few who had more than the rest seems inevitable.[121]

While the Pomo hated and resented their treatment by white people, they sometimes experienced profoundly ambivalent feelings about race. "Sometimes I get so I hate every white person in the world," said one. "I

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[120]Lipps to Stephen Knight, June 28, 1934, Carton 10, California League for American Indian Papers, Bancroft Library.

[121]Elizabeth Colson, ed., Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women (Berkeley, CA: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1974).

hate them for what they've done to the Indians and the way they treat them now. If every Indian was honest about it, I think he'd say he felt the same way . . . Sometimes I despise the Indians and the Indian ways and want to be a white person. I could be a white person if I wanted to except for my skin. And then I feel bad about it and turn around and start hating the whites again. Mostly I just hate the whites."[122]

Such aggressive feelings could only find expression within the small, close relationships of Indian rancheria or reservation communities because to express such feelings toward white people would be to invite disaster. Violence, usually connected with drinking bouts, flared up often, and Indians attributed most disasters in their community to poisoning. Since traditional times the fear of poisoning closely regulated Pomo behavior, causing adherence to strict rules of personal conduct and etiquette. In 1934 anthropologist Elizabeth Colson interviewed three Pomo women, who told her about many acts of poisoning. One

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[122]Elizabeth Colson, ed., Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women, p. 222.

of them, Sophie Martinez, ascribed ten deaths in her own immediate family to poisoning.[123]

Contributing a new element to the social life of the rancherias during the Depression was the increasing contact Indians had with non-Indian agricultural workers during the harvest season - what the anthropologists termed "lateral cultural exchange." For the first time, local Indians worked side by side with non-Indian people from outside the region. The hop and grape picking season in the Ukiah Valley had always brought together several groups of workers including Japanese and Chinese migrants. But most often non-Indian workers had been local white people, mostly women and children, who supplemented their incomes with yearly picking. Some

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[123]Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 297. Some anthropologists claim that this fear of poisoning inhibited goal oriented behavior among the Pomo, because they lived in a world full of potential dangers from others or from breaking taboos. Colson found little goal oriented behavior, and no hint that Pomo adults rewarded children for achievement. She speculated that in a world where much of the old training had become pointless, the lack of such training indicated difficulties the Indians had adjusting to their new lives. According to Colson, the Pomo fear each other and assume others hate them. Elizabeth Colson, Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women, p. 224. One wonders if a better explanation for the lack of goal oriented training of children might be that such training was unlikely to produce positive results. The Pomo lived in a larger society that did not reward attempts to move out of their narrowly defined roles as menial laborers. Moreover, Colson is judging Pomo society in white terms.

used the hop money for extras, for paying taxes, or for the children's school clothes. Often white families treated their campout in the fields as a sort of vacation. Local custom maintained a distinct dividing line between Indian and white workers. However, during the Depression era the hop and grape harvest began to attract large numbers of white migrant workers for the first time.[124]

Because geography had isolated Mendocino County from the large agribusinesses of the Central Valley, and because it had a small, mostly local agricultural work force, it never attracted much attention from people trying to organize labor unions among farmworkers. Nevertheless by the 1930s, news of the growing militance

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[124]Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, "Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo," p. 302. Separate facilities in the fields became institutionalized during the Progressive Era when the California Department of Industrial Relations began mandating public health procedures in the camps that tacitly condoned separation. The state inspection reports indicate very different standards for the Indian camps than for white camps, particularly in areas involving privacy and separate facilities for women and men. For example, one inspector wrote: "At the white pickers' camp, two toilets must be erected, one for the use of the men and one for the women . . . One toilet must be built at the Indian camp." California Department of Industrial Relations Papers, Box No. 30, Inspection Reports, Mendocino County, Letters to hop camps, 1917, Bancroft Library. State regulations covered items like garbage containers, clean water, facilities for bathing, and screened "two-hole" toilets with doors. In every case, standards were less rigorous for Indian camps.

among California farmworkers spread even to the valleys of the northern counties; the Indians heard about it from the migrant workers.[125]

Although farmers continued to maintain separate camps to house Indian and white hop pickers, many migrant workers of the thirties made common cause with Indians. Contact with diverse people particularly influenced younger Indians, exposing them to new ideas about family relations, life outside the valley, and levels of aspiration, as well as labor militance. Marriages between Indians and people from other ethnic groups increased during the 1930s and 1940s.[126]

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[125]For information on the history of California farmworkers see: Cletus E. Daniel, Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) and Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field (Boston: Little, Brown, 1939). For information on farm work during the Depression, see Cletus E. Daniel, "Radicals on the Farm in California," Agricultural History ( ) p. 629-652, James N. Gregory, American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and the Making of California's Okie Subculture (, 1988) and Walter J. Stein, California and the Dust Bowl Migration (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973).

[126]Alfred P. Parsell, "Seasonal Farm Labor and Community Integration: A Case Study of Intra-Community Mobility," Unpublished paper, original in Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. See also Alfred Parsell, "Population and Environment of a Northern California Indian Community," (M.A. thesis, Syracuse University, 1941) and Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," (Ph.D. New York University, 1948).

Although the increase in contact with outsiders had significant implications for personal and cultural life on the rancherias, Indians did not organize labor unions. Competition with other groups for a shrinking number of jobs made that impossible. Also, the Indians were competing for access to New Deal dollars, which became the most important source of both jobs and relief. This had the effect of decreasing the dependence of local Indian people on local white employers.

Political efforts

The fledgling organizational movements begun by California Indians during the 1920s faltered under the increasing pressures of factionalism and the privations of the depression years. Local leaders found their time occupied with survival, and felt increasingly pessimistic about ending discrimination. When Steve Knight refused an invitation to participate in a "Town Meeting of the Air" forum at the Ukiah Public Library in 1939 on the topic of racial discrimination, he explained that he was no longer interested in attending public gatherings or making speeches in Ukiah because it "has

no effect in changing the white attitude toward the Indians."[127]

Knight did turn to the courts again in 1941, when he filed a complaint against the Ukiah theatre for discrimination after his granddaughter complained about having to sit in the balcony. He intended not only to integrate the theatre, but to force a court ruling against racial segregation by any business in Ukiah. White people in Ukiah became distressed and held some hurried meetings about the case, and one woman offered Knight money to settle out of court. He refused. Knight's lawyer, Mr. Kasch, who had been a friend of the Indians for many years, came under pressure from townspeople. Nevertheless, Knight succeeded in getting a court order forbiding discrimination against Indians by Ukiah businesses.[128]

The suspicion that Knight had taken up the interests of the white community seemed validated when Knight, under pressure from the Indian Service, lobbied against a plan most Pomo Indians favored. Like other poor people during the Depression, the Pomo community

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[127]Steve Knight Interview, 11/17/39, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA.

[128]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 266-267.

became interested in political schemes that promised them some immediate relief from poverty. In 1939 a special election campaign for the Ham 'N' Eggs plan caused a brief period of hope and excitement. An outgrowth of the Townsend movement, Ham 'N' Eggs was a proposal to give thirty dollars every Thursday to all citizens over fifty. Supported by many Californians, including some veterans of Upton Sinclair's EPIC campaign, Ham 'N' Eggs appealed strongly to the poor, especially to migrant workers and some Indians. Like the migrants, white Californians often criticized Indians for being too willing to accept relief and to vote for schemes like Ham 'N' Eggs.[129]

In Mendocino County, white people with influence among the Indians, like the Indian Service doctor and nurse, lobbied hard against Ham 'N' Eggs, joined by a few assimilated Indians like Steve Knight. But most

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[129]The Townsend Old Age Revolving Pension Plan, proposed by Francis Townsend in 1934, captured the attention of millions of Americans during the Depression, resulting in more than 5,000 local Townsend Clubs. After the Social Security Act of 1935, the movement declined, but continued to inspire new schemes, like Ham 'N' Eggs. Gerald D. Nash, The Crucial Era: The Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992) p. 51-52. On migrant support of Ham 'N' Eggs, see Walter J. Stein, California and the Dust Bowl Migration (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973) p. 91-92, 99. For Pomo response to Ham 'N' Eggs, see Alfred Parsell Field Notes, Nov. 8, 1939, pp. 3-4, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA.

Pomo Indians seemed to support the plan. Some Pomo people, coming as they did from a tradition that valued community consensus, questioned the plan but did not vote against it because they hesitated to vote differently from other Pomo people. Local Indians took it personally when Ham 'N' Eggs failed at the polls. Lou Lockhart said it was the first time he ever voted for himself, and swore he would never vote again.[130]

The responses of both Indians and whites to the changes brought by the Depression grew out of earlier conditions. Cultural tensions begun earlier peaked in the nineteen-twenties and thirties. By the twenties, the United States was in the midst of a period of dissonance between traditional ideals and new patterns of modern living - between small town ways and the new urban presence, between the model of what American was and the new realities of what Americans were becoming. The white community clung to racial systems from the past as part of their resistance to these changes,

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[130]Nov. 8, 1939, Parsell Papers, Mendocino County Museum, Willits, CA. Parsell believed that Steve Knight's opposition to the plan came from the official pressure he received from Indian Service personnel.

causing tension to continue and increase during the thirties.[131]

The Great Depression introduced new elements to race and ethnic relations in Mendocino County. The Depression added to the suffering of the poorest part of the community, the Indians, and directly pitted poor whites against Indians for access to federal relief and job programs. But what strained race relations the most was not so much poor whites against poor Indians as the competition between the Indians and whites to acquire the available New Deal dollars. Local elites argued that Indians, as wards of the government and not working people, were inherently less deserving of federal help than white Americans. To justify their own claim on federal funds, they reiterated their long-held prejudices about race difference, and attempted to strengthen a system of segregation that had evolved over the last eighty years of contact -- meant to shore up the traditional power of these old elites. Ideas invented in the nineteenth century to justify taking the

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[131]Lawrence Levine, The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History (Oxford University Press, 1993) pp. 247-8.

land from the Indians now justified excluding Indians from sharing in the rewards of citizenship.[132]

Ironically, while the entry of federal dollars into the local economy inspired local elites to more vigorously defend their segregated system, it also helped to put pressure on this system from several directions. As it had done from the beginning, the federal government acted as a curb on the worst excesses of local racism. And the old white elite social structure was breaking down under the combined influence of federal intervention, attrition, and mass culture.

The entry of the United States into World War II accelerated the process of change already underway. In isolated rural communities like Covelo the change came slower, but no less inexorably. Towns along the main highways like Ukiah changed much faster. Old families, both Indian and white, died out and young people moved away or went to war. New people moved to the community in greater numbers, diluting the power of old elites.

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[132]During the Depression, the West got more than its share of federal funds. Western political leaders solicited federal help that benefitted local interests at the same time as many of them denounced the policies of the New Deal. Far from its central mythology of self-reliance and independence, the West became dependent on the federal government. Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987) pp. 87-89.

The local job market expanded as men and women left for military service or work in munitions factories, providing new opportunities for both Indian and white people. And the Indians had greater access to the outside world. With their increased mobility came new opportunities for assimilation, but also for resistance.[133]

Because of Steve Knight's lawsuit, Indians had already gained the legal right to sit anywhere in the theatre, and to be served in beauty parlors and barbershops, although the court could not ensure that they would feel welcomed. But the history of race relations in this place left many Indians in Mendocino County deeply resentful toward whites.

By the end of the war, many changes had taken place in Ukiah. When he returned from the war in 1946, anthropologist Alfred Parsell reported that one Indian man was employed as an assistant in a sheet metal shop in Ukiah and another had a job as a mechanic. Two Indian girls worked as telephone operators, and another told him she "might get a job" as an usherette in the

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[133]See Burt W. Aginsky, "The Interaction of Ethnic Groups: A Case Study of Indians and Whites," American Sociological Review (Vol. XIV, No. 2, April 1949) reprinted in Aginsky, Selected Papers of B.W. Aginsky and E.G. Aginsky, pp. 80-85.

Ukiah theatre where her older sister had been restricted to a seat in the balcony. Three Indians worked as truck drivers and others in the lumber mills. None of these jobs had been open to Indians before.[134]

As long as the people of Mendocino County had remained isolated, tied to the land, and to an agricultural labor system, old elites could keep control. Modern life began to erode white hegemony by providing Indian people with education, the possibility of mobility, new economic opportunities, and a social safety net from the federal government. But modern life did not end racial stereotypes or the bitterness they caused. Indians also became vulnerable to new kinds of cultural evangelism in the form of advertising and mass culture.

In some ways, the disintegration of white power caused local whites to cling more than ever to old racist stereotypes. The long heritage of discrimination and poverty had taken its toll on whites and Indians alike. Still, by the end of the war, the stage was set for a new Indian activism that would again challenge the status quo during the nineteen-sixties.

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[134]Alfred Parsell, "Social Change and Social Control in an American Indian Tribe," pp. 134-135.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In his new study of American Indian culture and literature, Greg Sarris tells a story about Mabel McKay, a Pomo basketweaver and medicine woman in California. The recent wave of interest in Native American traditions prompts a constant stream of interested white people to question McKay about Indian customs. McKay's answers often exhibit her refusal to conform to the expectations of others. "What do you do for poison oak?" a student asked McKay in a recent forum about native healing. "Calamine lotion," she answered. Sarris notes that McKay's answer "rebukes the attempts of those who wish to see her in an ahistorical light." She resists the impulse of well-meaning white people to view her as an unchanging representative of some static golden age of the past.[1] She insists on being a participant in historical change, not its victim. McKay's attitude admonishes the historian to focus on the strategies by which people adapt to change and succeed in gaining some control over their lives in the face of adversity.

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[1]Greg Sarris, Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) quoted in Hungry Mind Review 30 (Summer 1994) p. 8.

Like other Americans, both the Indian and the white people of Mendocino County have experienced more than a century of rapid social change. In the nineteenth century, Indians faced many threats to their very survival, including the loss of their land, disease, murder, starvation, and attacks on their culture. The survivors responded to the Anglo conquest with strategies by which they could adopt new economic and social relations. They used the strengths inherent in their cultural traditions to enter their new world, and to help them widen their world view to recognize the commonalities between themselves and other native people.

Anglo-Americans conquered the Indians and clashed with each other over the division of the spoils. Out of that conquest emerged a struggle that in Mendocino County revolved around land, resources, labor, and race. One essential question was posed for each new arrival to Mendocino County. In a region shaped by the conquest of the Indians, which of the many groups of migrants would have the right to share in the benefits of that place? In a constantly changing multicultural society, how would people be sorted out? Who would determine the boundaries of power?

Anglo definitions of race became the major way the parameters of power were determined in Mendocino County, at least until the middle of the twentieth century. People defined by Anglo-Americans as nonwhite had little access to the opportunities the region offered. But racial boundaries were flexible and shifting, and the definitions of race changed over time.

The unpaid labor of Indian workers helped to build the ranches and clear the land in the settlement period. Later, the Indians lived apart as a cheap labor force for agriculture, where they provided an indispensable service without unduly competing with white people for work. Their opportunities were severely limited and they have always been the poorest part of the population. During the labor shortage before the 1880s Chinese people built ethnic communities in Mendocino County. When that labor shortage ended and white workers began to view the Chinese as competitors, they became a danger and the whites evicted many of them from the county. The rest soon followed them. The experiences of Italians and some other European ethnic groups illustrate the fluidity of racial definitions. At first Anglos did not necessarily perceive them as white. Yet, their European origins, their skin color, the fact that they practiced a Christian religion, and

their success in agriculture eventually helped them change that perception, providing them with access to greater participation in the society, particularly its economic life.

The racial categories defined on the Northern California frontier have had tremendous staying power, and in times of crisis such as the Great Depression, whites felt compelled to draw the lines more clearly and guard them more vigilantly. The Italians became "white" but the Indians remained as separate as ever. The bitterness felt by the Indians about discrimination increased in each decade of the twentieth century in spite of integration and other gains. As Patricia Nelson Limerick has pointed out:

> "One would be happy to consign this pattern of thought to the frontier West, but the quarantine would not hold. When Anglo-Americans look . . . into an Indian reservation, they are more likely to see stereotypes than recognizable individuals or particular groups; the same distortion of vision no doubt works the other way too. The unitary character known as "the white man" has never existed, nor has "the Indian." Yet the phrases receive constant use, as if they carried necessary meaning.[2]

In an early history of California, Josiah Royce argued that "the prejudices, the emnities, and the

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[2]Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest, p. 349.

mistakes" of early California "bore rich fruit in the sequel, determining to a great extent the future relations of the newcomers and the natives."[3] Californians carried the problems of the nineteenth century with them into the twentieth. The most formidable of these problems continue to revolve around racial and ethnic relations. Yet California still attracts immigrants from around the world and from within the United States, including American Indians from other regions. They come with the same hopes and dreams as earlier migrants. Whether the people of California can find ways to escape the failures of the past and begin to shape a society that allows all its people to share in the promise of California remains an enigmatic question for the future.

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[3]Josiah Royce, California (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Press, 1970) p. 40.

APPENDIX A

RANCHERIAS PURCHASED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN MENDOCINO COUNTY BY 1915[1]

Group	No. of Indians	Acres	Cost
Hopland	120	630	$5,750.
Cahto/Laytonville	98	200	2,500.
Guidiville	92	50	2,000.
"		34	2,100.
Coyote Valley	48	100	2,485.
Potter Valley	72	16	2,000.
Redwood Valley	51	80	2,000.
Manchester	84	75	4,909.
Point Arena		40	600.
Sherwood	92	231	5,750.
"	41	60	432.
Ukiah (Pinoleville)	130	95	8,500.
	828	1611	39,026.

[1]Indian Tribes of California. Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Indian Affairs, 1920. p. 68-69.

APPENDIX B[1]
ROUND VALLEY AGENCY BOARDING SCHOOL

DOMESTIC NIGHT WORK

TWO NIGHTS EACH WEEK
MARCH, 1908

Class "A" (12 large girls) - Supervised by the Matron

Drawn rugs (4 girls)
Hemstitching and drawn work: bureau scarves (5 girls
table covers
Embroidery and cross-stitch cushion covers (2 girls)
Couch cover (1 girl)
Reading fifteen to twenty minutes

Class "B" (9 girls) - Supervised by the Seamstress

Instruction in sewing - sheets, towels
Button hole making
Cutting by thread - napkins, tablecloths
Blackboard instruction on drafting patterns
Reading by employee each evening

Class "C" (14 little girls) - Supervised by the Laundress

Working in colors. Woolen pieces for rugs
Sewing carpet rags
Reading by employee in charge

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[1]Record Group 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Press Copies of Superintendent's Orders and Instructions to Boarding School Personnel, 1907-1910, Box 166, National Archives, San Bruno, CA.

APPENDIX C

ROUND VALLEY AGENCY BOARDING SCHOOL: OUTLINE OF EVENING WORK CONDUCTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT DURING THE MONTH OF MARCH 1908[1]

March 1, 8, 15, 22, 29: Chapel exercises consisting each evening of recitation of Lord's Prayer, Singing of Old Hundred, Singing of two hymns from Gospel, Hymns by school and one from the choir. Reading of a selected Psalm responsibely and a talk by the missionary. During the month we have also had prepared and read by pupils biographical sketches of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, these latter based on work done during the morning Sunday exercises. Also have a roll call each evening answered by facts about Bible, characters studied, a Proverb or an extract from Christ's Sermon on the Mount. This work is varied enough to keep students interested.

March 6, 13, 20, 27: Social Evening, Assembled in Chapel, Games of various kinds are played. Example: Marching Down to Old Quebec, King William, Marching Around the Valley, Miller, Shoot the Buffalo, Two Dukes, Snap, etc.

March 7, 14, 21, 28: Choir Practice.

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[1]Record Group 75 CA, Round Valley Agency, Press Copies of Superintendent's Orders and Instructions to Boarding School Personnel, 1907-1910, Box 166, National Archives, San Bruno, CA.

APPENDIX D

GOVERNMENT DAY SCHOOLS IN MENDOCINO COUNTY

1894[1]

Round Valley Agency Day	55
Hopland Day	25 (1 white)
Ukiah Day (Yokaia)	29
Ukiah Day (Pinoleville)	31

1919[2]

School	Aver Attendance	Cost to Govnt.
Yokaia Day School	15	$ 762.50
Potter Valley Day	7	561.85
Pinoliville Day	11	1944.05

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[1]Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1893, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, House Executive Document 1, pt. 5, vol. 2, serial set no. 3210, p. 612.

[2]E.A. Hutchinson, Annual Report, Round Valley Agency and School, 1919, p. 8-10, RG 75 Nevada, Dorrington Papers, Box 11, Folder: Round Valley, National Archives, San Bruno, Ca.

APPENDIX E

SOCIETY OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIANS

CONFERENCE IN UKIAH, 1919

NEEDS AND WANTS

Hopland Rancheria: Population about 97; are more or less satisfied but need $1,500 to complete their water system.

Ukiah [Yokaia Rancheria]: Population about 25; all fairly well satisfied, but are in sore need of wood; would like the Government to buy some land adjoining the rancheria, which is only good for pasture and wood.

Pinoliville Rancheria: Population 160; about 99 acres of useless land; need 200 acres of farm land; have neither farming implements nor teams.

Coyote Rancheria: Population 24; 100 acres of land useless for farming; want 100 acres of good farm land, implements, and teams.

Sherwood Rancheria: Population about 67; 229 acres of land, mostly hills, of little use for farming, no water in summer; would like to trade this land for 200 acres west of Willits along the railroad tracks; no farming implements or teams.

Laytonville Rancheria: Population about 55; 205 acres of good woodland but no farming land; no implements or teams; want a good school; would like to get 100 acres of better land adjoining rancheria.

Potter Valley Rancheria: Population 76; 29 acres, no water; would like to get adjoining ranch of 250 acres; no implements or teams; need a school.

Manchester Rancheria: Population about 65; not sufficient land; would like to get adjoining ranch of 100 acres; no implement or teams.

Upper Lake Rancheria: Population about 130; 200 acres, mostly hilly lands, every foot of which is farmed; need 150 acres more, also farming implements and teams; would

like to pipe water from reservoir to home; would like a bridge over Middle Creek; want a new school.

Robinson Creek Rancheria: Population about 125; 100 acres of poor farming land with no wood; would like to have 200 acres next to rancheria, implements, teams, and a school.

Lower Lake, Scotts Valley Rancheria: Population about 100; 50 acres of good woodland of poor farming soil; insufficient water; need 200 acres of farming land; have nothing in the way of implements or teams.

Stewarts Point Rancheria: Population about 35 Indians, who have very little land and no implements; in fact little of anything.

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